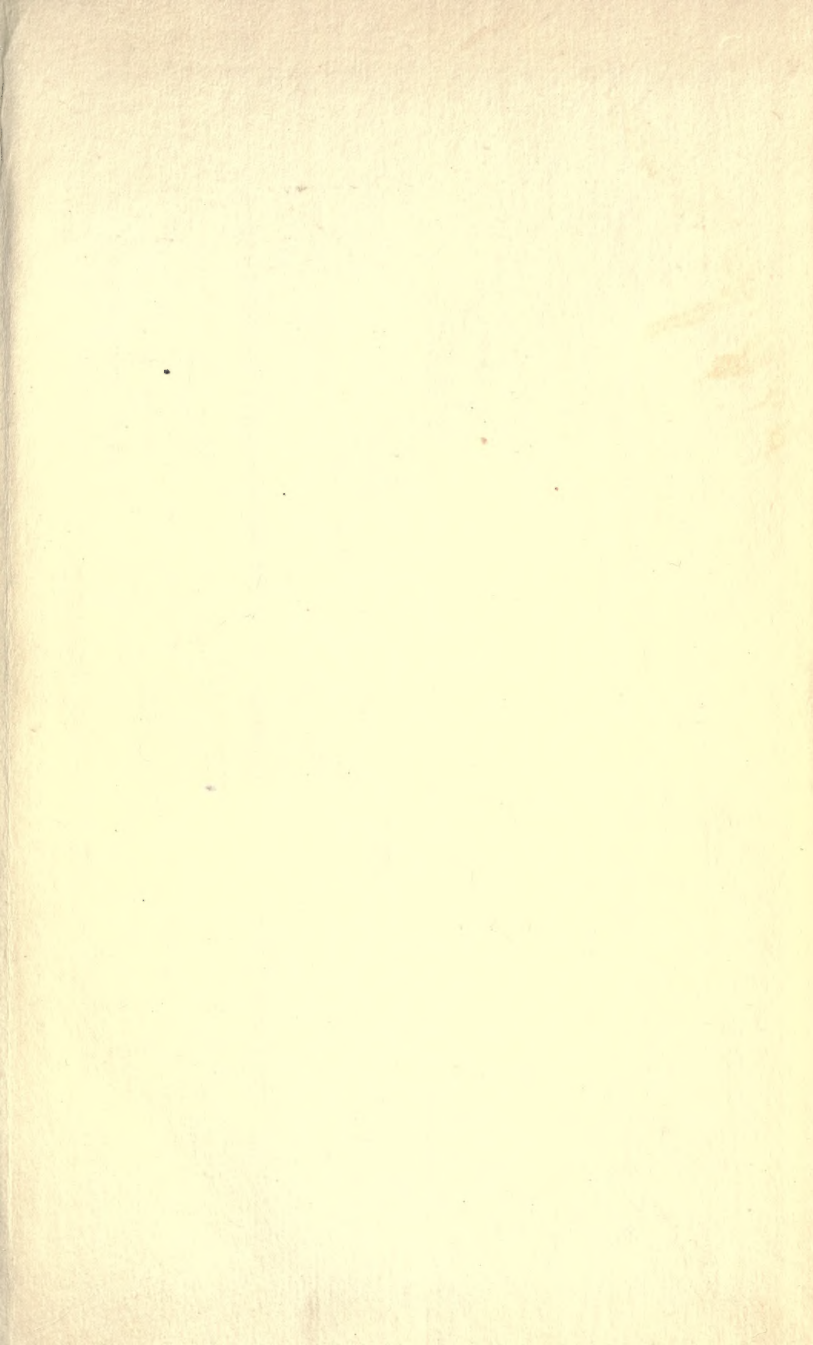




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EDWARD LORD HERBERT

OF

CHERBURY.

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ENGLAND

UNDER

HENRY VIII.

EDWARD LORD HERBERT

OF

CHERRY



ENGLAND

THIRD

HENRY VIII.



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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

EDWARD LORD HERBERT

OF

CHERBURY.

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THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

UNDER

HENRY VIII.

BY

EDWARD LORD HERBERT.

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*'Of the history of individuals whom the ardour  
'of their temperament or the caprices of fortune have  
'involved in strange adventures, or conducted through  
'a series of complicated perils, the Memoirs of Lord  
'Herbert of Cherbury present an excellent example.'—  
Jeffrey's Essays, v. 2, p. 644.*

*The Memoir of Lord Herbert is characteristic  
and good; as is also his so nearly contemporaneous  
History of England under Henry VIII.*

A. M.

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ORIGINAL DEDICATION.

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TO THE MOST NOBLE

HENRY ARTHUR HERBERT,  
EARL OF POWIS,

VISCOUNT LUDLOW, LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY,

BARON POWIS AND LUDLOW,

AND

TREASURER OF HIS MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD.

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MY LORD,

PERMIT me to offer to your lordship in this more durable manner the very valuable present I received from your hands. To your lordship your great ancestor owes his revival ; and suffer me, my lord, to tell the world what does you so much honour, you have given him and me leave to speak truth ; an indulgence which, I am sorry to say, few descendants of heroes have minds noble enough to allow.

Hitherto Lord Herbert has been little known but as an author. I much mistake, if hereafter he is not considered as one of the most extraordinary characters which this country has produced. Men of the proudest blood shall not blush to distinguish themselves in letters as well as arms, when they learn what excellence Lord Herbert attained in both. Your lordship's lineage at least will have a pattern before their eyes to excite their emulation ; and while they admire the piety with which you have done justice to your common ancestor, they cannot be forgetful of the obligation they will have to your lordship's memory for transmitting to them this record of his glory.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most obliged Servant,

HORACE WALPOLE.

## ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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SOME years ago the following pages would have been reckoned one of the greatest presents which the learned world could have received. The life of the famous Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by himself, would have excited the curiosity of the whole republic of letters. Perhaps a less proportion of expectation may attend this its late appearance: not that the abilities of the noble writer have fallen into disesteem; his reign of Henry VIII. is allowed to be a masterpiece of historic biography; but they were his speculative works, which, raising a multitude of admirers or censors from their acuteness and singularity, made Lord Herbert's name of the first importance. The many great men, who illustrated the succeeding period, have taken off some of the public attention; for it is only a genius of the first force whose fame dilates with ages, and can buoy itself up above the indifference which steals upon mankind, as an author becomes less and less the subject of conversation. Speculative writers, however penetrating, however sublime their talents, seldom attain the seal of universal approbation, because, of all the various abilities which Providence has bestowed on man, reasoning is not the power which has been brought to standard perfection. Poetry and eloquence have been so far perfected, that the great masters in those branches still remain unequalled; but where is that book of human argumentation, where that system of human opinions, which has not been partly confuted or exploded? Novelty itself in matters of metaphysical inquiry often proves, in effect, a confutation of antecedent novelties. Opponents raise the celebrity of the doctrines they attack: newer doctrines stifle that celebrity. This is a truth which the bigots of Lord Herbert's age would not have liked to hear; but what has happened to many other great men, has been his fate too: they who meant to wound his fame, extended it; when the cry of enthusiasts was drawn off to fresher game, his renown grew fainter. His moral character recovered its lustre, but has fewer spectators to gaze at it.

This introduction to his life may not be improper, though at first it may mislead the reader, who will hence perhaps expect from his own pen some account of a person's creed, whom a few zealots once represented as having none at all. His lordship's thorough belief and awful veneration of the Deity will clearly appear in these pages; but neither the unbeliever nor the monk will have farther satisfaction. This life of a philosopher is neither a deduction of his opinions nor a table of philosophy—I will anticipate the reader's surprise, though it shall be but in a word: to his astonishment he will find, that the History of Don Quixote was the Life of Plato.

The noble family, which gives these sheets to the world, is above the little prejudices which make many a race defraud the public of

what was designed for it by those who alone had a right to give or withhold. It is above suppressing what Lord Herbert dared to tell. Foibles, passions, perhaps some vanity, surely some wrongheadedness; these he scorned to conceal, for he sought truth, wrote on truth, was truth: he honestly told when he had missed or mistaken it. His descendants, not blind to his faults, but through them conducting the reader to his virtues, desire the world to make this candid observation with them. 'That there must have been a wonderful fund of internal 'virtue, of strong resolution and manly philosophy, which in an age of 'such mistaken and barbarous gallantry, of such absurd usages and 'false glory, could enable Lord Herbert to seek fame better founded, 'and could make him reflect that there might be a more desirable kind 'of glory than that of a romantic duelist.' None shut their eyes so obstinately against seeing what is ridiculous, as they who have attained a mastery in it: but that was not the case of Lord Herbert. His valour made him a hero, be the heroism in vogue what it would; his sound parts made him a philosopher. Few men in truth have figured so conspicuously in lights so various; and his descendants, though they cannot approve him in every walk of glory, would perhaps injure his memory, if they suffered the world to be ignorant, that he was formed to shine in every sphere, into which his impetuous temperament, or predominant reason conducted him.

As a soldier, he won the esteem of those great captains the Prince of Orange and the Constable de Montmorency; as a knight, his chivalry was drawn from the purest founts. Had he been ambitious, the beauty of his person would have carried him as far as any gentle knight can aspire to go. As a public minister, he supported the dignity of his country, even when its prince disgraced it; and that he was qualified to write its annals as well as to ennoble them, the history I have mentioned proves, and must make us lament that he did not complete, or that we have lost, the account he purposed to give of his embassy. These busy scenes were blended with, and terminated by, meditation and philosophic inquiries. Strip each period of its excesses and errors, and it will not be easy to trace out, or dispose the life of a man of quality into a succession of employments which would better become him. Valour and military activity in youth; business of state in the middle age; contemplation and labours for the information of posterity in the calmer scenes of closing life: this was Lord Herbert.

The MS. was in great danger of being lost to the world. Henry Lord Herbert, grandson of the author, died in 1691 without issue, and by his will left his estate to Francis Herbert, of Oakly Park (father of the present Earl of Powis), his sister's son. At Lymore in Montgomeryshire (the chief seat of the family after Cromwell had demolished Montgomery Castle), was preserved the original manuscript. Upon the marriage of Henry Lord Herbert with a daughter of Francis Earl of Bradford, Lymore, with a considerable part of the estate thereabouts, was allotted for her jointure. After his decease, Lady Herbert usually resided there; she died in 1714. The MS. could not then be found: yet while she lived there, it was known to have been in her hands. Some years afterwards it was discovered at Lymore



among some old papers, in very bad condition, several being torn out and others stained to such a degree as to make it scarcely legible. Under these circumstances, inquiry was made of the Herberts of Ribbisford (descended from Sir Henry Herbert, a younger brother of the author lord) in relation to a duplicate of the Memoirs, which was confidently said to be in their custody. It was allowed that such a duplicate had existed ; but no one could recollect what was become of it. At last, about the year 1737, this book was sent to the Earl of Powis by a gentleman, whose father had purchased an estate of Henry Herbert of Ribbisford, (son of Sir Henry Herbert above mentioned) in whom was revived, in 1694, the title of Cherbury, which had extinguished in 1691. By him (after the sale of the estate) some few books, pictures, and other things, were left in the house, and remained there to 1737. This MS. was amongst them ; which not only by the contents (as far as it was possible to collate it with the original) but by the similitude of the writing appeared to be the duplicate so much sought after.

Being written when Lord Herbert was past sixty, the work was probably never completed. The spelling is in general given as in the MS. but some obvious mistakes it was necessary to correct, and a few notes have been added, to point out the most remarkable persons mentioned in the text. The style is remarkably good for that age, which coming between the nervous and expressive manliness of the preceding century, and the purity of the present standard, partook of neither. His lordship's observations are new and acute, some very shrewd ; his discourse on the Reformation very wise. To the French confessor his reply was spirited ; indeed his behaviour to Luynes, and all his conduct, gave ample evidence of his constitutional fire. But nothing is more marked than the air of veracity or persuasion which runs through the whole narrative. If he makes us wonder, and wonder makes us doubt, the charm of his ingenuous integrity dispels our hesitation. The whole relation throws singular light on the manners of the age, though the gleams are transient. In those manners nothing is more striking than the strange want of police in this country. I will not point out instances, as I have already perhaps too much opened the contents of a book, which if it gives other readers half the pleasure it afforded me, they will own themselves extraordinarily indebted to the noble person by whose favour I am permitted to communicate to them so great a curiosity.



AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF  
EDWARD LORD HERBERT,  
OF CHERBURY.

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I DO believe that if all my ancestors had set down their lives in writing, and left them to posterity, many documents necessary to be known of those who both participate of their natural inclinations and humours, must in all probability run a not much different course, might have been given for their instruction; and certainly it will be found much better for men to guide themselves by such observations as their father, grandfather, and great grandfather might have delivered to them, than by those vulgar rules and examples, which cannot in all points so exactly agree unto them. Therefore, whether their life were private, and contained only precepts necessary to treat with their children, servants, tenants, kinsmen, and neighbours, or employed abroad in the university, or study of the law, or in the court, or in the camp, their heirs might have benefited themselves more by them than by any else; for which reason I have thought fit to relate to my posterity those passages of my life, which I conceive may best declare me, and be most useful to them. In the delivery of which, I profess to write with all truth and sincerity, as scorning ever to deceive or speak false to any: and therefore detesting it much more where I am under obligation of speaking to those so near me: and if this be one reason for taking my pen in hand at this time, so as my age is now past threescore, it will be fit to recollect my former actions, and examine what had been done well or ill, to the intent I may both reform that which was amiss, and so make my peace with God, as also comfort myself in those things which, through God's great grace and favour, have been done according to the rules of conscience, virtue, and honour. Before yet I bring myself to this account, it will be necessary to say somewhat concerning my ancestors, as far as the notice of them is come to me in any credible way; of whom yet I cannot say much, since I was but eight years old when my grandfather died, and that my father lived but about four years after; and that for the rest I have lived for the most part from home, it is impossible I should have that entire knowledge of their actions which might inform me sufficiently; I shall only therefore relate the more known and undoubted parts of their lives.\*

My father was Richard Herbert, Esq. son to Edward Herbert, Esq.

\* Though his lordship, according to his scrupulous exactness, would set down nothing relating to his ancestors but what was of undoubted notoriety, yet it is probable that he had some memorials of his family, in writing; for Dugdale, in his *Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 256, ed. 1676, quotes a curious passage relating to the family's assumption of the name of Herbert, from a manuscript book, which he had seen in the hands of our author, Lord Herbert.

and grandchild to Sir Richard Herbert, Knt. who was a younger son of Sir Richard Herbert, of Colebrook, in Monmouthshire, of all whom I shall say a little. And first of my father, whom I remember to have been black-haired and bearded, as all my ancestors of his side are said to have been, of a manly or somewhat stern look, but withal very handsome and well compact in his limbs, and of a great courage, whereof he gave proof, when he was so barbarously assaulted by many men in the churchyard at Lanervil, at what time he would have apprehended a man who denied to appear to justice ; for, defending himself against them all, by the help only of one John ap Howell Corbet, he chased his adversaries until a villain, coming behind him, did over the shoulders of others wound him on the head behind with a forest bill until he fell down, though recovering himself again, notwithstanding his skull was cut through to the pia mater of the brain, he saw his adversaries fly away, and after walked home to his house at Llyssyn, where, after he was cured, he offered a single combat to the chief of the family, by whose procurement it was thought the mischief was committed ; but he disclaiming wholly the action as not done by his consent, which he offered to testify by oath, and the villain himself flying into Ireland, whence he never returned, my father desisted from prosecuting the business any farther in that kind, and attained, notwithstanding the said hurt, that health and strength, that he returned to his former exercises in a country life, and became the father of many children. As for his integrity in his places of deputy lieutenant of the county, justice of the peace, and *custos rotulorum*, which he, as my grandfather before him, held, it is so memorable to this day, that it was said his enemies appealed to him for justice, which they also found on all occasions. His learning was not vulgar, as understanding well the Latin tongue, and being well versed in history. My grandfather was of a various life, beginning first at court, where after he had spent most part of his means, he became a soldier, and made his fortune with his sword at the battle of St. Quintens in France, and other wars, both in the north, and in the rebellions happening in the times of King Edward VI. and Queen Mary, with so good success, that he not only came off still with the better, but got so much money and wealth as enabled him to buy the greatest part of that livelihood which is descended to me ; although yet I hold some lands which his mother the Lady Ann Herbert purchased, as appears by the deeds made to her by that name, which I can shew ; and might have held more, which my grandfather sold under foot at an under value in his youth, and might have been recovered by my father, had my grandfather suffered him. My grandfather was noted to be a great enemy to the outlaws and thieves of his time, who robbed in great numbers in the mountains in Montgomeryshire, for the suppressing of whom he went often both day and night to the places where they were ; concerning which, though many particulars have been told me, I shall mention one only. Some outlaws being lodged in an alehouse upon the hills of Llandinam, my grandfather and a few servants coming to apprehend them, the principal outlaw shot an arrow against my grandfather, which stuck in the pommel of his saddle ; whereupon my grandfather coming up to him with his sword in his hand, and taking him prisoner,

he shewed him the said arrow, bidding him look what he had done, whereof the outlaw was no farther sensible than to say, he was sorry that he left his better bow at home, which he conceived would have carried his shot to his body ; but the outlaw being brought to justice, suffered for it. My grandfather's power was so great in the country, that divers ancestors of the better families now in Montgomeryshire were his servants, and raised by him. He delighted also much in hospitality, as having a very long table twice covered every meal with the best meats that could be gotten, and a very great family. It was an ordinary saying in the country at that time, when they saw any fowl rise, ' Fly where thou wilt, thou wilt light at Black-hall,' which was a low building, but of great capacity, my grandfather erected in his age ; his father and himself in former times having lived in Montgomery Castle. Notwithstanding yet these expenses at home, he brought up his children well, married his daughters to the better sort of persons near him, and bringing up his younger sons at the university ; from whence his son Matthew went to the Low Country wars, and after some time spent there, came home, and lived in the country at Dolegeog, upon a house and fair living, which my grandfather bestowed upon him. His son also, Charles Herbert, after he had past some time in the Low Countries, likewise returned home, and was after married to an inheritrix, whose eldest son, called Sir Edward Herbert, Knt., is the king's attorney general. His son George, who was of New College in Oxford, was very learned, and of a pious life, died in a middle age of a dropsy. Notwithstanding all which occasions of expense, my grandfather purchased much lands without doing any thing yet unjustly or hardly, as may be collected by an offer I have publicly made divers times, having given my bailiff in charge to proclaim to the country, that if any lands were gotten by evil means, or so much as hardly, they should be compounded for or restored again ; but to this day, never any man yet complained to me in this kind. He died at the age of fourscore or thereabouts, and was buried in Montgomery church, without having any monument made for him, which yet for my father is there set up in a fair manner. My great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert, was steward in the time of King Henry VIII., of the lordships and marches of North Wales, East Wales, and Cardiganshire, and had power, in a marshal law, to execute offenders ; in the using thereof he was so just, that he acquired to himself a singular reputation, as may appear upon the records of that time, kept in the Paper-chamber at Whitehall, some touch whereof I have made in my ' History of Henry VIII. ;' of him I can say little more than that he likewise was a great suppressor of rebels, thieves, and outlaws, and that he was just and conscionable ; for if a false or cruel person had that power committed to his hands, he would have raised a great fortune out of it, whereof he left little, save what his father gave him, unto posterity. He lieth buried likewise in Montgomery ; the upper monument of the two placed in the chancel being erected for him. My great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, was that incomparable hero who (in the History of Hall and Grafton as it appears) twice passed through a great army of northern men alone, with his pole-axe in his hand, and returned without any mortal hurt, which is more



than is famed of Amadis de Gall, or the Knight of the Sun. I shall, besides this relation of Sir Richard Herbert's prowess in the battle at Banbury or Edgcot-hill, being the place where the late battle was fought, deliver some traditions concerning him, which I have received from good hands: one is, that the said Richard Herbert being employed together with his brother William, Earl of Pembroke, to reduce certain\* rebels in North Wales, Sir Richard Herbert besieged a principal person of them at Harlech Castle, in Merionethshire; the captain of this place had been a soldier in the wars of France, whereupon he said, he had kept a castle in France so long, that he made the old women in Wales talk of him; and that he would keep the castle so long that he would make the old women in France talk of him; and indeed as the place was almost impregnable but by famine, Sir Richard Herbert was constrained to take him in by composition, he surrendering himself upon condition that Sir Richard Herbert should do what he could to save his life; which being accepted, Sir Richard, brought him to King Edward IV., desiring his highness to give him a pardon, since he yielded up a place of importance, which he might have kept longer upon this hope; but the king replying to Sir Richard Herbert, that he had no power by his commission to pardon any, and therefore might after the representation hereof to his majesty, safe deliver him up to justice; Sir Richard Herbert answered he had not yet done the best he could for him, and therefore most humbly desired his highness to do one of two things—either to put him again in the castle where he was, and command some other to take him out; or, if his highness would not do so, to take his life for the said captain's, that being the last proof he could give that he used his uttermost endeavour to save the said captain's life. The king finding himself urged thus far, gave Sir Richard Herbert the life of the said captain, but withal he bestowed no other reward for his service. The other history is, that Sir Richard Herbert, together with his brother the Earl of Pembroke, being in Anglesea apprehending there seven brothers which had done many mischiefs and murders; in these times the Earl of Pembroke, thinking it fit to root out so wicked a progeny, commanded them all to be hanged; whereupon the mother of them coming to the Earl of Pembroke, upon her knees desired him to pardon two or at leastwise one of her said sons, affirming that the rest were sufficient to satisfy justice or example, which request also Sir Richard Herbert seconded; but the earl finding them all equally guilty, said he could make no distinction betwixt them, and therefore commanded them to be executed together; at which the mother was so aggrieved, that with a pair of woollen beads on her arms (for so the relation goeth), she on her knees cursed him, praying God's mischief might fall to him in the first battle he should make. The earl after this, coming with his brother to Edgcot-field, as is before set down,

\* It was an insurrection in the ninth year of Edward IV. headed by Sir John Coniers and Robert Riddesdale, in favour of Henry VI. This William Earl of Pembroke, and his brother Sir Richard Herbert, being sent against them, were to be joined by the Earl of Devonshire, but a squabble happening between the two earls about quarters, the Earl of Devonshire separated from Pembroke, who engaging the enemy at Danesmoore, near Edgcote in Northamptonshire, was defeated and taken prisoner, with his brother, and both were put to death, with Richard Widville Earl Rivers, father of the queen, by command of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, who had revolted from Edward.

after he had put his men in order to fight, found his brother Sir Richard Herbert in the head of his men, leaning upon his pole-axe in a kind of sad or pensive manner; whereupon the earl said, What! doth thy great body (for he was higher by the head than any one in the army) apprehend any thing, that thou art so melancholy; or art thou weary with marching, that thou dost lean thus upon thy pole-axe? Sir Richard Herbert replied, that he was neither of both, whereof he should see the proof presently: only I cannot but apprehend on your part, lest the curse of the woman with the woollen beads fall upon you. This Sir Richard Herbert lieth buried in Abergavenny, in a sumptuous monument for those times, which still remains; whereas his brother, the Earl of Pembroke, being buried in Tintern Abbey, his monument, together with the church, lie now wholly defaced and ruined. This Earl of Pembroke had a younger son, which had a daughter which married the eldest son of the Earl of Worcester, who carried away the fair castle of Ragland, with many thousand pounds yearly, from the heir male of that house, which was the second son of the said Earl of Pembroke, and ancestor of the family of St. Gillians, whose daughter and heir I after married, as shall be told in its place. And here it is very remarkable, that the younger sons of the said Earl of Pembroke and Sir R. Herbert left their posterity after them, who in the person of myself and my wife united both houses again; which is the more memorable, that when the said Earl of Pembroke and Sir R. Herbert were taken prisoners in defending the just cause of Edward IV., at the battle abovesaid, the earl never intreated that his own life might be saved, but his brother's, as it appears by the said history. So that joining of both houses together in my posterity, ought to produce a perpetual obligation of friendship and mutual love in them one to another, since by these two brothers, so brave an example thereof was given, as seeming not to live or die but for one another.

My mother was Magdalen Newport, daughter of Sir Richard Newport and Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Bromley, one of the privy council, and executor of King Henry VIII.; who, surviving her husband, gave rare testimonies of an incomparable piety to God and love to her children, as being most assiduous and devout in her daily both private and public prayers, and so careful to provide for her posterity, that, though it were in her power to give her estate (which was very great) to whom she would, yet she continued still unmarried, and so provident for them, that, after she had bestowed all her daughters with sufficient portions upon very good neighbouring families, she delivered up her estate and care of housekeeping to her eldest son Francis, when now she had for many years kept hospitality with that plenty and order as exceeded all either of her country or time; for, besides abundance of provision and good cheer for guests, which her son Sir. F. Newport continued, she used ever after dinner to distribute with her own hands to the poor, who resorted to her in great numbers, alms in money, to every one of them more or less, as she thought they needed it. By these ancestors I am descended of Talbot, Devoreux, Gray, Corbet, and many other noble families, as may be seen in their matches, extant in the many fair coats the Newports bear. I could say much more of my ancestors of that side likewise, but that I should

exceed my proposed scope : I shall therefore only say somewhat more of my mother, my brothers, and sisters. And for my mother, after she lived most virtuously and lovingly with her husband for many years, she after his death erected a fair monument for him in Montgomery church ; brought up her children carefully, and put them in good courses for making their fortunes, and briefly was that woman Dr. Donne hath described in his funeral sermon of her printed. The names of her children were, Edward, Richard, William, Charles, George, Henry, Thomas ; her daughters were, Elizabeth, Margaret, Frances ; of all whom I will say a little before I begin a narration of my own life, so I may pursue my intended purpose the more entirely. My brother Richard, after he had been brought up in learning, went to the Low Countries, where he continued many years with much reputation, both in the wars and for fighting single duels, which were many, insomuch that between both, he carried, as I have been told, the scars of four-and-twenty wounds upon him to his grave, and lieth buried in Bergenopzoom. My brother William being brought up likewise in learning, went afterwards to the wars in Denmark, where, fighting a single combat, and having his sword broken, he not only defended himself with that piece which remained, but closing with his adversary, threw him down, and so held him until company came in ; and then went to the wars in the Low Countries, but lived not long after : my brother Charles was fellow of New College, in Oxford, where he died young, after he had given great hopes of himself every way. My brother George\* was so excellent a scholar, that he was made the public orator of the University in Cambridge ; some of whose English works are extant, which though they be rare in their kind, yet are far short of expressing those perfections he had in the Greek and Latin tongue, and all divine and human literature ; his life was most holy and exemplary, in so much that about Salisbury, where he lived beneficed for many years, he was little less than sainted : he was not exempt from passion and choler, being infirmities to which all our race is subject, but that excepted, without reproach in his actions. Henry, after he had been brought up in learning as the other brothers were, was sent by his friends into France, where he attained the language of that country in much perfection, after which time he came to court, and was made gentleman of the king's privy chamber, and master of the revels : by which means, as also by a good marriage, he attained to great fortunes, for himself and posterity to enjoy : he also hath given several proofs of his courage in duels, and otherwise, being no less dexterous in the ways of the court, as having gotten much by it. My brother Thomas was a posthumus, as being born some weeks after his father's death ; he also being brought up a while at school, was sent as a page to Sir Edward Cecil,† lord general of his majesty's auxiliary forces to the princes in Germany, and was particularly at the siege of Juliers, A.D. 1610, where he showed such forward-

\* He had studied foreign languages, in hopes of rising to be secretary of state ; but being disappointed in his views at court, he took orders, became Prebend of Lincoln, and Rector of Bemerton, near Salisbury. He died between 1630 and 1640. His poems were printed at London, 1635, under the title of 'The Temple ;' and his 'Priest to the Temple,' in 1652. Lord Bacon dedicated to him a translation of some psalms into English verse.—V. Gen. Dict.

† Afterwards Viscount Wimbledon. See 'Royal and Noble Authors.'



ness, as no man in that great army before him was more adventurous on all occasions. Being returned from thence, he went to the East Indies under the command of Captain Joseph, who in his way thither, meeting with a great Spanish ship, was unfortunately killed in fight with them, whereupon his men being disheartened, my brother Thomas encouraged them to revenge the loss, and renewed the fight in that manner (as Sir John Smyth, governor of the East India Company, told me at several times) that they forced the Spanish ship to run aground, where the English shot her through and through so often, that she run herself aground, and was left wholly unserviceable. After which time he, with the rest of the fleet, came to Suratte, and from thence went with the merchants to the Great Mogul, where after he had stayed about a twelvemonth, he returned with the same fleet back again to England. After this he went in the navy which King James sent to Argier, under the command of Sir Robert Mansell, where our men being in great want of money and victuals, and many ships scattering themselves to try whether they could obtain a prize, whereby to relieve the whole fleet; it was his hap to meet with a ship, which he took, and in it to the value of eighteen hundred pounds, which it was thought saved the whole fleet from perishing. He conducted also Count Mansfelt to the Low Countries, in one of the king's ships, which being unfortunately cast away not far from the shore, the count, together with his company, saved themselves in a long-boat or shalop, the benefit whereof my said brother refused to take for the present, as resolving to assist the master of the ship, who endeavoured by all means to clear the ship from the danger; but finding it impossible, he was the last man that saved himself in the long-boat; the master thereof yet refusing to come away, so that he perished together with the ship. After this, he commanded one of the ships that were sent to bring the prince from Spain, where, upon his return, there being a fight between the Low Countrymen and the Dunkirkers, the prince, who though it was not for his dignity to suffer them to fight in his presence, commanded some of his ships to part them; whereupon my said brother with some other ships got betwixt them on either side, and shot so long, that both parties were glad to desist. After he had brought the prince safely home, he was appointed to go with one of the king's ships to the Narrow Seas. He also fought divers times with great courage and success with divers men in single fight, sometimes hurting and disarming his adversary, and sometimes driving him away. After all these proofs given of himself, he expected some great command; but finding himself, as he thought, undervalued, he retired to a private and melancholy life, being much discontented to find others preferred to him; in which sullen humour having lived many years, he died and was buried in London, in St. Martin's, near Charing-cross; so that of all my brothers none survives but Henry.

Elizabeth, my eldest sister, was married to Sir Henry Jones, of Albemarle, who had by her one son, and two daughters; the latter end of her time was the most sickly and miserable that hath been known in our times, while for the space of about fourteen years she languished and pined away to skin and bones, and at last died in London, and lies buried in a church near Cheapside. Margaret was

married to John Vaughan, son and heir to Owen Vaughan of Llwydiart, by which match some former differences betwixt our house and that were appeased and reconciled : he had by her three daughters and heirs, Dorothy, Magdalen, and Katherine, of which the two latter only survive. The estate of the Vaughans yet went to the heirs male, though not so clearly but that the entail which carried the said lands was questioned. Frances, my youngest sister, was married to Sir John Brown, Knt., in Lincolnshire, who had by her divers children, the eldest son of whom, though young, fought divers duels, in one of which it was his fortune to kill one Lee, of a great family in Lancashire. I could say many things more concerning all these, but it is not my purpose to particularize their lives : I have related only some passages concerning them to the best of my memory, being assured I have not failed much in my relation of them. I shall now come to myself.

I was born at Eyton, in Shropshire, (being a house which, together with fair lands, descended upon the Newports by my said grandmother,) between the hours of twelve and one of the clock in the morning ; my infancy was very sickly, my head continually purging itself very much by the ears, whereupon also it was so long before I began to speak, that many thought I should be ever dumb. The very furthest thing I remember is, that when I understood what was said by others, I did yet forbear to speak, lest I should utter something that were imperfect or impertinent. When I came to talk, one of the furthest inquiries I made was, how I came into this world ? I told my nurse, keeper, and others, I found myself here indeed, but from what cause or beginning, or by what means, I could not imagine ; but for this, as I was laughed at by nurse and some other women that were then present, so I was wondered at by others, who said, they never heard a child but myself ask that question ; upon which, when I came to riper years, I made this observation, which afterwards a little comforted me, that as I found myself in possession of this life, without knowing any thing of the pangs and throes my mother suffered, when yet doubtless they did not less press and afflict me than her, so I hope my soul shall pass to a better life than this without being sensible of the anguish and pains my body shall feel in death. For as I believe then I shall be transmitted to a more happy estate by God's great grace, I am confident I shall no more know how I came out of this world, than how I came into it ; and because since that time I have made verses to this purpose, I have thought fit to insert them here as a place proper for them. The argument is—

#### VITA.

PRIMA fuit quondam gentiali semine vita  
 Procurasse suas dotes, ubi plastica virtus  
 Gestiit, et vegeto molem perfundere succo,  
 Externamque suo formam cohibere recessu,  
 Dum conspirantes possint accedere causæ,  
 Et totum tuto licuit proludere foetum.

Altero materno tandem succrevit in arvo  
 Exiles spumans ubi spiritus induit artus,

Exertusque simul miro sensoria textu  
Cudit, et hospitium menti non vile paravit,  
Quæ cælo delapsa suas mox inde capessat  
Partes, et sortis tanquàm præsaga futuræ  
Corrigat ignavum pondus, nec inutile sistat.

Tertia nunc agitur, quâ scena recluditur ingens,  
Cernitur et festum cœli, terræque theatrum ;  
Congener et species, rerum variataque forma ;  
Et circumferri, motu proprioque vagari  
Contigit, et leges æternaque fœdera mundi  
Visere, et assiduo redeuntia sidera cursu.  
Unde etiam vitæ causas, nexumque tueri  
Fas erat et summum longè præsciscere Numen ;  
Dum varios mirè motus contemperet orbis,  
Et Pater, et Dominus, Custos, et conditor idem  
Audit ubique Deus ; Quid ni modò Quarta sequatur ?  
Sordibus excussis cùm mens jam purior instat,  
Auctaque doctrinis variis, virtuteque pollens  
Intendit vires, magis et sublimia spirat,  
Et tacitus cordi stimulus suffigitur imo,  
Ut velit heic quisquam sorti superesse caducæ,  
Expetiturque status fœlicior ambitiosis  
Ritibus, et sacris, et cultu religioso,  
Et nova successit melioris conscia fati  
Spes superis hærens, toto perfusaque cælo,  
Et sese sancto demittit Numen amori,  
Et data cælestis non fallax tessera vitæ,  
Cumque Deo licuit non uno jure pacisci,  
Ut mihi seu servo reddatur debita merces,  
Filius aut bona adire paterna petam, mihi sponsor  
Sit fidei Numen ; mox hanc sin exuo vitam,  
Compos jam factus melioris, tum simul uti  
Jure meo cupiam liber, meque asserit inde  
Ipse Deus (cujus non terris gratia tantum,  
Sed cælis prostat) quid ni modo Quinta sequatur,  
Et Sexta, et quicquid tandem spes ipsa requirat ?

## DE VITA CÆLESTI CONJECTURA.

TOTO lustratus genio mihi gratulor ipsi,  
Fati securus, dum nec terroribus ullis  
Dejicior, tacitos condo vel corde dolores,  
Sed lætus mediis ærumnis transigo vitam,  
Invitisque malis (quæ terras undique cingunt)  
Ardenti virtute viam super æthera quærens,  
Proxima cælestis præcepi præmia vitæ,  
Ultima prætento, divino nixus amore,  
Quo simul exuperans creperæ ludibria sortis,  
Barbara vesani linquo consortia sæcli,



Auras infernas defflans, spiransque supernas,  
Dum sanctis memet totum sic implico flammis.  
Hisce ut suffultus penetrem lacquearia cæli,  
Atque novi latè speculer magnalia mundi,  
Et notas animas, proprio jam lumine pulchras  
Invisam, superùmque choros, mentesque beatas,  
Quêis aveam miscere ignes, ac vincula sacra,  
Atque vice alternâ transire in gaudia, cælum  
Quæ dederit cunctis, ipsis aut indita nobis,  
Vel quæ communi voto sancire licebit.  
Ut deus interea cumulans sua præmia, nostrum  
Augeat inde decus, proprioque illustret amore,  
Nec cæli cælis desint, æternavè vitæ  
Sæcula, vel sæclis nova gaudia, qualia totum  
Ævum nec minuat, nec terminat infinitum.  
His major desit nec gratia Numinis alma,  
Quæ miris variata modis hæc gaudia crescant,  
Excipiatque statum quemvis fælicior alter ;  
Et quæ nec sperare datur sint præstita nobis,  
Nec, nisi sola capit quæ mens divina, supersint ;  
Quæ licet ex sese sint perfectissima longe,  
Ex nobis saltem magè condecorata videntur :  
Cum segnes animas, cælum quas indit ab ortu,  
Exacuat tantum labor ac industria nostra ;  
Ac demum poliat doctrina, et moribus illis,  
Ut redeant pulchræ, dotem cæloque reportent ;  
Quum simul arbitriis usi, mala pellimus illa,  
Quæ nec vel pepulit cælum, vel pelleretolim,  
Ex nobis ita fit jam gloria Numinis ingens,  
Auctior in cælos quoque gloria nostra redundat,  
Et quæ virtuti sint debita præmia, tandem  
Vel Numen solito reddunt fælicius ipsum.  
Amplior unde simul reddibetur Gratia nobis,  
Ut vel pro voto nostro jam singula cedant.  
Nam si libertas chara est, per amæna locorum  
Conspicua innumeris cælis discurrere fas est,  
Deliciasque loci cujusvis carpere passim.  
Altior est animo si contemplatio fixa,  
Cuncta adaperata patent nobis jam scrinia cæli,  
Arcanasque Dei rationes nôsse juvabit :  
Hujus sin repetat quisquam consortia sæcli,  
Mox agere in terris, ac procurare licebit  
Res heic humanas, et justis legibus uti !  
Sin magè cælesti jam delectamur amore,  
Solvimur in flammæ, quæ se lambuntque fœventque  
Mutuò, et impliciti sanctis ardoribus, unâ  
Surgimus amplexi, copulâ junctique tenaci,  
Partibus, et toto miscemur ubique vicissim ;  
Ardoresque novos accendit Numinis ardor.  
Sin laudare Deum lubeat, nos laudat et ipse,  
Concinit angelicusque chorus, modulamine suavi

Personat et cælum, prostant et publica nobis  
 Gaudia, et eduntur passim spectacula læta ;  
 Fitque theatralis quasi cæli machina tota.  
 Hanc mundi molem sin vis replicaverit ingens  
 Numinis, atque novas formas exculperit inde  
 Dotibus ornatas aliis, magis atque capaces ;  
 Nostras mox etiam formas renovare licebit,  
 Et dotes sensusque alios assumere, tandem  
 Consummata magis quo gaudia nostra resurgant,  
 Hæc si conjecto mortali corpori fretus  
 Corpus et exuerim, Quid ni majora recludam ?

And certainly, since in my mother's womb this plastica, or formatrix, which formed my eyes, ears, and other senses, did not intend them for that dark and noisome place, but, as being conscious of a better life, made them as fitting organs to apprehend and perceive those things which should occur in this world ; so I believe, since my coming into this world my soul hath formed or produced certain faculties which are almost as useless for this life, as the above-named senses were for the mother's womb ; and these faculties are hope, faith, love, and joy, since they never rest or fix upon any transitory or perishing object in this world, as extending themselves to something further than can be here given, and indeed acquiesce only in the perfect, eternal, and infinite. I confess they are of some use here ; yet I appeal to every body whether any worldly felicity did so satisfy their hope here, that they did not wish and hope for something more excellent ; or whether they had ever that faith in their own wisdom, or in the help of man, that they were not constrained to have recourse to some diviner and superior power than they could find on earth, to relieve them in their danger or necessity ; whether ever they could place their love on any earthly beauty, that it did not fade and wither, if not frustrate or deceive them ; or whether ever their joy was so consummate in any thing they delighted in, that they did not want much more than it, or indeed this world can afford, to make them happy. The proper objects of these faculties, therefore, though framed, or at least appearing in this world, is God only, upon whom faith, hope, and love were never placed in vain, or remain long unrequited. But to leave these discourses, and come to my childhood again ; I remember this defluxion at my ears above-mentioned continued in that violence, that my friends did not think fit to teach me so much as my alphabet, till I was seven years old, at which time my defluxion ceased, and left me free of the disease my ancestors were subject unto, being the epilepsy. My schoolmaster, in the house of my said lady grandmother, then began to teach me the alphabet, and afterwards grammar, and other books commonly read in schools, in which I profited so much, that upon this theme *Audaces fortuna juvat*, I made an oration of a sheet of paper, and fifty or sixty verses in the space of one day. I remember in that time I was corrected sometimes for going to cuffs with two school-fellows, being both elder than myself, but never for telling a lie, or any other fault ; my natural disposition and inclination being so contrary to all falsehood, that

being demanded whether I had committed any fault whereof I might be justly suspected, I did use ever to confess it freely, and thereupon choosing rather to suffer correction than to stain my mind with telling a lie, which I did judge then, no time could ever deface; and I can affirm to all the world truly, that from my first infancy to this hour I told not willingly any thing that was false, my soul naturally having an antipathy to lying and deceit. After I had attained the age of nine, during all which time I lived in my said lady grandmother's house at Eyton, my parents thought fit to send me to some place where I might learn the Welsh tongue, as believing it necessary to enable me to treat with those of my friends and tenants who understood no other language; whereupon I was recommended to Mr. Edward Thelwall, of Place-ward, in Denbighshire. This gentleman I must remember with honour, as having of himself acquired the exact knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, and all other learning, having for that purpose neither gone beyond seas, nor so much as had the benefit of any universities: besides, he was of that rare temper in governing his choler, that I never saw him angry during the time of my stay there, and have heard so much of him for many years before. When occasion of offence was given him, I have seen him redden in the face, and after remain for a while silent; but when he spake, his words were so calm and gentle, that I found he had digested his choler, though yet I confess I could never attain that perfection, as being subject ever to choler and passion more than I ought, and generally to speak my mind freely, and indeed rather to imitate those who, having fire within doors, choose rather to give it vent than suffer it to burn the house. I commend yet much more the manner of Mr. Thelwall; and certainly he that can forbear speaking for some while, will remit much of his passion; but as I could not learn much of him in this kind, so I did as little profit in learning the Welsh or any other of those languages that worthy gentleman understood, as having a tertian ague for the most part of nine months, which was all the time I stayed in his house. Having recovered my strength again, I was sent, being about the age of ten, to be taught by one Mr. Newton, at Diddlebury, in Shropshire, where, in the space of less than two years, I not only recovered all I had lost in my sickness, but attained to the knowledge of the Greek tongue and logic, in so much that at twelve years old my parents thought fit to send me to Oxford, to University College, where I remember to have disputed at my first coming in logic, and to have made in Greek the exercises required in that college, oftener than in Latin. I had not been many months in the university, but news was brought me of my father's death, his sickness being a lethargy, *caros*, or *coma vigilans*, which continued long upon him; he seemed at last to die without much pain, though in his senses. Upon opinion given by physicians that his disease was mortal, my mother thought fit to send for me home, and presently after my father's death to desire her brother Sir F. Newport to hasten to London, to obtain my wardship for his and her use jointly, which he obtained. Shortly after, I was sent again to my studies in Oxford, where I had not been long but that an overture for a match with the daughter and heir of Sir William Herbert, of St. Gillian's, was made, the



occasion whereof was this: Sir William Herbert being heir male to the old Earl of Pembroke above-mentioned, by a younger son of his (for the eldest son had a daughter who carried away those great possessions the Earl of Worcester now holds in Monmouthshire, as I said before), having one only daughter surviving, made a will whereby he estated all his possessions in Monmouthshire and Ireland upon his said daughter, upon condition she married one of the surname of Herbert, otherwise the said lands to descend to the heirs male of the said Sir William; and his daughter to have only a small portion out the lands he had in Anglesea and Carnarvonshire: his lands being thus settled, Sir William died shortly afterwards. He was a man much conversant with books, and especially given to the study of divinity, insomuch that he wrote an Exposition upon the Revelations, which is printed; though some thought he was so far from finding the sense thereof as he was from attaining the philosopher's stone, which was another part of his study: howsoever, he was very understanding in all other things, he was noted yet to be of a very high mind; but I can say little of him, as having never seen his person, nor otherwise had much information concerning him. His daughter and heir, called Mary, after her father died, continued unmarried till she was one-and-twenty, none of the Herberts appearing in all that time, who either in age or fortune was fit to match her. About this time I had attained the age of fifteen, and a match at last being proposed, yet, notwithstanding the disparity of years betwixt us, upon Feb. 28, 1598, in the house of Eyton, where the same vicar married my father and mother, christened and married me, I espoused her. Not long after my marriage I went again to Oxford, together with my wife and mother, who took a house and lived for some certain time there: and now, having a due remedy for that lasciviousness to which youth is naturally inclined, I followed my book more closely than ever; in which course I continued till I attained about the age of eighteen, when my mother took a house in London, between which place and Montgomery Castle I passed my time till I came to the age of one-and-twenty, having in that space divers children, I having none now remaining but Beatrice, Richard, and Edward. During this time of living in the university, or at home, I did, without any master or teacher, attain the knowledge of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages, by the help of some books in Latin or English, translated into those idioms, and the dictionaries of those several languages: I attained also to sing my part at first sight in music, and to play on the lute with very little or at most no teaching. My intention in learning languages being to make myself a citizen of the world as far as it were possible; and my learning of music was for this end, that I might entertain myself at home, and together refresh my mind after my studies, to which I was exceedingly inclined, and that I might not need the company of young men, in whom I observed in those times much ill example and debauchery.

Being gotten thus far into my age, I shall give some observations concerning ordinary education, even from the first infancy till the departure from the university; as being desirous, together with the narration of my life, to deliver such rules as I conceive may be useful

to my posterity. And first, I find, that in the infancy those diseases are to be remedied which may be hereditary unto them on either side ; so that, if they be subject to the stone or gravel, I do conceive it will be good for the nurse sometimes to drink posset-drinks, in which are boiled such things as are good to expel gravel and stone : the child also himself, when he comes to some age, may use the same posset-drinks of herbs, as *miliun solis*, *saxifrigia*, etc. good for the stone many are reckoned by the physicians, of which also myself could bring a large catalogue, but rather leave it to those who are expert in that art. The same course is to be taken for the gout, for which purpose I do much commend the bathing of children's legs and feet in the water wherein smiths quench their iron, as also water wherein alum hath been infused, or boiled, as also the decoction of juniper-berries, bay-berries, *chamedris*, *chamæpetis*, which baths also are good for those that are hereditarily subject to the palsy, for these things do much strengthen the sinews ; as also *olium castorii*, and *succoni*, which are not to be used without advice. They that are also subject to the spleen from their ancestors, ought to use those herbs that are splenetic; and those that are troubled with the falling sickness, with *cephaniques*, of which certainly I should have had need, but for the purging of my ears above-mentioned. Briefly, what disease soever it be that is derived from ancestors of either side, it will be necessary first to give such medicines to the nurse as may make her milk effectual for those purposes ; as also afterwards to give unto the child itself such specific remedies as his age and constitution will bear. I could say much more upon this point, as having delighted ever in the knowledge of herbs, plants, and gums, and in few words, the history of nature, inso-much that, coming to apothecaries' shops, it was my ordinary manner, when I looked upon the bills filed up, containing the physicians' prescriptions, to tell every man's disease. Howbeit, I shall not presume in these particulars to prescribe to my posterity, though I believe I know the best receipts for almost all diseases, but shall leave them to expert physicians ; only I will recommend again to my posterity the curing of hereditary diseases in the very infancy, since otherwise, without much difficulty, they will never be cured.

When children go to school, they should have one to attend them who may take care of their manners as well as the schoolmaster doth of their learning, for among boys all vice is easily learned ; and here I could wish it constantly observed, that neither the master should correct him for faults of his manners, nor his governor for manners for the faults in his learning. After the alphabet is taught, I like well the shortest and clearest grammars, and such books into which all the Greek and Latin words are severally contrived, in which kind one Comenus hath given an example : this being done, it would be much better to proceed with Greek authors than with Latin ; for as it is as easy to learn at first the one as the other, it would be much better to give the first impressions into the child's memory of those things which are more rare than usual ; therefore I would have them begin at Greek first, and the rather, that there is not that art in the world wherein the Greeks have not excelled and gone before others : so that when you look upon philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and briefly,

all learning, the Greeks have exceeded all nations. When he shall be ready to go to the university, it will be fit also his governor for manners go along with him, it being the frail nature of youth, as they grow to ripeness in age, to be more capable of doing ill, unless their manners be well guided, and themselves by degrees habituated in virtue, with which if once they acquaint themselves, they will find more pleasure in it than ever they can do in vice; since every body loves virtuous persons, whereas the vicious do scarce love one another. For this purpose, it will be necessary that you keep the company of grave, learned men, who are of good reputation, and hear rather what they say, and follow what they do, than follow the examples of young, wild, and rash persons; and certainly of those two parts which are to be acquired in youth, whereof one is goodness and virtuous manners, the other learning and knowledge, I shall so much prefer the first before the second, as I shall ever think virtue accompanied with ordinary discretion, will make his way better both to happiness in this world and the next, than any puffed knowledge which would cause him to be insolent and vain-glorious, or minister, as it were, arms and advantages to him for doing a mischief; so that it is pity that wicked dispositions should have knowledge to actuate their ill intentions, or courage to maintain them,—that fortitude which should defend all a man's virtues being never well employed to defend his humours, passions, or vices. I do not approve for elder brothers that course of study which is ordinarily used in the university, which is, if their parents perchance intend they shall stay there four or five years, to employ the said time as if they meant to proceed Masters of Art and Doctors in some science; for which purpose their tutors commonly spend much time in teaching them the subtilties of logic, which, as it is usually practised, enables them for little more than to be excellent wranglers, which art, though it may be tolerable in a mercenary lawyer, I can by no means commend in a sober and well-governed gentleman. I approve much those parts of logic which teach men to deduce their proofs from firm and undoubted principles, and shew men to distinguish betwixt truth and falsehood, and help them to discover fallacies, sophisms, and that which the schoolmen call vicious argumentations, concerning which I shall not here enter into a long discourse. So much of logic as may serve for this purpose being acquired, some good sum of philosophy may be learned, which may teach him both the ground of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy. After which, it will not be amiss to read the '*Idea Medicinæ Philosophicæ*,' written by Severnius Danus, there being many things considerable concerning the Paracelsian principles written in that book, which are not to be found in former writers: it will not be amiss also to read over Franciscus Patricius, and Tilesius, who have examined and controverted the ordinary peripatetic doctrine; all which may be performed in one year, that term being enough for philosophy, as I conceive, and six months for logic; for I am confident a man may have quickly more than he needs of these two arts. These being attained, it will be requisite to study geography with exactness, so much as may teach a man the situation of all countries in the whole world; together with which it will be fit to learn something concerning the governments, manners, religions, either ancient or new,



as also the interests of states and relations in amity, or strength in which they stand to their neighbours : it will be necessary also, at the same time, to learn the use of the celestial globe, the studies of both globes being complicated and joined together. I do not conceive yet the knowledge of judicial astrology so necessary, but only for general predictions ; particular events being neither intended by nor collected out of the stars. It will be also fit to learn arithmetic and geometry in some good measure, but especially arithmetic, it being most useful for many purposes, and among the rest for keeping accounts, whereof here is much use. As for the knowledge of lines, superficies, and bodies, though it be a science of much certainty and demonstration, it is not much useful for a gentleman, unless it be to understand fortifications, the knowledge whereof is worthy of those who intend the wars ; though yet he must remember, that whatsoever art doth in way of defence, art likewise, in way of assailing, can destroy. This study hath cost me much labour, but as yet I could never find how any place could be so fortified, but that there were means in certain opposite lines to prevent or subvert all that could be done in that kind. It will become a gentleman to have some knowledge in medicine, especially the diagnostic part, whereby he may take timely notice of a disease, and by that means timely prevent it ; as also the prognostic part, whereby he may judge of the symptoms either increasing or decreasing in the disease, as also concerning the crisis or indication thereof. This art will get a gentleman not only much knowledge, but much credit : since seeing any sick body, he will be able to tell, in all human probability, whether he shall recover, or if he shall die of the disease, to tell what signs shall go before, and what the conclusion will be. It will become him also to know not only the ingredients, but doses of certain cathartic or purging, emetic or vomitive medicines, specific or choleric, melancholic, or phlegmatic constitutions, phlebotomy being only necessary for those who abound in blood. Besides, I would have a gentleman know how to make these medicines himself, and afterwards prepare them with his own hands ; it being the manner of apothecaries so frequently to put in the succedanea, that no man is sure to find with them medicines made with the true drugs which ought to enter into the composition when it is exotic or rare ; or when they are extant in the shop, no man can be assured that the said drugs are not rotten, or that they have not lost their natural force and virtue. I have studied this art very much also, and have, in cases of extremity, ministered physic with that success which is strange, whereof I shall give two or three examples : Richard Griffiths, of Sutton, my servant, being sick of a malignant pestilent fever, and tried in vain all our country physicians could do, and his water at last stinking so grievously, which physicians note to be a sign of extension of natural heat, and consequently of present death, I was entreated to see him, when as yet he had neither eaten, drank, slept, or known anybody for the space of six or seven days ; whereupon, demanding whether the physicians had given him over, and it being answered unto me that they had, I said it would not be amiss to give him the quantity of an hazelnut of a certain rare receipt which I had, assuring, that if anything in the world could recover him, that would ; of which I was so confident,

that I would come the next day at four of the clock in the afternoon unto him, and at that time I doubted not but they should find signs of amendment, provided they should put the doses I gave them, being about the bigness of a nut, down his throat ; which being done with much difficulty, I came the morrow after at the hour appointed, when, to the wonder of his family, he knew me, and asked for some broth, and not long after recovered. My cousin Athelston Owen, also of Rhue Sayson, having an hydrocephale also in that extremity, that his eyes began to start out of his head, and his tongue to come out of his mouth, and his whole head finally exceeding its natural proportion, in-somuch that his physicians likewise left him, I prescribed to him the decoction of two diuretic roots, which after he had drank four or five days, he urined in that abundance that his head by degrees returned to its ancient figure, and all other signs of health appeared ; where-upon also he wrote a letter to me, that he was so suddenly and perfectly restored to his former health, that it seemed more like a miracle than a cure ; for those are the very words in the letter he sent me. I cured a great lady in London of an issue of blood, when all the physicians had given her over, with so easy a medicine, that the lady herself was astonished to find the effects thereof. I could give more examples in this kind, but these shall suffice ; I will for the rest deliver a rule I conceive for finding out the best receipts not only for curing all inward but outward hurts, such as are ulcers, tumours, contusions, wounds, and the like : you must look upon all pharmacopœias or antidotaries\* of several countries ; of which sort I have in my library the Pharmacopœia Londinensis, Parisiensis, Amstelodamensis, that of Quercsetau,† Bauderoni, Renadeus, Valerius Scordus, Pharmacopœia Coloniensis, Augustana, Venetiana, Vononiensis, Florentina, Romana, Messanensis ; in some of which are told not only what the receipts there set down are good for, but the doses of them. The rule I here give is, that what all the said dispensatories, antidotaries, or pharmacopœias prescribe as effectual for overcoming a disease, is certainly good ; for as they are set forth by authority of the physicians of these several countries, what they all ordain must necessarily be effectual : but they who will follow my advice, shall find in that little short antidotary called Amstelodamensis, not long since put forth, almost all that is necessary to be known for curing of diseases, wounds, etc. There is a book called Aurora Medicorum, very fit to be read in this kind. Among writers of physic, I do especially commend, after Hippocrates and Galen, Fernelius,‡ Lud. Mercatus, and Dan. Sennertus, and Heurnius. I could name many more but I conceive these may suffice. As for the chemic or spagyric medicines, I cannot commend them to the use of my posterity, there

\* Antidotaries usually make a part of the old dispensatories ; for when poisons were in fashion, antidotes were equally so.

† Josephus Quercetanus published a Pharmacopœia Dogmaticorum restituta, 1607, 4to. Paris. Bricius Bauderonus, Pharmacopœia et Praxis Medica, 1620, Paris. Johannes Renadeus, Dispensatorium Medicum, et Antidotarium, 1609, 4to. Paris. Valerius Cordus, Dispensatorium, Antw. 1568.

‡ Johannes Fernelius (Physician to Henry II. of France) published Opera Medicinalia, et Universa Medicina, 1564, 4to. et 1577, fol. Lud. Mercatus (physician to Philip II. and III. of Spain) was author of Opera Medica et Chirurgica, fol. Francof. 1620. Daniel Sennertus published Institutiones Medicinæ, 1620 ; and Johannes Heurnius a work of the same title, 1597. Lugduni.



being neither emetic, cathartic, diaphoretic, diuretic medicines extant among them, which are not much more happily and safely performed by vegetables ; but hereof enough, since I pretend no further than to give some few directions to my posterity. In the meanwhile I conceive it is a fine study, and worthy a gentleman, to be a good botanic, that so he may know the nature of all herbs and plants, being our fellow-creatures, and made for the use of man ; for which purpose it will be fit for him to cull out of some good herbal all the icones together, with the descriptions of them, and to lay by themselves all such as grow in England ; and afterwards to select again such as usually grow by the highway-side, in meadows, by rivers, or in marshes, or in corn-fields, or in dry and mountainous places, or on rocks, walls, or in shady places, such as grow by the sea-side ; for this being done, and the said icones being ordinarily carried by themselves, or by their servants, one may presently find out every herb he meets withal, especially if the said flowers be truly coloured. Afterwards it will not be amiss to distinguish by themselves such herbs as are in gardens and are exotics, and are transplanted hither. As for those plants which will not endure our clime, though the knowledge of them be worthy of a gentleman, and the virtues of them be fit to be learned, especially if they be brought over to a druggist as medicinal, yet the icones of them are not so pertinent to be known as the former, unless it be where there is less danger of adulterating the said medicaments ; in which case it is good to have recourse to not only the botanics, but also to Gesnar's Dispensatory, and to Aurora Medicorum above-mentioned, being books which make a man distinguish betwixt good and bad drugs. And thus much of medicine may not only be useful but delectable to a gentleman, since which way soever he passeth, he may find something to entertain him. I must no less commend the study of anatomy, which whosoever considers, I believe will never be an atheist ; the frame of man's body and coherence of his parts being so strange and paradoxal, that I hold it to be the greatest miracle of nature ; though when all is done, I do not find she hath made it so much as proof against one disease, lest it should be thought to have made it no less than a prison to the soul.

Having thus passed over all human literature, it will be fit to say something of moral virtues and theological learning. As for the first, since the Christians and the heathens are in a manner agreed concerning the definitions of virtues, it would not be inconvenient to begin with those definitions which Aristotle in his *Morals* hath given, as being confirmed for the most part by the Platonics, Stoics, and other philosophers, and in general by the Christian Church, as well as all nations in the world whatsoever ; they being doctrines imprinted in the soul in its first original, and containing the principal and first notices by which man may attain his happiness here or hereafter ; there being no man that is given to vice that doth not find much opposition both in his own conscience, and in the religion and law is taught elsewhere ; and this I dare say, that a virtuous man may not only go securely through all the religions, but all the laws in the world, and whatsoever obstructions he meets, obtain both an inward peace and outward welcome among all with whom he shall negotiate or converse : this virtue,



therefore, I shall recommend to my posterity as the greatest perfection he can attain unto in this life, and the pledge of eternal happiness hereafter ; there being none that can justly hope of an union with the supreme God, that doth not come as near to him in this life in virtue and goodness as he can ; so that if human frailty do interrupt this union by committing faults that make him incapable of his everlasting happiness, it will be fit, by a serious repentance, to expiate and emasculate those faults, and for the rest trust to the mercy of God, his Creator, Redeemer, and Preserver, who being our Father, and knowing well in what a weak condition through infirmities we are, will, I doubt not, commiserate those transgressions we commit, when they are done without desire to offend His Divine Majesty, and together rectify our understanding through His grace : since we commonly sin through no other cause, but that we mistook a true good for that which was only apparent, and so were deceived, by making an undue election in the objects proposed to us ; wherein, though it will be fit for every man to confess that he hath offended an infinite Majesty and Power, yet, as upon better consideration he finds he did not mean infinitely to offend, there will be just reason to believe that God will not inflict an infinite punishment upon him if he be truly penitent, so that His justice may be satisfied, if not with man's repentance, yet at least with some temporal punishment here or hereafter, such as may be proportionable to the offence ; though I cannot deny but when man would infinitely offend God in a despicable and contemptuous way, it will be just that he suffer an infinite punishment : but as I hope none are so wicked as to sin purposely and with an high hand against the eternal majesty of God, so when they shall commit any sins out of frailty, I shall believe either that unless they be finally impenitent, and (as they say) sold ingeniously over to sin, God's mercy will accept of their endeavours to return into a right way, and so make their peace with him by all those good means that are possible. Having thus recommended the learning of moral philosophy and practice of virtue, as the most necessary knowledge and useful exercise of man's life, I shall observe, that even in the employing of our virtues, discretion is required ; for every virtue is not promiscuously to be used, but such only as is proper for the present occasion. Therefore, though a wary and discreet wisdom be most useful where no imminent danger appears, yet, where an enemy draweth his sword against you, you shall have most use of fortitude, prevention being too late, when the danger is so pressing. On the other side, there is no occasion to use your fortitude against wrongs done by women or children, or ignorant persons, that I may say nothing of those that are much your superiors, who are magistrates, etc. since you might by a discreet wisdom have declined the injury, or when it were too late to do so, you may with more equal mind support that which is done, either by authority in the one, or frailty in the other. And certainly to such kind of persons forgiveness will be proper ; in which kind I am confident no man of my time hath exceeded me ; for though whensoever my honour hath been engaged, no man hath ever been more forward to hazard his life, yet where with my honour I could forgive, I never used revenge, as leaving it always to God, who, the less I punish mine enemies, will inflict so much the more punish-

ment on them ; \* and to this forgiveness of others three considerations have especially invited me.

1. That he that cannot forgive others, breaks the bridge over which he must pass himself, for every man hath need to be forgiven. 2. That when a man wants or comes short of an entire and accomplished virtue, our defects may be supplied this way, since the forgiving of evil deeds in others amounteth to no less than virtue in us ; that therefore it may be not unaptly called the paying our debts with another man's money. 3. That it is the most necessary and proper work of every man ; for, though when I do not a just thing, or a charitable, or a wise, another man may do it for me, yet no man can forgive my enemy but myself : and these have been the chief motives for which I have been ever inclined to forgiveness ; whereof, though I have rarely found other effect than that my servants, tenants, and neighbours, have thereupon more frequently offended me, yet at least I have had within me an inward peace and comfort thereby, since I can truly say, nothing ever gave my mind more ease than when I had forgiven my enemies, which freed me from many cares and perturbations, which otherwise would have molested me.

And this likewise brings in another rule concerning the use of virtues, which is, that you are not to use justice where mercy is most proper ; as, on the other side, a foolish pity is not to be preferred before that which is just and necessary for good example. So likewise liberality is not to be used where parsimony or frugality is more requisite ; as, on the other side, it will be but a sordid thing in a gentleman to spare where expending of money would acquire unto him advantage, credit, or honour : and this rule in general ought to be practised, that the virtue requisite to the occasion is ever to be produced, as the most opportune and necessary. That, therefore, wisdom is the soul of all virtues, giving them, as unto her members, life and motion, and so necessary in every action, that whosoever by the benefit of true wisdom makes use of the right virtue on all emergent occasions, I dare say would never be constrained to have recourse to vice, whereby it appears that every virtue is not to be employed indifferently, but that only which is proper for the business in question ; among which yet temperance seems so universally requisite, that some part of it at least will be a necessary ingredient in all human actions, since there may be an excess even in religious worship, at those times when other duties are required at our hands. After all, moral virtues are learned and directed to the service and glory of God, as the principal end and use of them.

It would be fit that some time be spent in learning rhetoric or oratory, to the intent that upon all occasions you may express yourself

\* This is a very unchristian reason for pardoning our enemies, and can by no means be properly called forgiveness. Is it forgiveness to remit a punishment, on the hope of its being doubled ? One of the most exceptionable passages in Shakspeare is the horrid reflection of Hamlet, that he will not kill the king at his prayers, lest he send him to heaven.—*And so am I revenged ?* Such sentiments should always be marked and condemned, especially in authors, who certainly do not mean to preach up malice and revenge. His lordship's other reasons are better founded, though still selfish. He does not appear a humane philosopher, till he owns that he continued to forgive, though he found that it encouraged new injuries. The beauty of virtue consists in doing right, though to one's own prejudice.

with eloquence and grace; for as it is not enough for a man to have a diamond, unless it is polished and cut out into its due angles, and a foil be set underneath, whereby it may the better transmit and vibrate its native lustre and rays; so it will not be sufficient for a man to have a great understanding in all matters, unless the said understanding be not only polished and clear, but underset and holpen a little with those figures, tropes, and colours which rhetoric affords, where there is use of persuasion. I can by no means yet commend an affected eloquence, there being nothing so pedantical, or indeed that would give more suspicion that the truth is not intended, than to use overmuch the common forms prescribed in schools. It is well said by them, that there are two parts of eloquence necessary and recommendable; one is, to speak hard things plainly, so that when a knotty or intricate business, having no method or coherence in its parts, shall be presented, it will be a singular part of oratory to take those parts asunder, set them together aptly, and so exhibit them to the understanding. And this part of rhetoric I much commend to every body, there being no true use of speech but to make things clear, perspicuous, and manifest, which otherwise would be perplexed, doubtful, and obscure.

The other part of oratory is to speak common things ingeniously or wittily, there being no little vigour and force added to words, when they are delivered in a neat and fine way, and somewhat out of the ordinary road, common and dull language relishing more of the clown than the gentleman. But herein also affectation must be avoided; it being better for a man by a native and clear eloquence to express himself, than by those words which may smell either of the lamp or ink-horn; so that, in general, one may observe that men who fortify and uphold their speeches with strong and evident reasons, have ever operated more on the minds of the auditors, than those who have made rhetorical excursions.

It will be better for a man who is doubtful of his pay to take an ordinary silver piece with its due stamp upon it, than an extraordinary gilded piece, which may perchance contain a baser metal under it; and prefer a well-favoured wholesome woman, though with a tawny complexion, before a besmeared and painted face.

It is a general note, that a man's wit is best shewed in his answer, and his valour in his defence; that therefore as men learn in fencing how to ward all blows and thrusts which are or can be made against him, so it will be fitting to debate and resolve beforehand what you are to say or do upon any affront given you, least otherwise you should be surprised. Aristotle hath written a book of rhetoric, a work in my opinion not inferior to his best pieces, whom therefore with Cicero de Oratore, as also Quintilian, you may read for your instruction how to speak, neither of which two yet I can think so exact in their orations, but that a middle style will be of more efficacy, Cicero in my opinion being too long and tedious, and Quintilian too short and concise.

Having thus by moral philosophy enabled yourself to all that wisdom and goodness which is requisite to direct you in all your particular actions, it will be fit now to think how you are to behave yourself as a public person, or member of the commonwealth and kingdom wherein you live; as also to look into those principles and grounds



upon which government is framed, it being manifest in nature that the wise doth easily govern the foolish, and the strong master the weak ; so that he that could attain most wisdom and power, would quickly rule his fellows ; for proof whereof, one may observe that a king is sick during that time the physicians govern him, and in day of battle an expert general appoints the king a place in which he shall stand, which was anciently the office of the constables de France. In law also, the judge is in a sort superior to his king, as long as he judgeth betwixt him and his people. In divinity also, he to whom the king commits the charge of his conscience, is his superior in that particular. All which instances may sufficiently prove, that in many cases the wiser governs or commands one less wise than himself, unless a wilful obstinacy be interposed ; in which case recourse must be had to strength where obedience is necessary.

The exercises I chiefly used, and most recommend to my posterity, were riding the great horse and fencing, in which arts I had excellent masters, English, French, and Italian ; as for dancing, I could never find leisure enough to learn it, as employing my mind always in acquiring of some art or science more useful ; howbeit, I shall wish these three exercises learned in this order :

That dancing may be learned first, as that which doth fashion the body, gives one a good presence in and address to all companies, since it disposeth the limbs to a kind of *souplesse* (as the Frenchmen call it) and agility, insomuch as they seem to have the use of their legs, arms, and bodies, more than any others, who, standing stiff and stark in their postures, seem as if they were taken in their joints, or had not the perfect use of their members. I speak not this yet as if I would have a youth never stand still in company, but only that, when he hath occasion to stir, his motions may be comely and graceful ; that he may learn to know how to come in and go out of a room where company is ; how to make courtesies handsomely, according to the several degrees of persons he shall encounter ; how to put off and hold his hat ; all which, and many other things which become men, are taught by the more accurate dancing-masters in France.

The next exercise a young man should learn (but not before he is eleven or twelve years of age) is fencing ; for the attaining of which the Frenchman's rule is excellent, *bon pied, bon œil*, by which to teach men how far they may stretch out their feet when they would make a thrust against their enemy, lest either should overstride themselves, or not striding far enough, fail to bring the point of their weapon home : the second part of his direction adviseth the scholar to keep a fixed eye upon the point of his enemy's sword, to the intent he may both put by or ward the blows and thrusts made against him, and together direct the point of his sword upon some part of his enemy that lieth naked and open to him.

The good fencing-masters, in France especially, when they present a foil or fleuret to their scholars, tell him it hath two parts, one of which he calleth the fort, or strong, and the other the foible, or weak. With the fort, or strong, which extends from the part of the hilt next the sword about a third part of the whole length, thereof he teacheth his scholars to defend themselves, and put by and ward the thrusts

and blows of his enemy, and with the other two third parts to strike or thrust, as he shall see occasion ; which rule also teacheth how to strike or thrust high or low as his enemy doth, and briefly to take his measure and time upon his adversary's motions, whereby he may both defend himself or offend his adversary, of which I have had much experiment and use, both in the fleuret, or foil, as also when I fought in good earnest with many persons at one and the same time, as will appear in the sequel of my life. And, indeed, I think I shall not speak vain-gloriously of myself, if I say, that no man understood the use of his weapon better than I did, or hath more dexterously prevailed himself thereof on all occasions ; since I found no man could be hurt but through some error in fencing.

I spent much time also in learning to ride the great horse, that creature being made above all others for the service of man, as giving his rider all the advantages of which he is capable, while sometimes he gives him strength, sometimes agility or motion, for the overcoming of his enemy, insomuch that a good rider on a good horse, is as much above himself and others, as this world can make him. The rule for graceful riding is, that a man hold his eyes always betwixt the two ears, and his rod over the left ear of his horse, which he is to use for turning him every way, helping himself with his left foot, and rod upon the left part of his neck, to make his horse turn on the right hand, and with the right foot and help of his rod also (if needs be), to turn him on the left hand ; but this is to be used rather when one would make a horse understand these motions, than when he is a ready horse, the foot and stirrup alone applied to either shoulder being sufficient, with the help of the reins, to make him turn any way. That a rider thus may have the use of his sword, or when it is requisite only to make a horse go sideways, it will be enough to keep the reins equal in his hand, and with the flat of his leg and foot together, and a touch upon the shoulder of the horse with the stirrup, to make him go sideward either way, without either advancing forward or returning backwards.

The most useful *aer*, as the Frenchmen term it, is *terrerr* ; the *courbettes*, *cabrioies*, or *un pas et un sault*, being fitter for horses of parade and triumph than for soldiers ; yet I cannot deny but a *demivolte* with *courbettes*, so that they be not too high, may be useful in a fight or meslee, for, as Labroue hath it in his book of horsemanship, Monsieur de Montmorency having a horse that was excellent in performing the *demivolte*, did with his sword strike down two adversaries from their horses in a tourney, where divers of the prime gallants of France did meet ; for taking his time when the horse was in the height of his *courbette*, and discharging a blow, then his sword fell with such weight and force upon the two cavaliers one after another, that he struck them from their horses to the ground.

The manner of fighting a duel on horseback I was taught thus : we had each of us a reasonable stiff riding-rod in our hands, about the length of a sword, and so rid one against the other ; he, as the more expert, sat still to pass me, and then to get behind me, and after to turn with his right hand upon my left side with his rod, that so he might hit me with the point thereof in the body ; and he that can do this handsomely, is sure to overcome his adversary, it being impossible

to bring his sword about enough to defend himself or offend the assailant ; and to get this advantage, which they call in French *gagner la crouppe*, nothing is so useful as to make a horse to go only sideward until his adversary be past him, since he will by this means avoid his adversary's blow or thrust, and on a sudden get on the left hand of his adversary, in the manner I formerly related : but of this art let Labroue and Pluvinel\* be read, who are excellent masters in that art, of whom I must confess I learned much ; though, to speak ingeniously, my breaking two or three colts, and teaching them afterwards those *aers* of which they were most capable, taught me both what I was to do, and made me see mine errors, more than all their precepts.

To make a horse fit for the wars, and embolden him against all terrors, these inventions are useful ; to beat a drum out of the stable first, and then give him his provender, then beat a drum in the stable by degrees, and then give him his provender upon the drum : when he is acquainted herewith sufficiently, you must shoot off a pistol out of the stable, before he hath his provender ; then you may shoot off a pistol in the stable, and so by degrees bring it as near to him as you can till he be acquainted with the pistol, likewise remembering still after every shot to give him more provender. You must also cause his groom to put on bright armour, and so to rub his heels and dress him : you must also present a sword before him in the said armour, and when you have done, give him still some more provender : lastly, his rider must bring his horse forth into the open field, where a bright armour must be fastened upon a stake, and set forth in the likeness of an armed man as much as possible ; which being done, the rider must put his horse on till he make him not only approach the said image, but throw it down ; which being done, you must be sure to give him some provender, that he may be encouraged to do the like against an adversary in battle. It will be good also that two men do hold up a cloak betwixt them in the field, and then the rider to put the horse to it till he leap over, which cloak also they may raise as they see occasion, when the horse is able to leap so high. You shall do well also to use your horse to swimming, which you may do either by trailing him after you at the tail of a boat, in a good river, holding him by the head at the length of the bridle, or by putting a good swimmer, in a linen waistcoat and breeches, upon him.

It will be fit for a gentleman also to learn to swim, unless he be given to cramps and convulsions ; howbeit, I must confess, in my own particular, that I cannot swim, for as I was once in danger of drowning by learning to swim, my mother upon her blessing charged me never to learn swimming, telling me farther, that she had heard of more drowned than saved by it ; which reason, though it did not prevail with me, yet her commandment did. It will be good also for a gentleman to learn to leap, wrestle, and vault on horseback, they being all of them qualities of great use. I do much approve likewise of shoot-

\* Antoine de Pluvinel, principal ecuyer de Louis treize, roi de France. He published a very fine folio, in French and Dutch, entitled, ' Instruction du Roi en l'exercice de monter à cheval.' Paris, 1619. It consists of dialogues between the young king, the Duc de Bellegarde, and himself ; and is adorned with a great number of beautiful cuts by Crispin Pass, exhibiting the whole system of the manege, and with many portraits of the great and remarkable men of that court.



ing in the long bow, as being both an healthful exercise, and useful for the wars, notwithstanding all that our firemen speak against it ; for, bring a hundred archers against so many musqueteers, I say if the archer comes within his distance, he will not only make two shoots, but two hits for one.

The exercises I do not approve of are riding of running horses, there being much cheating in that kind ; neither do I see why a brave man should delight in a creature whose chief use is to help him to run away. I do not much like of hunting horses, that exercise taking up more time than can be spared from a man studious to get knowledge ; it is enough, therefore, to know the sport, if there be any in it, without making it an ordinary practice ; and indeed of the two, hawking is the better, because less time is spent in it : and upon these terms also I can allow a little bowling, so that the company be choice and good.

The exercises I wholly condemn, are dicing and carding, especially if you play for any great sum of money, or spend any time in them, or use to come to meetings in dicing-houses, where cheaters meet and cozen young gentlemen of all their money. I could say much more concerning all these points of education, and particularly concerning the discreet civility which is to be observed in communication either with friends or strangers, but this work would grow too big, and that many precepts conducing thereunto may be had in ‘Guazzo de la Civile Conversation,’ and ‘Galeteus de Moribus.’

It would also deserve a particular lecture or *recherche*, how one ought to behave himself with children, servants, tenants, and neighbours ; and I am confident that precepts in this point will be found more useful to young gentlemen, than all the subtilties of schools. I confess I have collected many things to this purpose, which I forbear to set down here, because (if God grant me life and health) I intend to make a little treatise concerning these points. I shall return now to the narration of mine own history.

When I had attained the age betwixt eighteen or nineteen years, my mother, together with myself and wife, removed up to London, where we took house, and kept a greater family than became either my mother’s widow’s estate, or such young beginners as we were, especially since six brothers and three sisters were to be provided for, my father having made either no will, or such an imperfect one, that it was not proved. My mother, although she had all my father’s leases and goods, which were of great value, yet she desired me to undertake that burden of providing for my brothers and sisters ; which, to gratify my mother, as well as those so near me, I was voluntarily content to provide thus far, as to give my six brothers 30*l.* apiece yearly, during their lives, and my sisters 1000*l.* apiece, which portions married them to those I have above-mentioned : my younger sister, indeed, might have been married to a far greater fortune, had not the overthwartness of some neighbours interrupted it.

About the year of our Lord 1600, I came to London, shortly after which the attempt of the Earl of Essex, related in our history, followed, which I had rather were seen in the writers of that argument than here. Not long after this, curiosity, rather than ambition, brought me to court ; and, as it was the manner of those times for all men to

kneel down before the great Queen Elizabeth, who then reigned, I was likewise upon my knees in the presence chamber, when she passed by to the chapel at Whitehall. As soon as she saw me she stopped, and swearing her usual oath, demanded, 'Who is this?' Every body there present looked upon me, but no man knew me, until Sir James Croft, a pensioner, finding the queen stayed, returned back and told who I was, and that I had married Sir William Herbert of St. Gillian's daughter. The queen hereupon looked attentively upon me, and swearing again her ordinary oath, said, 'It is pity he was married so young;' and thereupon gave her hand to kiss twice, both times gently clapping me on the cheek. I remember little more of myself, but that from that time until King James's coming to the crown, I had a son, which died shortly afterwards, and that I attended my studies seriously, the more I learnt out of my books adding still a desire to know more.

King James being now acknowledged king, and coming towards London, I thought fit to meet his majesty at Burley, near Stamford. Shortly after I was made Knight of the Bath, with the usual ceremonies belonging to that ancient order. I could tell how much my person was commended by the lords and ladies that came to see the solemnity then used, but I shall flatter myself too much if I believed it.

I must not forget yet the ancient custom, being that some principal person was to put on the right spur of those the king had appointed to receive that dignity: the Earl of Shrewsbury seeing my esquire there with my spur in his hand, voluntarily came to me and said, 'Cousin, I believe you will be a good knight, and therefore I will put on your spur;' whereupon after my most humble thanks for so great a favour, I held up my leg against the wall, and he put on my spur.

There is another custom likewise, that the knights the first day wear the gown of some religious order, and the night following to be bathed; after which they take an oath never to sit in place where injustice should be done, but they shall right it to the uttermost of their power; and particularly ladies and gentlewomen that shall be wronged in their honour, if they demand assistance, and many other points, not unlike the romances of knight errantry.

The second day to wear robes of crimson taffety (in which habit I am painted in my study), and so to ride from St. James's to Whitehall, with our esquires before us; and the third day to wear a gown of purple satin, upon the left sleeve whereof is fastened certain strings weaved of white silk and gold tied in a knot, and tassels to it of the same, which all the knights are obliged to wear until they have done something famous in arms, or until some lady of honour take it off, and fasten it on her sleeve, saying, I will answer he shall prove a good knight. I had not long worn this string, but a principal lady of the court, and certainly, in most men's opinion, the handsomest,\* took mine off, and said she would pledge her honour for mine. I do not name this lady, because some passages happened afterwards, which oblige me to silence, though nothing could be justly said to her prejudice or wrong.

\* It is impossible, perhaps, at this distance of time, to ascertain who this lady was; but there is no doubt of her being the same person mentioned afterwards, whom he calls 'the fairest of her time.'

Shortly after this I intended to go with Charles Earl of Nottingham, the lord admiral, who went to Spain to take the king's oath for confirmation of the articles of peace betwixt the two crowns; howbeit, by the industry of some near me, who desired to stay me at home, I was hindered, and instead of going that voyage, was made sheriff of Montgomeryshire, concerning which I will say no more, but that I bestowed the place of under-sheriff, as also other places in my gifts freely, without either taking gift or reward; which custom also I have observed throughout the whole course of my life; insomuch that when I was ambassador in France, and might have had great presents, which former ambassadors accepted, for doing lawful courtesies to merchants and others, yet no gratuity, upon what terms soever, could ever be fastened upon me.

This public duty did not hinder me yet to follow my beloved studies in a country life for the most part; although sometimes also I resorted to court, without yet that I had any ambition there, and much less was tainted with those corrupt delights incident to the times; for, living with my wife in all conjugal loyalty for the space of about ten years after my marriage, I wholly declined the allurements and temptations whatsoever, which might incline me to violate my marriage bed.

About the year 1608, my two daughters, called Beatrice and Florence, who lived not yet long after, and one son Richard being born, and come to so much maturity, that, though in their mere childhood, they gave no little hopes of themselves for the future time, I called them all before my wife, demanding how she liked them, to which she answering, well; I demanded then, whether she was willing to do so much for them as I would? whereupon she replying, demanded what I meant by that. I told her, that for my part I was but young for a man, and she not old for a woman; that our lives were in the hands of God; that, if He pleased to call either of us away, that party which remained might marry again, and have children by some other, to which our estates might be disposed; for preventing whereof I thought fit to motion to her, that if she would assure upon the son any quantity of lands from 300*l.* a year to 1000*l.* I would do the like: but my wife not approving hereof, answered in these express words, that she would not draw the cradle upon her head; whereupon, I desiring her to advise better upon the business, and to take some few days' respite for that purpose, she seemed to depart from me not very well contented. About a week or ten days afterwards, I demanded again what she thought concerning the motion I made, to which yet she said no more, but that she thought she had already answered me sufficiently to the point. I told her then, that I should make another motion to her, which was, that in regard I was too young to go beyond sea before I married her, she now would give me leave for a while to see foreign countries; howbeit, if she would assure her lands as I would mine, in the manner above-mentioned, I would never depart from her: she answered, that I knew her mind before concerning that point, yet that she should be sorry I went beyond sea, nevertheless, if I would needs go, she could not help it. This, whether a licence taken or given, served my turn to prepare without delay, for a journey beyond sea, that so I might satisfy that curiosity I long since had to see foreign



countries : so that I might leave my wife so little discontented as I could. I left her not only posterity to renew the family of the Herberts of St. Gillian's, according to her father's desire, to inherit his lands, but the rents of all the lands she brought with her, reserving mine own partly to pay my brothers' and sisters' portions, and defraying my charges abroad. Upon which terms, though I was sorry to leave my wife, as having lived most honestly with her all this time, I thought it no such unjust ambition to attain the knowledge of foreign countries, especially since I had in great part already attained the languages, and that I intended not to spend any long time out of my country.

Before I departed yet, I left her with child of a son, christened afterwards by the name of Edward ; and now coming to court, I obtained a licence to go beyond sea, taking with me for my companion Mr. Aurelian Townsend, a gentleman that spoke the languages of French, Italian, and Spanish in great perfection, and a man to wait in my chamber, who spoke French, two lackeys, and three horses. Coming thus to Dover, and passing the seas thence to Calais, I journeyed without any memorable adventure, till I came to Fauxbourg St. Germans, in Paris, where Sir George Carew, then ambassador for the king, lived ; I was kindly received by him, and often invited to his table. Next to his house dwelt the Duke of Vantadour, who had married a daughter of Monsieur de Montmorency, Grand Constable de France ; many visits being exchanged between that duchess and the lady of our ambassador, it pleased the duchess to invite me to her father's house, at the castle of Merlou, being about 24 miles from Paris ; and here I found much welcome from that brave old general,\* who being informed of my name, said he knew well of what family I was ; telling, the first notice he had of the Herberts was at the siege of St. Quintence, where my grandfather, with a command of foot under William Earl of Pembroke, was. Passing two or three days here, it happened one evening that a daughter of the duchess, of about ten or eleven years of age, going one evening from the castle to walk in the meadows, myself, with divers French gentlemen, attended her and some gentlewomen that were with her. This young lady wearing a knot of riband on her head, a French chevalier took it suddenly, and fastened it to his hatband : the young lady, offended herewith, demands her riband, but he refusing to restore it, the young lady addressing herself to me, said, ' Monsieur, I pray get my riband from that gentleman ; ' hereupon going towards him, I courteously, with my hat in my hand, desired him to do me the honour, that I may deliver the lady her riband or bouquet again ; but he roughly answering me, ' Do you think ' I will give it you, when I have refused it to her ? ' I replied, ' Nay ' then, sir, I will make you restore it by force ; ' whereupon also, putting on my hat and reaching at his, he to save himself ran away, and, after

\* Henry de Montmorency, second son of the great Constable Anne de Montmorency, who was killed at the battle of St. Denis, 1567, and brother of Duke Francis, another renowned warrior and statesman. Henry was no less distinguished in both capacities, and gained great glory at the battles of Dreux and St. Denis. He was made constable by Henry IV. though he could neither read nor write, and died in the habit of St. Francis, 1614. He was father of the gallant but unfortunate Duke Henry, the last of that illustrious and ancient line, who took for their motto, ' Dieu ayde au premier Chretien.' The Duchess of Vantadour, mentioned above, was Margaret, second daughter of the constable, and wife of Anne de Levi, Duke of Vantadour

a long course in the meadow, finding that I had almost overtook him, he turned short, and running to the young lady, was about to put the riband on her hand, when I, seizing upon his arm, said to the young lady, 'It was I that gave it.' 'Pardon me,' quoth she, 'it is he that gives it me.' I said then, 'Madam, I will not contradict you, but if he dare say that I did not constrain him to give it, I will fight with him.' The French gentleman answered nothing thereunto for the present, and so conducted the young lady again to the castle. The next day I desired Mr. Aurelian Townsend to tell the French cavalier, that either he must confess that I constrained him to restore the riband, or fight with me ; but the gentleman seeing him unwilling to accept of this challenge, went out from the place, whereupon I following him, some of the gentlemen that belonged to the constable taking notice hereof, acquainted him therewith, who sending for the French cavalier, checked him well for his sauciness, in taking the riband away from his grandchild, and afterwards bid him depart his house ; and this was all that I ever heard of the gentleman, with whom I proceeded in that manner, because I thought myself obliged thereunto by the oath\* taken when I was made Knight of the Bath, as I formerly related upon this occasion.

I must remember also, that three other times I engaged myself to challenge men to fight with me, who I conceived had injured ladies and gentlewomen ; one was in defence of my cousin Sir F. Newport's daughter, who was married to John Barker, of Hamon, whose younger brother and heir sent him a challenge, which to this day he never answered, and would have beaten him afterwards, but that I was hindered by my uncle Sir F. Newport.

I had another occasion to challenge one Capt. Vaughan, who I conceived offered some injury to my sister the Lady Jones, of Abarmarlas. I sent him a challenge, which he accepted, the place between us being appointed beyond Greenwich, with seconds on both sides : hereupon I coming to the King's Head, in Greenwich, with intention the next morning to be in the place, I found the house beset with at least a hundred persons, partly sent by the lords of the privy council, who gave order to apprehend me. I hearing thereof, desired my servant to bring my horses as far as he could from my lodging, but yet within sight of me ; which being done, and all this company coming to lay hold on me, I and my second, who was my cousin James Price, of Hanachly, sallied out of the doors, with our swords drawn, and in spite of that multitude made our way to our horses, where my servant very honestly opposing himself against those who would have laid hands upon us, while we got upon horseback, was himself laid hold on by them, and evil treated ; which I perceiving, rid back again, and with my sword in my hand rescued him, and afterwards seeing him get on horseback, charged them to go any where rather than to follow me. Riding afterwards with my second to the place appointed, I

\* This oath is one remnant of a superstitious and romantic age, which an age, calling itself enlightened, still retains. The solemn service at the investiture of knights, which has not the least connexion with anything holy, is a piece of the same profane pageantry. The oath being no longer supposed to bind, it is strange mockery to invoke Heaven on so trifling an occasion. It would be more strange, if every knight, like the too conscientious Lord Herbert, thought himself bound to cut a man's throat every time a miss lost her topknot !

found nobody there, which, as I heard afterwards, happened, because the lords of the council taking notice of this difference, apprehended him, and charged him in his majesty's name not to fight with me ; since otherwise I believed he would not have failed.

The third that I questioned in this kind was a Scotch gentleman, who taking a riband in the like manner from Mrs. Middlemore, a maid of honour, as was done from the young lady above-mentioned, in a backroom behind Queen Anne's lodgings in Greenwich ; she likewise desired me to get her the said riband ; I repaired, as formerly, to him in a courteous manner to demand it, but he refusing as the French cavalier did, I caught him by the neck, and had almost thrown him down, when company came in and parted us. I offered likewise to fight with this gentleman, and came to the place appointed by Hyde Park ; but this also was interrupted by order of the lords of the council, and I never heard more of him.

These passages, though different in time, I have related here together, both for the similitude of argument, and that it may appear how strictly I held myself to my oath of knighthood ; since for the rest I can truly say, that though I have lived in the armies and courts of the greatest princes in christendom, yet I never had a quarrel with man for mine own sake ; so that, although in mine own nature I was ever cholerick and hasty, yet I never, without occasion given, quarrelled with any body, and as little did any body attempt to give me offence, as having as clear a reputation for my courage as whosoever of my time. For my friends often I have hazarded myself, but never yet drew my sword for my own sake singly, as hating ever the doing of injury, contenting myself only to resent them when they were offered me. After this digression I shall return to my history.

That brave constable in France testifying now more than formerly his regard of me, at his departure from Merlou to his fair house at Chantilly, five or six miles distant, said, he left that castle to be commanded by me, as also his forests and chases, which were well stored with wild boar and stag, and that I might hunt them when I pleased. He told me also, that if I would learn to ride the great horse, he had a stable there of some fifty, the best and choicest as was thought in France ; and that his escuyer, called Monsieur de Disancour, nor inferior to Pluvenal or Labrove, should teach me. I did with great thankfulness accept his offer, as being very much addicted to the exercise of riding great horses ; and as for hunting in his forests, I told him I should use it sparingly, as being desirous to preserve his game. He commanded also his escuyer to keep a table for me, and his pages to attend me, the chief of whom was Monsieur de Mennon, who, proving to be one of the best horsemen in France, keeps now an academy in Paris ; and here I shall recount a little passage betwixt him and his master, that the inclination of the French at that time may appear ; there being scarce any man thought worth the looking on, that had not killed some other in duel.

Mennon desiring to marry a niece of Monsieur Disancour, who it was thought should be his heir, was thus answered by him : ' Friend, 'it is not time yet to marry ; I will tell you what you must do : if you 'will be a brave man, you must first kill in single combat two or three



'men, then afterwards marry and engender two or three children, or 'the world will neither have got nor lost by you ;' of which strange counsel, Disancour was no otherwise the author than as he had been an example, at least of the former part ; it being his fortune to have fought three or four brave duels in his time.

And now, as every morning I mounted the great horse, so in the afternoons I many times went a hunting, the manner of which was this : the Duke of Montmorency having given orders to the tenants of the town of Merlou, and some villages adjoining, to attend me when I went a hunting, they upon my summons, usually repaired to those woods where I intended to find my game, with drums and muskets, to the number of 60 or 80, and sometimes 100 or more persons ; they entering the wood on that side with that noise, discharging their pieces and beating their drums, we on the other side of the wood having placed mastiffs and greyhounds, to the number of 20 or 30, which Monsieur de Montmorency kept near his castle, expected those beasts they should force out of the wood : if stags or wild boars came forth, we commonly spared them, pursuing only the wolves, which were there in great number, of which are found two sorts : the mastiff wolf, thick and short, though he could not indeed run fast, yet would fight with our dogs ; the greyhound wolf, long and swift, who many times escaped our best dogs, though when he were overtaken, easily killed by us, without making much resistance. Of both these sorts I killed divers with my sword, while I stayed there.

One time also it was my fortune to kill a wild boar in this manner : the boar being roused from his den, fled before our dogs for a good space ; but finding them press him hard, turned his head against our dogs, and hurt three or four of them very dangerously : I came on horseback up to him, and with my sword thrust him twice or thrice without entering his skin, the blade being not so stiff as it should be : the boar hereupon turned upon me, and much endangered my horse, which I perceiving, rid a little out of the way, and leaving my horse with my lackey, returned with my sword against the boar, who by this time had hurt more dogs ; and here happened a pretty kind of fight, for when I thrust at the boar sometimes with my sword, which in some places I made enter, the boar would run at me, whose tusks yet by stepping a little out of the way I avoided, but he then turning upon me, the dogs came in, and drew him off, so that he fell upon them, which I perceiving, ran at the boar with my sword again, which made him turn upon me, but then the dogs pulled him from me again, while so relieving one another by turns, we killed the boar. At this chase Monsieur Disancour and Mennon were present, as also Mr. Townsend, yet so as they did endeavour rather to withdraw me from, than assist me in the danger. Of which boar, some part being well seasoned and larded, I presented to my uncle Sir F. Newport, in Shropshire, and found most excellent meat.

Thus having passed a whole summer, partly in these exercises, and partly in visits of the Duke of Montmorency, at his fair house in Chantilly, which, for its extraordinary fairness and situation, I shall here describe.

A little river descending from some higher grounds, in a country

which was almost all his own, and falling at last upon a rock in the middle of a valley, which, to keep its way forwards, it must on one or other side thereof have declined. Some of the ancestors of the Montmorencies, to ease the river of this labour, made divers channels through this rock, to give it a free passage, dividing the rock by that means into little islands, upon which he built a great strong castle, joined together with bridges, and sumptuously furnished with hangings of silk and gold, rare pictures and statues; all which buildings united, as I formerly told, were encompassed about with water, which was paved with stone (those which were used in the building of the house were drawn from thence). One might see the huge carps, pike, and trouts, which were kept in several divisions, gliding along the waters very easily; yet nothing in my opinion added so much to the glory of this castle, as a forest adjoining close to it, and upon a level with the house; for being of a very large extent, and set thick both with tall trees and underwood, the whole forest, which was replenished with wild boar, stag, and roe-deer, was cut out into long walks every way, so that, although the dogs might follow their chase through the thickets, the huntsmen might ride along the said walks, and meet or overtake their game in some one of them, they being cut with that art, that they led to all the parts in the said forest; and here also I have hunted the wild boar divers times, both then and afterwards, when his son, the Duke of Montmorency, succeeded him in the possession of that incomparable place.

And there I cannot but remember the direction the old constable gave me to return to his castle out of this admirable labyrinth; telling me, I should look upon what side the trees were roughest and hardest, which being found, I might be confident that part stood northward, which being observed, I might easily find the east, as being on the right hand, and so guide my way home.

How much this house, together with the forest, hath been valued by great princes, may appear by two little narratives I shall here insert. Charles V. the great emperor, passing in the time of Fransoy I. from Spain into the Low-Countries, by the way of France, was entertained for some time in this house by a Duke of Montmorency, who was likewise Constable de France, after he had taken this palace into his consideration, with the forests adjoining, said he would willingly give one of his provinces in the Low-Countries for such a place, there being, as he thought, nowhere such a situation.

Henry IV. also was desirous of this house, and offered to exchange any of his houses, with much more lands than his estate thereabouts was worth; to which the Duke of Montmorency made this wary answer: '*Sieur, la maison est à vous, mais que je sois le concierge;*' which in English sounds thus: 'Sir, the house is yours, but give me leave to keep it for you.'

When I had been at Merlou about some eight months, and attained, as was thought, the knowledge of horsemanship, I came to the Duke of Montmorency at Chantilly, and, after due thanks for his favours, took my leave of him to go to Paris, whereupon, the good old prince embracing me, and calling me son, bid me farewell, assuring me nevertheless, he should be glad of any occasion hereafter to testify

his love and esteem for me ; telling me farther, he should come to Paris himself shortly, where he hoped to see me. From hence I returned to Merlou, where I gave Monsieur Disancour such a present as abundantly requited the charges of my diet, and the pains of his teaching. Being now ready to set forth, a gentleman from the Duke of Montmorency came to me, and told me his master would not let me go without giving me a present, which I might keep as an earnest of his affection ; whereupon also a genet, for which the duke had sent expressly into Spain, and which cost him there 500 crowns, as I was told, was brought to me. The greatness of this gift, together with other courtesies received, did not a little trouble me, as not knowing then how to requite them. I would have given my horses I had there, which were of great value, to him, but that I thought them too mean a present ; but the duke also suspecting that I meant to do so, prevented me, saying, that as I loved him, I should think upon no requital while I stayed in France, but when I came into England, if I sent him a mare that ambled naturally, I should much gratify him : I told the messenger I should strive, both that way and every way else, to declare my thankfulness, and so dismissed the messenger with a good reward.

Coming now to Paris, through the recommendation of the lord ambassador, I was received to the house of that incomparable scholar Isaac Causabon, by whose learned conversation I much benefited myself ; besides, I did apply myself much to know the use of my arms, and to ride the great horse, playing on the lute, and singing according to the rules of the French masters.

Sometimes also I went to the court of the French king, Henry IV., who, upon information of me in the garden at the Thuilleries, received me with all courtesy, embracing me in his arms, and holding me some while there. I went sometimes also to the court of Queen Margaret, at the hostel, called by her name ; and here I saw many balls or masks, in all which it pleased that queen publicly to place me next to her chair, not without the wonder of some, and the envy of another, who was wont to have that favour. I shall recount one accident which happened while I was there.

All things being ready for the ball, and every one being in their place, and I myself next to the queen, expecting when the dancers would come in, one knocked at the door somewhat louder than became, as I thought, a very civil person. When he came in, I remember there was a sudden whisper among the ladies, saying, '*C'est Monsieur Balagny*,' or, 'It is Monsieur Balagny : ' whereupon also I saw the ladies and gentlewomen, one after another invite him to sit near them, and, which is more, when one lady had his company a while, another would say, 'You have enjoyed him long enough, I must have him now ; ' at which bold civility of theirs, though I were astonished, yet it added unto my wonder, that his person could not be thought at most but ordinary handsome ; his hair, which was cut very short, half grey, his doublet but of sackcloth cut to his shirt, and his breeches only of plain grey cloth. Informing myself by some standers-by who he was, I was told that he was one of the gallantest men in the world, as having killed eight or nine men in single fight, and that for this reason the ladies made so much of him, it being the manner of all French-



women to cherish gallant men, as thinking they could not make so much of any else with the safety of their honour. This cavalier, though his head was half grey, he had not yet attained the age of thirty years, whom I have thought fit to remember more particularly here, because of some passages that happened afterwards betwixt him and me, at the siege of Juliers, as I shall tell in its place.

Having past thus all the winter, until about the latter end of January, without any such memorable accident as I shall think fit to set down particularly, I took my leave of the French king, Queen Margaret, and the nobles and ladies in both courts ; at which time the Princess of Conti desired me to carry a scarf into England, and present it to Queen Anne on her part, which being accepted, myself and Sir Thomas Lucy (whose second I had been twice in France, against two cavaliers of our nation, who yet were hindered to fight with us in the field, where we attended them), we came on our way as far as Dieppe, in Normandy, and there took ship about the beginning of February, when so furious a storm arose, that with very great danger we were at sea all night. The master of our ship lost both the use of his compass and his reason ; for not knowing whither he was carried by the tempest, all the help he had was by the lightnings, which, together with thunder very frequently that night, terrified him, yet gave the advantage sometimes to discover whether we were upon our coast, to which he thought, by the course of his glasses, we were near approached ; and now towards day we found ourselves, by great providence of God, within view of Dover, to which the master of our ship did make. The men of Dover rising by times in the morning, to see whether any ship were coming towards them, were in great numbers upon the shore, as believing the tempest, which had thrown down barns and trees near the town, might give them the benefit of some wreck, if perchance any ship were driven thitherwards. We coming thus in extreme danger, straight upon the pier of Dover, which stands out in the sea, our ship was unfortunately split against it ; the master said, '*Mes amies, nous sommes perdus,*' or, 'My friends, we are cast away ;' when myself, who heard the ship crack against the pier, and then found, by the master's words, it was time for every one to save themselves, if they could, got out of my cabin (though very sea-sick), and climbing up the mast a little way, drew my sword and flourished it : they at Dover having the sign given them, adventured in a shallop of six oars to relieve us, which being come with great danger to the side of our ship, I got into it first, with my sword in my hand, and called for Sir Thomas Lucy, saying, that if any man offered to get in before him, I should resist him with my sword ; whereupon, a faithful servant of his taking Sir Thomas Lucy out of the cabin, who was half-dead of sea-sickness, put him into my arms, whom after I had received, I bid the shallop make away for shore, and the rather, that I saw another shallop coming to relieve us ; when a post from France, who carried letters, finding the ship still rent more and more, adventured to leap from the top of our ship into the shallop, where, falling fortunately on some of the stronger timber of the boat, and not on the planks, which he must needs have broken, and so sunk us, had he fallen upon them, escaped together with us two, unto the land. I must confess, myself, as also the seamen,

that were in the shallop, thought once to have killed him for this desperate attempt ; but finding no harm followed, we escaped together unto the land, from whence we sent more shallops, and so made means to save both men and horses that were in the ship, which yet itself was wholly split and cast away, insomuch that, in pity to the master, Sir Thomas Lucy and myself gave 30*l.* towards his loss, which yet was not so great as we thought, since the tide now ebbing, he recovered the broken parts of his ship.

Coming thus to London, and afterwards to court, I kissed his majesty's hand, and acquainted him with some particulars concerning France. As for the present I had to deliver to her majesty from the Princess of Conti, I thought fit rather to send it by one of the ladies that attended her, than to presume to demand audience of her in person : but her majesty not satisfied herewith, commanded me to attend her, and demanded divers questions of me concerning that princess and the courts in France, saying she would speak more at large with me at some other time ; for which purpose she commanded me to wait on her often, wishing me to advise her what present she might return back again.

Howbeit, not many weeks after, I returned to my wife and family again, where I passed some time, partly in my studies, and partly riding the great horse, of which I had a stable well furnished. No horse yet was so dear to me as the genet I brought from France, whose love I had so gotten, that he would suffer none else to ride him, nor indeed any man to come near him, when I was upon him, as being in his nature a most furious horse. His true picture may be seen in the chapel chamber in my house, where I am painted riding him, and this motto by me,

*Me totum bonitas bonum suprema*

*Reddas ; me intrepidum dabo vel ipse.*

This horse, as soon as ever I came to the stable, would neigh, and when I drew near him would lick my hand, and (when I suffered him) my cheek, but yet would permit nobody to come near his heels at the same time. Sir Thomas Lucy would have given me 200*l.* for this horse, which, though I would not accept, yet I left the horse with him when I went to the Low Countries, who not long after died. The occasion of my going thither was thus : Hearing that a war about the title of Cleve, Juliers, and some other provinces betwixt the Low Countries and Germany, should be made, by the several pretenders to it, and that the French king himself would come with a great army into those parts ; it was now the year of our Lord 1610, when my Lord Chandos\* and myself resolved to take shipping for the Low Countries, and from thence to pass to the city of Juliers, which the Prince of Orange resolved to besiege. Making all haste thither, we found the siege newly begun ; the Low Country army assisted by 4000 English, under the command of Sir Edward Cecil. We had not been long there, when the Marshal de Chartres, instead of Henry IV., who was killed by that villain Ravaillac, came with a brave French army thither, in which Monsieur Balagny, I formerly mentioned, was a colonel.

\* Grey Bridges Lord Chandos, made a Knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles, Duke of York, 1604 ; and called for his hospitality and magnificence, the King of Cotswold.

My Lord Chandos lodged himself in the quarters where Sir Horace Vere was ; I went and quartered with Sir Edward Cecil, where I was lodged next to him in a hut I made there, going yet both by day and night to the trenches, we making our approaches to the town on one side, and the French on the other. Our lines were drawn towards the point of a bulwark of the citadel, or castle, thought to be one of the best fortifications in christendom, and encompassed about with a deep wet ditch. We lost many men in making these approaches, the town and castle being very well provided both with great and small shot, and a garrison in it of about 4000 men, besides the burghers. Sir Edward Cecil (who was a very active general), used often during the siege, to go in person in the night time, to try whether he could catch any sentinels *perdues* ; and for this purpose, still desired me to accompany him ; in performing whereof, both of us did much hazard ourselves, for the first sentinel retiring to the second, and the second to the third, three shots were commonly made at us, before we could do anything, though afterwards chasing them with our swords almost home unto their guards, we had some sport in the pursuit of them.

One day Sir Edward Cecil and myself coming to the approaches that Monsieur de Balagny had made towards a bulwark or bastion of that city, Monsieur de Balagny, in the presence of Sir Edward Cecil and divers English and French captains then present, said '*Monsieur, on dit que vous êtes un des plus braves de votre nation, et je suis Balagny, allons voir qui fera le mieux* ;' 'They say, you are one of the bravest of your nation, and I am Balagny, let us see who will do best ;' whereupon leaping suddenly out of the trenches with his sword drawn, I did in the like manner as suddenly follow him, both of us in the mean while striving who should be foremost, which being perceiv'd by those of the bulwark and cortine opposite to us, 300 or 400 shot at least, great and small, were made against us. Our running on forwards in emulation of each other, was the cause that all the shots fell betwixt us and the trench from which we sallied. When Monsieur Balagny, finding such a storm of bullets, said, '*Par Dieu il fait bien chaud*,' 'It is very hot here ;' I answered briefly thus, '*Vous en ires premier, autrement je n'iray jamais* ;' 'You shall go first or else I will never go ;' hereupon he ran with all speed, and somewhat crouching towards the trenches, I followed after leisurely and upright, and yet came within the trenches before they on the bulwark or cortine could charge again ; which passage afterwards being related to the Prince of Orange, he said it was a strange bravado of Balagny, and that we went to an unavoidable death.

I could relate divers things of note concerning myself, during this siege, but do forbear, lest I should relish too much of vanity : it shall suffice that my passing over the ditch unto the wall, first of all the nations there, is set down by William Crofts, M.A., and soldier, who hath written and printed the history of the Low Countries.

There happened during this siege a particular quarrel betwixt me and the Lord of Walden,\* eldest son to the Earl of Suffolk, lord treasurer

\* Theophilus Lord Howard of Walden, eldest son of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, whom he succeeded in the title, and was Knight of the Garter, constable of Dover Castle, and captain of the band of pensioners.



of England at that time, which I do but unwillingly relate, in regard of the great esteem I have of that noble family ; howbeit, to avoid mis-reports, I have thought fit to set it down truly : that lord having been invited to a feast in Sir Horace Vere's quarters, where (after the Low Country manner) there was liberal drinking, returned not long after to Sir Edward Cecil's quarters, at which time, I speaking merrily to him, upon some slight occasion, he took that offence at me, which he would not have done at another time, insomuch that he came towards me in a violent manner, which I perceiving, did more than half way meet him ; but the company were so vigilant upon us that before any blow past we were separated ; howbeit, because he made towards me, I thought fit the next day to send him a challenge, telling him, that if he had any thing to say to me, I would meet him in such a place as no man should interrupt us. Shortly after this, Sir Thomas Payton came to me on his part, and told me my lord would fight with me on horseback with single sword ; and, said he, ' I will be his second ; where is yours ? ' I replied that neither his lordship nor myself brought over any great horses with us ; that I knew he might much better borrow one than myself ; howbeit, as soon as he shewed me the place, he should find me there on horseback or on foot ; whereupon both of us riding together upon two geldings to the side of a wood, Payton said he chose that place, and the time break of day the next morning : I told him I would fail neither place nor time, though I knew not where to get a better horse than the nag I rid on ; and as for a second, I shall trust to your nobleness, who, I know, will see fair play betwixt us, though you come on his side : but he urging me again to provide a second, I told him I could promise for none but myself, and that if I spoke to any of my friends in the army to this purpose, I doubted least the business might be discovered and prevented.

He was no sooner gone from me, but night drew on, myself resolving in the mean time to rest under a fair oak all night ; after this, tying my horse by the bridle unto another tree, I had not now rested two hours, when I found some fires nearer to me than I thought was possible in so solitary a place, whereupon also having the curiosity to see the reason hereof, I got on horseback again, and had not rode very far, when by the talk of the soldiers there, I found I was in the Scotch quarter, where finding in a stable a very fair horse of service, I desired to know whether he might be bought for any reasonable sum of money, but a soldier replying it was their captain's, Sir James Areskin's chief horse, I demanded for Sir James, but the soldier answering he was not within the quarter, I demanded then for his lieutenant, whereupon the soldier courteously desired him to come to me ; this lieutenant was called Montgomery, and had the reputation of a gallant man ; I told him that I would very fain buy a horse, and if it were possible, the horse I saw but a little before ; but he telling me none was to be sold there, I offered to leave in his hands one hundred pieces, if he would lend me a good horse for a day or two, he to restore me the money again when I delivered him the horse in good plight, and did besides bring him some present as a gratuity.

The lieutenant, though he did not know me, suspected I had some private quarrel, and that I desired this horse to fight on, and thereupon

told me, 'Sir, whosoever you are, you seem to be a person of worth, and 'you shall have the best horse in the stable ; and if you have a quarrel 'and want a second, I offer myself to serve you upon another horse, and 'if you will let me go along with you upon these terms, I will ask no 'pawn of you for the horse.' I told him I would use no second, and I desired him to accept one hundred pieces, which I had there about me, in pawn for the horse, and he should hear from me shortly again ; and that though I did not take his noble offer of coming along with me, I should evermore rest much obliged to him ; whereupon giving him my purse with the money in it, I got upon his horse, and left my nag besides with him.

Riding thus away about twelve o'clock at night to the wood from whence I came, I alighted from my horse and rested there till morning ; the day now breaking I got on horseback, and attended the Lord of Walden with his second. The first person that appeared was a footman, who I heard afterwards was sent by the Lady of Walden, who as soon as he saw me, ran back again with all speed ; I meant once to pursue him, but that I thought it better at last to keep my place. About two hours after Sir William St. Leiger, now lord president of Munster, came to me, and told me he knew the cause of my being there, and that the business was discovered by the Lord Walden's rising so early that morning, and the suspicion that he meant to fight with me, and had Sir Thomas Payton with him, and that he would ride to him, and that there were 30 or 40 sent after us, to hinder us from meeting ; shortly after many more came to the place where I was, and told me I must not fight, and that they were sent for the same purpose, and that it was to no purpose to stay there, and thence rode to seek the Lord of Walden ; I stayed yet two hours longer, but finding still more company came in, rode back again to the Scotch quarters, and delivered the horse back again, and received my money and nag from Lieutenant Montgomery, and so withdrew myself to the French quarters, till I did find some convenient time to send again to the Lord Walden.

Being among the French, I remembered myself of the bravado of Monsieur Balagny, and coming to him told him, I knew how brave a man he was, and that as he had put me to one trial of daring, when I was last with him in his trenches, I would put him to another ; saying, I heard he had a fair mistress, and that the scarf he wore was her gift, and that I would maintain I had a worthier mistress than he, and that I would do as much for her sake as he, or any else durst do for his. Balagny hereupon looking merrily upon me, said, 'If we shall try who 'is the abler man to serve his mistress, let both of us get two wenches, 'and he that doth his business best, let him be the braver man ; and 'that for his part, he had no mind to fight on that quarrel : ' I looked hereupon somewhat disdainfully on him, said he spoke more like a paillard than a cavalier ; to which he answering nothing, I rode my ways, and afterwards went to Monsieur Terant, a French gentleman that belonged to the Duke of Montmorency, formerly mentioned ; who telling me he had a quarrel with another gentleman, I offered to be his second, but he saying he was provided already, I rode thence to the English quarters, attending some fit occasion to send again to the

Lord Walden: I came no sooner thither, but I found Sir Thomas Somerset\* with 11 or 12 more in the head of the English, who were then drawing forth in a body or squadron, who seeing me on horseback, with a footman only that attended me, gave me some affronting words, for my quarrelling with the Lord of Walden; whereupon I alighted, and giving my horse to my lackey, drew my sword, which he no sooner saw but he drew his, as also all the company with him; I running hereupon amongst them, put by some of their thrusts, and making towards him in particular, put by a thrust of his, and had certainly run him through, but that one Lieut. Prichard, at that instant taking me by the shoulder, turned me aside; but I recovering myself again, ran at him a second time, which he perceiving, retired himself with the company to the tents which were near, though not so fast but I hurt one Proger, and some others also that were with him; but they being all at last got within the tents, I finding now nothing else to be done, got to my horse again, having received only a slight hurt on the outside of my ribs, and two thrusts, the one through the skirts of my doublet, and the other through my breeches, and about eighteen nicks upon my sword and hilt, and so rode to the trenches before Juliers, where our soldiers were.

Not long after this, the town being now surrendered, and every body preparing to go their ways, I sent again a gentleman to the Lord of Walden to offer him the meeting with my sword, but this was avoided not very handsomely by him (contrary to what Sir Henry Rich, now Earl of Holland, persuaded him.)

After having taken leave of his excellency Sir Edward Cecil, I thought fit to return on my way homewards as far as Dusseldorp. I had been scarce two hours in my lodgings when one Lieut. Hamilton brought a letter from Sir James Areskin (who was then in town likewise) unto me, the effect whereof was, that in regard his Lieut. Montgomery had told him that I had the said James Areskin's consent for borrowing his horse, he did desire me to do one of two things, which was, either to disavow the said words, which he thought in his conscience I never spake; or, if I would justify them, then to appoint time and place to fight with him. Having considered a while what I was to do in this case, I told Lieut. Hamilton that I thought myself bound in honour to accept the more noble part of his proposition, which was to fight with him, when yet perchance it might be easy enough for me to say that I had his horse upon other terms than was affirmed; whereupon also giving Lieut. Hamilton the length of my sword, I told him that as soon as ever he had matched it, I would fight with him, wishing him further to make haste, since I desired to end the business as speedily as could be. Lieut. Hamilton hereupon returning back, met in a cross street (I know not by what miraculous adventure) Lieut. Montgomery, conveying divers of the hurt and maimed soldiers at the siege of St. Juliers unto that town, to be lodged and dressed by the surgeons there; Hamilton hereupon calling to Montgomery, told him the effects of his captain's letter, together with my answer, which Montgomery no sooner heard,

\* He was third son of Edward Earl of Worcester, lord privy seal to Queen Elizabeth and King James. Sir Thomas was master of the horse to Queen Anne, was made Knight of the Bath in 1604, and Viscount Somerset of Cassel in Ireland.



but he replied (as Hamilton told me afterwards), 'I see that noble gentleman chooseth rather to fight than to contradict me; but my telling a lie must not be an occasion why either my captain or he should hazard their lives: I will alight from my horse, and tell my captain presently how all that matter past;' whereupon also he relating the business about borrowing the horse, in that manner I formerly set down, which as soon as Sir James Areskin heard, he sent Lieut. Hamilton to me presently again, to tell me he was satisfied how the business past, and that he had nothing to say to me, but that he was my most humble servant, and was sorry he ever questioned me in that manner.

Some occasions detaining me in Dusseldorp, the next day Lieut. Montgomery came to me, and told me he was in danger of losing his place, and desired me to make means to his excellency the Prince of Orange that he might not be cashiered, or else that he was undone. I told him that either I would keep him in his place, or take him as my companion and friend, and allow him sufficient means till I could provide him another as good as it; which he taking very kindly, but desiring chiefly he might go with my letter to the Prince of Orange, I obtained at last he should be restored to his place again.

And now taking boat, I passed along the river of Rhine to the Low Countries, where after some stay, I went to Antwerp and Brussels; and having passed some time in the court there, went from thence to Calais, where taking ship, I arrived at Dover, and so went to London. I had scarce been two days there, when the lords of the council sending for me, ended the difference betwixt the Lord of Walden and myself. And, now if I may say it without vanity, I was in great esteem both in court and city; many of the greatest desiring my company, though yet before that time I had no acquaintance with them. Richard\* Earl of Dorset, to whom otherwise I was a stranger, one day invited me to Dorset House, where bringing me into his gallery, and showing me many pictures, he at last brought me to a frame covered with green taffetta, and asked me who I thought was there; and therewithal presently drawing the curtain, showed me my own picture; whereupon demanding how his lordship came to have it, he answered, that he had heard so many brave things of me, that he got a copy of a picture which one Larkin a painter drew for me, the original whereof I intended before my departure to the Low Countries for Sir Thomas Lucy; but not only the Earl of Dorset, but a greater person† than I will here nominate, got another copy from Larkin, and placing it afterwards in her cabinet (without that ever I knew any such thing was done), gave occasion to those that saw it after her death of more discourse than I could have wished; and indeed I may truly say, that taking of my picture was fatal to me, for more reasons than I shall think fit to deliver.

There was a lady also, wife to Sir John Ayres, knight, who finding some means to get a copy of my picture from Larkin, gave it to Mr. Isaac Oliver, the painter in Blackfriars, and desired him to draw it in

\* Richard Sackville Earl of Dorset, grandson of the treasurer, and husband of the famous Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset and Pembroke.

† This was certainly Queen Anne, as appears from the very respectful terms in which he speaks of her a little farther, and from other passages, when he mentions the secret and dangerous enemies he had on this account.

little after his manner ; which being done, she caused it to be set in gold and enamelled, and so wore it about her neck, so low that she hid it under her breasts, which, I conceive, coming afterwards to the knowledge of Sir John Ayres, gave him more cause of jealousy than needed, had he known how innocent I was from pretending to any thing which might wrong him or his lady ; since I could not so much as imagine that either she had my picture, or that she bare more than ordinary affection to me. It is true that she had a place in court, and attended Queen Anne, and was beside of an excellent wit and discourse, she had made herself a considerable person ; howbeit little more than common civility ever passed betwixt us, though I confess I think no man was welcomer to her when I came, for which I shall allege this passage :

Coming one day into her chamber, I saw her through the curtains lying upon her bed with a wax candle in one hand, and the picture I formerly mentioned in the other. I coming thereupon somewhat boldly to her, she blew out the candle, and hid the picture from me : myself thereupon being curious to know what that was she held in her hand, got the candle to be lighted again, by means whereof I found it was my picture she looked upon with more earnestness and passion than I could have easily believed, especially since myself was not engaged in any affection towards her. I could willingly have omitted this passage, but that it was the beginning of a bloody history which followed : howsoever, yet I must before the eternal God clear her honour. And now in court a great person sent for me divers times to attend her, which summons though I obeyed, yet God knoweth I declined coming to her as much as conveniently I could, without incurring her displeasure ; and this I did not only for very honest reasons, but, to speak ingenuously, because that affection passed betwixt me and another lady (who I believe was the fairest of her time) as nothing could divert it. I had not been long in London, when a violent burning fever seized upon me, which brought me almost to my death, though at last I did by slow degrees recover my health. Being thus upon my amendment, the Lord Lisle,\* afterwards Earl of Leicester, sent me word that Sir John Ayres intended to kill me in my bed, and wished me keep a guard upon my chamber and person. The same advertisement was confirmed by Lucy† Countess of Bedford, and the Lady Hobby‡ shortly after. Hereupon I thought fit to entreat Sir William Herbert, now Lord Powis, to go to Sir John Ayres, and tell him, that I marvelled much at the information given me by these great persons, and that I could not imagine any sufficient ground hereof ; howbeit, if he had any thing to say to me in a fair and noble way, I would give him the meeting as soon as I had got strength enough to stand upon my legs. Sir William hereupon brought me so ambiguous and doubtful an answer from him, that whatsoever he meant, he would not declare yet his intention, which was really, as I found afterwards, to kill me any way that he could, since, as he said, though falsely, I had whored his wife. Finding no means thus to surprise me, he sent me a letter to this effect ; that

\* Robert Sidney Earl of Leicester, younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney:

† Lucy Harrington, wife of Edward Earl of Bedford, a great patroness of the wits and poets of that age.

‡ Probably Anne, second wife of Sir Edward Hobby, a patron of Camden.

he desired to meet me somewhere, and that it might so fall out as I might return quietly again. To this I replied, that if he desired to fight with me upon equal terms, I should upon assurance of the field and fair play, give him meeting when he did any way specify the cause, and that I did not think fit to come to him upon any other terms, having been sufficiently informed of his plots to assassinate me.

After this, finding he could take no advantage against me, then, in a treacherous way, he resolved to assassinate me in this manner : Hearing I was to come to Whitehall on horseback, with two lackeys only, he attended my coming back in a place called Scotland Yard, at the hither end of Whitehall, as you come to it from the Strand, hiding himself here with four men armed, on purpose to kill me. I took horse at Whitehall Gate, and passing by that place, he being armed with a sword and dagger, without giving me so much as the least warning, ran at me furiously, but instead of me, wounded my horse in the brisket, as far as his sword could enter for the bone. My horse hereupon starting aside, he ran him again in the shoulder, which, though it made the horse more timorous, yet gave me time to draw my sword. His men thereupon encompassed me, and wounded my horse in three places more : this made my horse kick and fling in that manner, as his men durst not come near me ; which advantage I took to strike at Sir John Ayres with all my force, but he warded the blow both with his sword and dagger ; instead of doing him harm, I broke my sword within a foot of the hilt. Hereupon some passenger that knew me, and observing my horse bleeding in so many many places, and so many men assaulting me, and my sword broken, cried to me several times, ' Ride away, ride away : ' but I, scorning a base flight upon what terms soever, instead thereof, alighted as well I as could from my horse. I had no sooner put one foot upon the ground, but Sir John Ayres pursuing me, made at my horse again, which the horse perceiving, pressed on me on the side I alighted, in that manner that he threw me down, so that I remained flat upon the ground, only one foot hanging in the stirrup, with that piece of a sword in my right hand. Sir John Ayres hereupon ran about the horse, and was thrusting his sword into me, when I, finding myself in this danger, did with both my arms reaching at his legs, pull them towards me, till he fell down backwards on his head. One of my footmen hereupon, who was a little Shropshire boy, freed my foot out of the stirrup ; the other, which was a great fellow, having run away as soon as he saw the first assault. This gave me time to get upon my legs, and to put myself in the best posture I could with that poor remnant of a weapon. Sir John Ayres by this time likewise was got up, standing betwixt me and some part of Whitehall, with two men on each side of him, and his brother behind him, with at least twenty or thirty persons of his friends, or attendants of the Earl of Suffolk. Observing thus a body of men standing in opposition against me, though to speak truly I saw no swords drawn, but by Sir John Ayres and his men, I ran violently against Sir John Ayres ; but he knowing my sword had no point, held his sword and dagger over his head, as believing I could strike rather than thrust ; which I no sooner perceived but I put a home thrust to the middle of his breast, that I threw him down with so much force, that his head



fell first to the ground, and his heels upwards. His men hereupon assaulted me ; when one, Mr. Mansel, a Glamorganshire gentleman, finding so many set against me alone, closed with one of them ; a Scotch gentleman also closing with another, took him off also. All I could well do to those two which remained was, to ward their thrusts, which I did with that resolution, that I got ground upon them. Sir John Ayres was now got up a third time, when I was making towards him with the intention to close, thinking that there was otherwise no safety for me, put by a thrust of his with my left hand, and so coming within him, received a stab with his dagger on my right side, which ran down my ribs as far as my hip, which I feeling, did with my right elbow force his hand, together with the hilt of the dagger, so near the upper part of my right side, that I made him leave hold. The dagger now sticking in me, Sir Henry Cary, afterwards Lord of Faulkland, and Lord Deputy of Ireland, finding the dagger thus in my body, snatched it out. This while I being closed with Sir John Ayres, hurt him on the head, and threw him down a third time, when, kneeling on the ground, and bestriding him, I struck at him as hard as I could with my piece of a sword, and wounded him in four several places, and did almost cut off his left hand. His two men this while struck at me ; but it pleased God even miraculously to defend me ; for when I lifted up my sword to strike at Sir John Ayres, I bore off their blows half a dozen times. His friends now finding him in this danger, took him by the head and shoulders, and drew him from betwixt my legs, and carried him along with them through Whitehall, at the stairs whereof he took boat. Sir Herbert Croft (as he told me afterwards) met him upon the water, vomiting all the way, which I believe was caused by the violence of the first thrust I gave him. His servants, brother, and friends being now retired also, I remained master of the place and his weapons ; having first wrested his dagger from him, and afterwards struck his sword out of his hand.

This being done, I retired to a friend's house in the Strand, where I sent for a surgeon, who, searching my wound on the right side, and finding it not to be mortal, cured me in the space of some ten days, during which time I received many noble visits and messages from some of the best in the kingdom. Being now fully recovered of my hurts, I desired Sir Robert Harley to go to Sir John Ayres, and tell him, that though I thought he had not so much honour left in him that I could be any way ambitious to get it, yet that I desired to see him in the field with his sword in his hand. The answer that he sent me was, that I had whored his wife, and that he would kill me with a musket out of a window.

The lords of the privy council, who had first sent for my sword, that they might see the little fragment of a weapon with which I had so behaved myself, as perchance the like had not been heard in any credible way, did afterwards command both him and me to appear before them ; but I absenting myself on purpose, sent one Humphrey Hill with a challenge to him in an ordinary, which he refusing to receive, Humphrey Hill put it upon the point of his sword, and so let it fall before him and the company then present.

The lords of the privy council had now taken order to apprehend Sir John Ayres, when I, finding nothing else to be done, submitted myself

likewise to them. Sir John Ayres had now published everywhere, that the ground of his jealousy, and consequently of his assaulting me, was drawn from the confession of his wife the Lady Ayres. She, to vindicate her honour, as well as free me from this accusation, sent a letter to her aunt the Lady Crook, to this purpose; that her husband Sir John Ayres did lie falsely, in saying that I ever whored her; but most falsely of all did lie, when he said he had it from her confession, for she had never said any such thing.

This letter the Lady Crook presented to me most opportunely, as I was going to the council table before the lords, who having examined Sir John Ayres concerning the cause of the quarrel against me, found him still persist in his wife's confession of the fact: and now he being withdrawn, I was sent for, when the Duke of Lennox,\* afterwards of Richmond, telling me that was the ground of his quarrel, and the only excuse he had for assaulting me in that manner, I desired his lordship to peruse the letter, which I told him was given me as I came into the room. This letter being publicly read by a clerk of the council, the Duke of Lennox then said, that he thought Sir John Ayres the most miserable man living; for his wife had not only given him the lie, as he found by her letter, but his father had disinherited him for attempting to kill me in that barbarous fashion, which was most true, as I found afterwards. For the rest, that I might content myself with what I had done, it being more almost than could be believed, but that I had so many witnesses thereof: for all which reasons he commanded me, in the name of his majesty, and all their lordships, not to send any more to Sir John Ayres, nor to receive any message from him, in the way of fighting; which commandment I observed. Howbeit, I must not omit to tell, that some years afterwards, Sir John Ayres returning from Ireland by Beaumaris, where I then was, some of my servants and followers broke open the doors of the house where he was, and would (I believe) have cut him into pieces, but that I, hearing thereof, came suddenly to the house and recalled them, sending him word also, that I scorned to give him the usage he gave me, and that I would set him free out of the town; which courtesy of mine, as I was told afterwards, he did thankfully acknowledge.

About a month after that, Sir John Ayres attempted to assassinate me; the news thereof was carried, I know not how, to the Duke of Montmorency, who presently dispatched a gentleman with a letter to me (which I keep), and a kind offer, that if I would come unto him, I should be used as his own son; neither had this gentleman, as I know of, any other business in England. I was told besides by this gentleman, that the duke heard I had greater and more powerful enemies than did publicly declare themselves (which, indeed, was true), and that he doubted I might have a mischief before I was aware.

My answer hereunto by letter was, That I rendered most humble thanks for his great favour in sending to me; that no enemies, how great or many soever, could force me out of the kingdom; but if ever there were occasion to serve him in particular, I should not fail to come; for performance whereof, it happening there were some over-

\* Lodowic Stuart, Duke of Lennox and Richmond, was Lord Steward of the Household, and Knight of the Garter.

tures of a civil war in France the next year, I sent over a French gentleman who attended me, unto the Duke of Montmorency, expressly to tell him, that if he had occasion to use my service in the designed war, I would bring over 100 horse at my own cost and charges to him ; which that good old duke and constable took so kindly, that, as the Duchess of Vantadour, his daughter, told me afterwards, when I was ambassador, there were few days, till the last of his life, that he did not speak of me with much affection.

I can say little more memorable concerning myself from the year 1611, when I was hurt, until the year of our Lord 1614, than that I passed my time sometimes in the court, where (I protest before God) I had more favours than I desired ; and sometimes in the country, without any memorable accident ; but only that it happened one time, going from St. Gillian's to Abergavenny, in the way to Montgomery Castle, Richard Griffiths, a servant of mine, being come near a bridge over Husk, not far from the town, thought fit to water his horse ; but the river being deep and strong in that place where he entered it, he was carried down the stream. My servants that were before me, seeing this, cried aloud, ' Dick Griffiths was drowning : ' which I no sooner heard, but I put my spurs to my horse, and coming up to the place, where I saw him as high as his middle in water, leapt into the river a little below him, and swimming up to him, bore him up with one of my hands, and brought him unto the middle of the river, where (through God's great providence) was a bank of sand. Coming hither not without some difficulty, we rested ourselves ; and advised whether it were better to return back unto the side from whence we came, or to go on forwards ; but Dick Griffiths saying we were sure to swim if we returned back, and that, perchance, the river might be shallow the other way, I followed his counsel, and putting my horse below him, bore him up in the manner I did formerly, and swimming through the river, brought him safe to the other side. The horse I rode upon, I remember, cost me 40*l.*, and was the same horse which Sir John Ayres hurt under me, and did swim excellently well, carrying me and his back above water ; whereas that little nag upon which Richard Griffiths rid, swam so low, that he must needs have drowned, if I had not supported him.

I will tell one history more of this horse, which I bought of my cousin Fowler of the Grange, because it is memorable. I was passing over a bridge not far from Colebrook, which had no barrier on the one side, and a hole in the bridge, not far from the middle : my horse, though lusty, yet being very timorous, and seeing besides but very little on the right eye, started so much at the hole, that upon a sudden he had put half his body lengthwise over the side of the bridge, and was ready to fall into the river, with his fore foot and hinder foot on the right side, when I, foreseeing the danger I was in if I fell down, clapt my left foot, together with the stirrup and spur, flat-long to the left side, and so made him leap upon all four into the river, whence, after some three or four plunges, he brought me to land.

The year 1614 was now entering, when I understood that the Low-Country and Spanish army would be in the field that year : this made me resolve to offer my service to the Prince of Orange, who, upon my



coming, did much welcome me, not suffering me almost to eat any where but at his table, and carrying me abroad the afternoon in his coach, to partake of those entertainments he delighted in when there was no pressing occasion. The Low-Country army being now ready, his excellency prepared to go into the field; in the way to which, he took me in his coach, and sometimes in a waggon, after the Low-Country fashion, to the great envy of the English and French chief commanders, who expected that honour. Being now arrived near Emerick, one with a most humble petition came from a monastery of nuns, most humbly desiring that the soldiers might not violate their honour, nor their monastery; whereupon, I was a most humble suitor to his excellency to spare them, which he granted; 'But,' said he, 'we will go and see them ourselves;' and thus, his excellency, and I and Sir Charles Morgan only, not long after going to the monastery, found it deserted in great part. Having put a guard upon this monastery, his excellency marched with his army on till we came near the city of Emerick, which, upon summoning, yielded: and now leaving a garrison here, we resolved to march towards Rees. This place, having the Spanish army, under the command of Monsieur Spinola, on the one side, and the Low-Country army on the other, being able to resist neither, sent word to both armies, that whichever came first should have the place. Spinola hereupon sent word to his excellency, that if we intended to take Rees, he would give him battle in a plain near before the town. His excellency, nothing astonished hereat, marched on, his pioneers making his way for the army still, through hedges and ditches, until he came to that hedge and ditch which was next the plain; and here drawing his men into battle, resolved to attend the coming of Spinola into the field. While his men were putting in order, I was so desirous to see whether Spinola with his army appeared, I leapt over a great hedge and ditch, attended only with one footman, purposing to change a pistol-shot or two with the first I met. I found thus some single horse in the field, who, perceiving me to come on, rid away as fast as they could, believing, perchance, that more would follow me. Having thus past to the further end of the field, and finding no show of the enemy, I returned back, that I might inform his excellency there was no hope of fighting, as I could perceive. In the mean time, his excellency having prepared all things for battle, sent out five or six scouts to discover whether the enemy were coming, according to promise; these men finding me now coming towards them, thought I was one of the enemies, which being perceived by me, and I as little knowing at that time who they were, rode up with my sword in my hand, and pistol, to encounter them; and now being come within reasonable distance, one of the persons there that knew me, told his fellows who I was, whereupon I passed quietly to his excellency, and told him what I had done, and that I found no appearance of an army. His excellency then caused the hedge and ditch before him to be levelled, and marched in front, with his army, into the middle of the field; from whence, sending some of his forces to summon the town, it yielded without resistance.

Our army made that haste to come to the place appointed for the battle, that all our baggage and provision were left behind, insomuch

that I was without any meat, but what my footman spared me out of his pocket ; and my lodging that night was no better, for extreme rain falling at that time in the open field, I had no shelter, but was glad to get on the top of a waggon which had straw in it, and to cover myself with my cloak as well as I could, and so endure that stormy night. Morning being come, and no enemy appearing, I went to the town of Rees, into which his excellency having now put a garrison, marched on with the rest of his army towards Wezel, before which Spinola with his army lay, and in the way intrenched himself strongly, and attended Spinola's motions. For the rest, nothing memorable happened after this betwixt those two generals, for the space of many weeks.

I must yet not omit with thankfulness to remember a favour his excellency did me at this time ; for a soldier having killed his fellow-soldier in the quarter where they were lodged, which is an unpardonable fault, insomuch that no man would speak for him ; the poor fellow comes to me, and desires me to beg his life of his excellency ; whereupon I demanding whether he had ever heard of a man pardoned in this kind, and he saying no, I told him it was in vain then for me to speak ; when the poor fellow writhing his neck a little, said, ' Sir, but 'were it not better you shall cast away a few words, than I lose my 'life ?' This piece of eloquence moved me so much, that I went strait to his excellency, and told him what the poor fellow had said, desiring him to excuse me, if upon these terms I took the boldness to speak for him. There was present at that time the Earl of Southampton\* as also Sir Edward Cecil, and Sir Horace Vere, as also Monsieur de Chastillon, and divers other French commanders ; to whom his excellency turning himself said in French, ' Do you see this cavalier ? with all that courage you know, hath yet that good-nature to pray for the life of a poor soldier : though I had never pardoned any before in this kind, yet I will pardon this at his request : ' so commanding him to be brought me, and disposed of as I thought fit, whom therefore I released and set free.

It was now so far advanced in autumn, both armies thought of retiring themselves into their garrisons, when a trumpeter comes from the Spanish army to ours, with a challenge from a Spanish cavalier to this effect, that if any cavalier in our army would fight a single combat for the sake of his mistress, the said Spaniard would meet him, upon assurance of the camp in our army. This challenge being brought early in the morning was accepted by nobody till about ten or eleven of the clock, when the report thereof coming to me, I went strait to his excellency, and told him I desired to accept the challenge. His excellency thereupon looking earnestly upon me, told me he was an old soldier, and that he had observed two sorts of men who used to send challenges in this kind ; one was of those who having lost perchance some part of their honour in the field against the enemy, would recover it again by a single fight. The other was of those who sent it only to discover whether our army had in it men affected to give trial of themselves in this kind ; howbeit, if this man was a person without

\* Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton. He had been attainted with the Earl of Essex, but was restored by King James, and made Knight of the Garter.

exception to be taken against him, he said there was none he knew, upon whom he would sooner venture the honour of his army than myself: and this also he spoke before divers of the English and French commanders I formerly nominated. Hereupon, by his excellency's permission, I sent a trumpet to the Spanish army with this answer, 'That if the person who would be sent were a cavalier without reproach, I would answer him with such weapons as we should agree upon, in the place he offered;' but my trumpeter was scarcely arrived, as I believe, at the Spanish army, when another trumpeter came to ours from Spinola, saying the challenge was made without his consent, and that therefore he would not permit it. This message being brought to his excellency, with whom I then was, he said to me presently, 'This is strange; they send a challenge hither, and when they have done, recall it: I should be glad if I knew the true causes of it.'—'Sir,' said I, 'if you will give me leave, I will go to their army and make the like challenge as they sent hither; it may be some scruple is made concerning the place appointed, being in your excellency's camp, and therefore I shall offer them the combat in their own:' his excellency said, 'I should never have persuaded you to this course, but since you voluntarily offer it, I must not deny that which you think to be for your honour.' Hereupon taking my leave of him, and desiring Sir Humphrey Tufton,\* a brave gentleman, to bear me company, thus we two, attended only with two lackeys, rode straight towards the Spanish camp before Wezel; coming thither without any disturbance, by the way I was demanded by the guard at the entering into their camp, with whom I would speak; I told them with the Duke of Newbourg; whereupon a soldier was presently sent with us to conduct us to the Duke of Newbourg's tent, who remembering me well, since he saw me at the siege of Juliers, very kindly embraced me, and therewithal demanding the cause of my coming thither; I told him the effect thereof in the manner I formerly set down; to which he replied only, he would acquaint the Marquis Spinola therewith; who coming shortly after to the Duke of Newbourg's tent, with a great train of commanders and captains following him, he no sooner entered but he turned to me and said, that he knew well the cause of my coming, and that the same reasons which made him forbid the Spanish cavalier to fight a combat in the Prince of Orange's camp, did make him forbid it in his, and that I should be better welcome to him than I would be, and thereupon entreated me to come and dine with him; I finding nothing else to be done, did kindly accept the offer; and so attending him to his tent, where a brave dinner being put upon his table, he placed the Duke of Newbourg uppermost at one end of the table, and myself at the other, himself sitting below us, presenting with his own hand still the best of that meat his carver offered him. He demanded of me then in Italian, '*Di che moriva Sigr. Francisco Vere*' of what died Sir Francis Vere? I told him, '*Per aver niente à fare*?' because he had nothing to do: Spinola replied, '*E basta per un generale*' and it is enough to kill a general; and indeed that brave commander, Sir Francis Vere, died not in time of war but of peace.

\* Third son of Sir John Tufton, and brother of Nicholas Earl of Thanet.



Taking my leave now of the Marquis Spinola, I told him that if ever he did lead an army against the infidels, I should adventure to be the first man that would die in that quarrel, and together demanded leave of him to see his army, which he granting, I took leave of him, and did at leisure view it; observing the difference in the proceedings betwixt the Low Country army and fortifications, as well as I could; and so returning shortly after to his excellency, related to him the success of my journey. It happened about this time that Sir Henry Wotton mediated a peace, by the king's command, who coming for that purpose to Wezel, I took occasion to go along with him into Spinola's army, whence after a night's stay, I went on an extreme rainy day through the woods to Kysarswert, to the great wonder of mine host, who said all men were robbed or killed that went that way; from hence I went to Cologne, where among other things I saw the monastery of St. Herbert; from hence I went to Heydelberg, where I saw the Prince and Princess Palatine, from whom having received much good usage, I went to Ulme, and so to Augsbουργ, where extraordinary honour was done me; for coming into an inn, where an ambassador from Brussels lay, the town sent twenty great flagons of wine thither, whereof they gave eleven to the ambassador, and nine to me; and withal some such compliments that I found my fame had prevented my coming thither. From hence I went through Switzerland to Trent, and from thence to Venice, where I was received by the English ambassador, Sir Dudley Carlton,\* with much honour; among other favours shewed me, I was brought to see a nun in Murano, who being an admired beauty, and together singing extremely well, was thought one of the rarities not only of that place but of the time; we came to a room opposite unto the cloister, whence she coming on the other side of the grate betwixt us, sung so extremely well, that when she departed neither my lord ambassador nor his lady, who were then present, could find as much as a word of fitting language to return her, for the extraordinary music she gave us; when I, being ashamed that she should go back without some testimony of the sense we had both of the harmony of her beauty and her voice, said in Italian, *'Moria pur quando vuol, non bisogna mutar ni voce ni faccia per esser un angelo,'* 'die whensoever you will, you neither need to change voice nor face to be an angel;' these words it seemed were fatal, for going thence to Rome, and returning shortly afterwards, I heard she was dead in the mean time.

From Venice, after some stay, I went to Florence, where I met the Earl of Oxford† and Sir Benjamin Rudier:‡ having seen the rarities of this place likewise, and particularly that rare chapel made for the house of Medici, beautified on all the inside with a coarser kind of precious stone, as also that nail which was at one end iron, and the other gold, made so by virtue of a tincture into which it was put. I went to Sienna, and from thence, a little before the Christmas holidays,

\* Ambassador to Venice, Savoy, and Holland, secretary of state, and Viscount Dorchester.

† Henry Vere Earl of Oxford. He died at the Hague in 1625, of a sickness contracted at the siege of Breda, where, being a very corpulent man, he had overheated himself.

‡ Sir Benjamin Rudyard was a man in great vogue in that age; a wit, and poet, and intimate friend of William Earl of Pembroke, with whose poems Sir Benjamin's are printed.

to Rome. I was no sooner alighted at my inn, but I went straight to the English college, where demanding for the regent or master thereof, a grave person not long after appeared at the door, to whom I spake in this manner: 'Sir, I need not tell you my country when you hear my language; I come not here to study controversies, but to see the antiquities of the place; if without scandal to the religion in which I was born and bred up, I may take this liberty, I should be glad to spend some convenient time here; if not, my horse is yet unsaddled, and myself willing to go out of town.' The answer returned by him to me was, that he never heard any body before me profess himself of any other religion than what was used in Rome; for his part, he approved much my freedom, as collecting thereby I was a person of honour; for the rest, that he could give me no warrant for my stay there, howbeit that experience did teach that those men who gave no affronts to the Roman Catholic religion, received none; whereupon also he demanded my name. I telling him I was called Sir Edward Herbert, he replied, that he had heard men oftentimes speak of me both for learning and courage, and presently invited me to dinner; I told him that 'I took his courteous offer as an argument of his affection; that I desired him to excuse me, if I did not accept it; the uttermost liberty I had (as the times then were in England) being already taken in coming to that city only, least they should think me a factious person: I thought fit to tell him that I conceived the points agreed upon on both sides, are greater bonds of amity betwixt us, than that the points disagreed on could break them; that for my part I loved everybody that was of a pious and virtuous life, and thought the errors on what side soever, were more worthy pity than hate;' and having declared myself thus far, I took my leave of him courteously and spent about a month's time in seeing the antiquities of that place which first found means to establish so great an empire over the persons of men, and afterwards over their consciences: the articles of confession and absolving sinners, being a greater *arcanum imperii* for governing the world than all the arts invented by statists formerly were.

After I had seen Rome sufficiently, I went to Tivoli, anciently called Tibur, and saw the fair palace and garden there, as also Frascati, anciently called Tusculanum. After that I returned to Rome, and saw the pope in consistory, which being done, when the pope being now ready to give his blessing, I departed thence suddenly, which gave such a suspicion of me, that some were sent to apprehend me, but I going a by-way escaped them, and went to my inn to take horse, where I had not been now half an hour, when the master or regent of the English college telling me that I was accused in the inquisition, and that I could stay no longer with any safety, I took this warning very kindly; howbeit I did only for the present change my lodging, and a day or two afterwards took horse and went out of Rome towards Sienna, and from thence to Florence. I saw Sir Robert Dudley,\* who had the title of Earl or Duke of Northumberland given him by the emperor,

\* See an account of this extraordinary person in the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. *Handsome Mrs. Sudel* was Mrs. Southwell, daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, who had followed Sir Robert Dudley from England, under the disguise of a page.

and handsome Mrs. Sudel, whom he carried with him out of England, and was there taken for his wife. I was invited by them to a great feast the night before I went out of town : taking my leave of them both, I prepared for my journey the next morning ; when I was ready to depart, a messenger came to me, and told me if I would accept the same pension Sir Robert Dudley had, being two thousand ducats per annum, the duke would entertain me for his service in the war against the Turks. This offer, whether procured by the means of Sir Robert Dudley, Mrs. Sudel, or Sigr. Loty, my ancient friend, I know not, being thankfully acknowledged as a great honour, was yet refused by me, my intention being to serve his excellency in the Low Country war.

After I had stayed a while, from hence I went by Ferrara and Bologna towards Padua, in which university having spent some time to hear the learned readers, and particularly Cremonini, I left my English horses and Scotch saddles there, for on them I rid all the way from the Low Countries ; I went by boat to Venice. The lord ambassador, Sir Dudley Carlton, by this time had a command to reside a while in the court of the Duke of Savoy, wherewith also his lordship acquainted me, demanding whether I would go thither ; this offer was gladly accepted by me, both as I was desirous to see that court, and that it was in the way to the Low Country, where I meant to see the war in the summer ensuing.

Coming thus in the coach with my lord ambassador to Milan, the governor thereof invited my lord ambassador to his house, and sometimes feasted him during his stay there. Here I heard that famous nun singing to the organ in this manner ; another nun beginning first to sing, performed her part so well, that we gave her much applause for her excellent art and voice ; only we thought she did sing somewhat lower than other women usually did : hereupon also, being ready to depart, we heard suddenly, for we saw nobody, that nun which was so famous, sing an eight higher than the other had done : her voice was the sweetest, strongest, and clearest, that ever I heard ; in the using whereof, also, she shewed that art as ravished us into admiration.

From Milan we went to Novara, as I remember, where we were entertained by the governor, being a Spaniard, with one of the most sumptuous feasts that ever I saw, being but of nine dishes, in three several services ; the first whereof was, three ollas podridas, consisting of all choice boiled meats, placed in three large silver chargers, which took up the length of a great table ; the meat in it being heightened up artificially pyramid-wise, to a sparrow which was on the top : the second service was like the former, of roast meat, in which all manner of fowl, from the pheasant and partridge, to other fowl less than them, were heightened up to a lark : the third was in sweetmeats, dry of all sorts, heightened in like manner to a round comfit.

From hence we went to Vercelly, a town of the Duke of Savoy's, frontier to the Spaniard, with whom the duke was then in war ; from whence, passing by places of least note, we came to Turin, where the Duke of Savoy's court was. After I had refreshed myself here some two or three days, I took leave of my lord ambassador, with intention to go to the Low Countries, and was now upon the way thither, as far as the foot of Mount Cenis, when the Count Scarnafigi came to me



from Charles Emanuel the duke, and brought a letter to this effect : 'That the duke had heard I was a cavalier of great worth, and desirous 'to see the wars, and that if I would serve him, I should make my own 'conditions.' Finding so courteous an invitation, I returned back, and was lodged by the Duke of Savoy in a chamber furnished with silk and gold hangings, and a very rich bed, and defrayed at the duke's charges, in the English ambassador's house. The duke also confirmed unto me what the Count Scarnafigi had said, and together bestowed divers compliments on me. I told his highness, that when I knew in what service he pleased to employ me, he should find me ready to testify the sense I had of his princely invitation.

It was now in the time of carnival, when the duke, who loved the company of ladies and dancing as much as any prince whosoever, made divers masks and balls, in which his own daughters, among divers other ladies, danced : and here it was his manner to place me always with his own hand near some fair lady, wishing us both to entertain each other with some discourse, which was a great favour among the Italians. He did many other ways also declare the great esteem he had of me without coming to any particular, the time of the year for going into the field being not yet come ; only he exercised his men often, and made them ready for his occasions in the spring.

The duke at last resolving how to use my service, thought fit to send me to Languedoc, in France, to conduct 4000 men of the reformed religion, who had promised their assistance in his war, unto Piedmont. I willingly accepted this offer ; so taking my leave of the duke, and bestowing about 70*l.* or 80*l.* among his officers, for the kind entertainment I had received, I took my leave also of my lord ambassador, and Sir Albertus Moreton, who was likewise employed there, and prepared for my journey, for more expedition of which I was desired to go post. An old Scotch knight of the Sandelands hearing this, desired to borrow my horses as far as Heydelberg, which I granted, on condition that he would use them well by the way, and give them good keeping in that place afterwards.

The Count Scarnafigi was commanded to bear me company in this journey, and to carry with him some jewels, which he was to pawn in Lyons, in France, and with the money gotten for them to pay the soldiers above nominated ; for though the duke had put extreme taxations on his people, insomuch that they paid not only a certain sum for every horse, ox, cow, or sheep that they kept, but afterwards for every chimney ; and, finally, every single person by the poll, which amounted to a pistole, or 14*s.* a head or person : yet he wanted money ; at which I did not so much wonder, as at the patience of his subjects ; of whom I demanded, how they could bear their taxations ? I have heard some of them answer, 'We are not so much offended with the duke for what 'he takes from us, as thankful for what he leaves us.'

The Count Scarnafigi and I, now setting forth, rid post all day without eating or drinking by the way, the count telling me still we should come to a good inn at night. It was now twilight, when the count and I came near a solitary inn on the top of a mountain ; the hostess, hearing the noise of horses, came out, with a child new-born on her left arm, and a rush candle in her hand : she presently knowing

the Count de Scarnafigi, told him, 'Ah, signor, you are come in a very ill time ; the duke's soldiers have been here to-day, and have left me 'nothing.' I looked sadly upon the count, when he, coming near to me, whispered me in the ear, and said, 'It may be she thinks we will 'use her as the soldiers have done : go you into the house, and see 'whether you can find any thing ; I will go round about the house, and 'perhaps I shall meet with some duck, hen, or chicken.' Entering thus into the house, I found for all other furniture of it, the end of an old form, upon which sitting down, the hostess came towards me with a rush candle, and said, 'I protest before God, that is true which I told 'the count, here is nothing to eat ; but you are a gentleman, methinks 'it is pity you should want ; if you please, I will give you some milk 'out of my breasts, into a wooden dish I have here.' This unexpected kindness made that impression on me, that I remember I was never so tenderly sensible of any thing. My answer was, 'God forbid I 'should take away the milk from the child I see in thy arms : howbeit, 'I shall take it all my life for the greatest piece of charity that ever I 'heard of ;' and therewithal giving her a pistole, Scarnafigi and I got on horseback again, and rid another post, and came to an inn where we found very coarse cheer, yet hunger made us relish it.

In this journey I remember I went over Mount Gabelet by night, being carried down that precipice in a chair, a guide that went before bringing a bottle of straw with him, and kindling pieces of it from time to time, that we might see our way. Being at the bottom of a hill, I got on horseback and rid to Burgoine, resolving to rest there awhile ; and the rather, to speak truly, that I had heard divers say, and particularly Sir John Finnet,\* and Sir Richard Newport,† that the host's daughter there was the handsomest woman that ever they saw in their lives. Coming to the inn, the Count Scarnafigi wished me to rest two or three hours, and he would go before to Lyons, to prepare business for my journey to Languedoc. The host's daughter being not within, I told her father and mother that I desired only to see their daughter, as having heard her spoken of in England with so much advantage, that divers told me they thought her the handsomest creature that ever they saw. They answered, she was gone to a marriage, and should be presently sent for ; wishing me, in the mean while, to take some rest upon a bed, for they saw I needed it. Waking now about two hours afterwards, I found her sitting by me, attending when I would open mine eyes. I shall touch a little of her description : her hair being of a shining black, was naturally curled in that order that a curious woman would have dressed it ; for one curl rising by degrees above another, and every bout tied with a small riband of a naccarine, or the colour that the knights of the Bath wear, gave a very graceful mixture, while it was bound up in this manner from the point of her shoulder to the crown of her head ; her eyes, which were round and black, seemed to be models of her whole beauty, and in some sort of her air, while a kind of light or flame came from them, not unlike that which the riband which tied up her hair exhibited ; I do not remember ever to have seen a prettier mouth, or whiter teeth : briefly, all her outward parts seemed

\* Master of the Ceremonies.

† Afterwards created a baron, and ancestor of the Earls of Bedford.

to become each other ; neither was there any thing that could be disliked, unless one should say her complexion was too brown, which yet, from the shadow, was heightened with a good blood in her cheeks. Her gown was a green Turkey gingham, cut all into panes or slashes, from the shoulder and sleeves unto the foot, and tied up at the distance of about a hand's-breadth everywhere with the same ribband with which her hair was bound : so that her attire seemed as bizare as her person. I am too long in describing an host's daughter, howbeit I thought I might better speak of her than of divers other beauties held to be the best and fairest of the time, whom I have often seen. In conclusion, after about an hour's stay, I departed thence, without offering so much as the least incivility ; and indeed, after so much weariness, it was enough that her sight alone did somewhat refresh me.

From hence I went straight to Lyons : entering the gate, the guards there, after their usual manner, demanded of me who I was, whence I came, and whither I went ? to which while I answered, I observed one of them look very attentively upon me, and then again upon a paper he had in his hand ; this having been done divers times, bred in me a suspicion that there was no good meaning in it, and I was not deceived in my conjecture ; for the queen-mother of France having newly made an edict, that no soldiers should be raised in France, the Marquis de Rambouillet,\* French ambassador at Turin, sent word of my employment to the Marquis de St. Chaumont, then governor of Lyons, as also a description of my person. This edict was so severe, as they who raised any men were to lose their heads. In this unfortunate conjuncture of affairs, nothing fell out so well on my part, as that I had not raised as yet any men ; howbeit, the guards requiring me to come before the governor, I went with them to a church where he was at vespers ; this while I walked in the lower part of the church, little imagining what danger I was in had I levied any men : I had not walked there long, when a single person came to me, apparelled in a black stuff suit, without any attendants upon him, when I, supposing this person to be any man rather than the governor, saluted him without much ceremony. His first question was, whence I came ? I answered from Turin ; he demanded then whither I would go ? I answered, I was not yet resolved : his third question was, what news at Turin ? to which I answered, that I had no news to tell, as supposing him to be only some busy or inquisitive person. The marquis hereupon called one of the guards that conducted me thither, and after he had whispered something in his ear, wished me to go along with him, which I did willingly, as believing this man would bring me to the governor. This man silently leading me out of the church, brought me to a fair house, into which I was no sooner entered, but he told me I was commanded to prison there by him I saw in the church, who was the governor ; I replied, I did not know him to be governor, nor that that was a prison, and that if I were out of it again, neither the governor nor all the town could bring me to it alive. The master of the house hereupon spoke me very fair, and told me he would conduct

\* This gentleman, I believe, was husband to Madame de Rambouillet, whose assemblies of the wits and poets were so much celebrated in that age. They were parents of the famous Julie de Angennes, Duchesse de Montausier, well known by Voiture's letters to her.



me to a better chamber than any I could find in an inn, and thereupon conducted me to a very handsome lodging not far from the river. I had not been here half an hour when Sir Edward Sackville,\* (now Earl of Dorset) hearing only that an Englishman was committed, sent to know who I was, and why I was imprisoned. The governor not knowing whether to lay the fault upon my short answers to him, or my commission to levy men contrary to the queen's edict, made him so doubtful an answer (after he had a little touched upon both), as he dismissed him unsatisfied.

Sir Edward Sackville hereupon coming to the house where I was, as soon as ever he saw me, embraced me, saying, 'Ned Herbert, what doest thou here?' I answered, Ned Sackville, 'I am glad to see you; but I protest I know not why I am here.' He again said, 'Hast thou raised any men yet for the Duke of Savoy?' I replied, 'Not so much as one;' then said he 'I will warrant thee; though I must tell thee the governor is much offended at thy behaviour and language in the church.' (I replied it was impossible for me to imagine him to be governor that came without a guard, and in such mean clothes as he then wore.) 'I will go to him again, and tell him what you say, and doubt not but you shall be suddenly freed.' Hereupon returning to the governor, he told of what family I was, and of what condition, and that I had raised no men, and that I knew him not to be governor; whereupon the marquis wished him to go back, that he would come in person to free me out of the house.

This message being brought me by Sir Edward Sackville, I returned this answer only; that it was enough if he sent order to free me. While these messages past, a company of handsome young men and women, out of I know not what civility, brought music under the window and danced before me, looking often up to see me; but Sir Edward Sackville being now returned with order to free me, I only gave them thanks out of the window, and so went along with them to the governor. Being come into a great hall where his lady was, and a large train of gentlewomen and other persons, the governor with his hat in his hand, demanded of me, whether I knew him? when his noble lady answering for me, said, 'How could he know you, when you were in the church alone, and in this habit, being for the rest wholly a stranger to you?' which civility of hers, though I did not presently take notice of it, I did afterwards most thankfully acknowledge, when I was ambassador in France. The governor's next questions were the very same he made when he met me in the church; to which I made the very same answers before them all, concluding, that as I did not know him, he could think it no incongruity if I answered in those terms: the governor yet was not satisfied herewith, and his noble lady taking my part again, gave him those reasons for my answering him in that manner, that they silenced him from speaking any further. The governor turning back, I likewise after an humble obeisance made to his lady, returned with Sir Edward Sackville to my lodgings.

This night I passed as quietly as I could, but the next morning advised with him what I was to do. I told him I had received a great affront, and that I intended to send him a challenge, in such courteous

\* Well known by his duel with the Lord Bruce.

language that he could not refuse it. Sir Edward Sackville by all means dissuaded me from it ; by which I perceived I was not to expect his assistance therein ; and, indeed, the next day he went out of town.

Being alone now, I thought on nothing more than how to send him a challenge, which at last I penned to this effect : ‘ That whereas he ‘ had given me great offence, without a cause, I thought myself bound ‘ as a gentleman to resent it, and therefore desired to see him with his ‘ sword in his hand in any place he should appoint ; and hoped he ‘ would not interpose his authority as an excuse for not complying with ‘ his honour on this occasion, and that so I rested his humble servant.’

Finding nobody in town for two or three days by whom I might send this challenge, I resolved, for my last means, to deliver it in person, and observe how he took it, intending to right myself as I could, when I found he stood upon his authority.

This night it happened that Monsieur Terant, formerly mentioned, came to the town : this gentleman knowing me well, and remembering our acquaintance both at France and Juliers, wished there were some occasion for him to serve me ; I presently hereupon, taking the challenge out of my pocket, told him he would oblige me extremely, if he were pleased to deliver it ; and that I hoped he might do it without danger, since I knew the French to be so brave a nation, that they would never refuse or dislike any thing that was done in an honourable and worthy way.

Terant took the challenge from me, and after he had read it, told me that the language was civil and discreet ; nevertheless, he thought the governor would not return me that answer I expected ; howsoever, said he, I will deliver it. Returning thus to my inn, and intending to sleep quieter that night than I had done three nights before ; about one of the clock after midnight, I heard a great noise at my door, which awakened me, certain persons knocking so hard as if they would break it ; besides, through the chinks thereof I saw light. This made me presently rise in my shirt, when, drawing my sword, I went to the door, and demanded who they were ; and together told them, that if they came to make me prisoner, I would rather die with my sword in my hand ; and therewithal opening the door, I found upon the stairs half a dozen men armed with halberts, whom I no sooner prepared to resist, but the chief of them told me, that they came not to me from the governor, but from my good friend the Duke of Montmorency, son to the duke I formerly mentioned ; and that he came to town late that night, in his way from Languedoc (of which he was governor) to Paris ; and that he desired me, if I loved him, to rise presently and come to him, assuring me further that this was most true : hereupon wishing them to retire themselves, I drest myself, and went with them. They conducted me to the great hall of the governor, where the Duke of Montmorency and divers other cavaliers had been dancing with the ladies. I went presently to the Duke of Montmorency, who, taking me a little aside, told me that he had heard of the passages betwixt the governor and me, and that I had sent him a challenge ; howbeit, that he conceived men in his place were not bound to answer as private persons for those things they did by virtue of their office ; nevertheless, that I should have satisfaction in as ample manner as I

could reasonably desire. Hereupon, bringing me with him to the governor, he freely told me, that now he knew who I was, he could do no less than assure me that he was sorry for what was done, and desired me to take this for satisfaction : the Duke of Montmorency hereupon said presently, '*C'est assez*,' it is enough. I then turning to him, demanded whether he would have taken this satisfaction in the like case? He said, 'Yes.' After this, turning to the governor, I demanded the same question; to which he answered, that he would have taken the same satisfaction, and less too. I kissing my hand, gave it to him, who embraced me, and so this business ended.

After some compliments past between the Duke of Montmorency, who remembered the great love his father bore me, which he desired to continue in his person, and putting me in mind also of our being educated together for a while, demanded whether I would go with him to Paris? I told him that I was engaged to the Low Countries; but that wheresoever I was, I should be his most humble servant.

My employment with the Duke of Savoy in Languedoc being thus ended, I went from Lyons to Geneva, where I found also my fame had prevented my coming; for the next morning after my arrival, the state taking notice of me, sent a messenger in their name to congratulate my being there, and presented me with some flagons of wine, desiring me (if I stayed there any while) to see their fortifications, and give my opinion of them; which I did, and told them I thought they were weakest where they thought themselves the strongest, which was on the hilly part, where, indeed, they had made great fortifications; yet, as it is a rule in war, that whatsoever may be made by art, may be destroyed by art again, I conceived they had need to fear the approach of an enemy on that part rather than any other. They replied, that divers great soldiers had told them the same; and that they would give the best order they could to serve themselves on that side.

Having rested here some while to take physick (my health being a little broken with long travel), I departed, after a fortnight's stay, to Basil, where taking a boat upon the river, I came at length to Strasburg, and from thence went to Heydelbourg, where I was received again by the prince elector and princess with much kindness, and viewed at leisure the fair library there, the gardens, and other rarities of that place; and here I found my horses I lent to Sandelands in good plight, which I then bestowed upon some servants of the prince, in way of retribution for my welcome thither. From hence Sir George Calvert\* and myself went by water, for the most part, to the Low Countries, where taking leave of each other, I went straight to his excellency, who did extraordinarily welcome me, insomuch that it was observed that he did never outwardly make so much of any one as myself.

It happened this summer that the Low-Country army was not drawn into the field, so that the Prince of Orange past his time at playing at chess with me after dinner; or in going to Reswick with him to see his great horses; or in making love, in which, also, he used me as his companion, yet so, that I saw nothing openly, more than might argue a civil familiarity. When I was at any time from him, I did, by his

\* Afterwards Lord Baltimore.



good leave, endeavour to raise a troop of horse for the Duke of Savoy's service, as having obtained a commission to that purpose for my brother William, then an officer in the Low-Country. Having these men in readiness, I sent word to the Count Scarnafigi thereof, who was now ambassador in England, telling him, that if he would send money, my brother was ready to go.

Scarnafigi answered me, 'That he expected money in England; and 'that as soon as he received it, he would send over so much as would 'pay a hundred horse:' but a peace betwixt him and the Spaniard being concluded not long after at Asti, the whole charge of keeping this horse fell upon me, without ever to this day receiving any recompense.

Winter now approaching, and nothing more to be done for that year, I went to the Brill to take shipping for England. Sir Edward Conway, who was then governor at that place, and afterwards secretary of state, taking notice of my being there, came to me, and invited me every day to come to him, while I attended only for a wind; which serving at last for my journey, Sir Edward Conway conducted me to the ship, into which as soon as I was entered, he caused six pieces of ordnance to be discharged for my farewell. I was scarce gone a league into the sea, when the wind turned contrary, and forced me back again. Returning thus to the Brill, Sir Edward Conway welcomed me as before; and now, after some three or four days, the wind serving, he conducted me again to the ship, and bestowed six volleys of ordnance upon me. I was now about half way to England, when a most cruel storm arose, which tore our sails and spent our masts, insomuch that the master of our ship gave us all for lost, as the wind was extreme high, and together contrary. We were carried at last, though with much difficulty, back again to the Brill, where Sir Edward Conway did congratulate my escape; saying, he believed, certainly, that (considering the weather) I must needs be cast away.

After some stay here with my former welcome, the wind being now fair, I was conducted again to my ship by Sir Edward Conway, and the same volleys of shot given me, and was now scarce out of the haven, when the wind again turned contrary, and drove me back: this made me resolve to try my fortune here no longer; hiring a small bark therefore, I went to the sluice, and from thence to Ostend, where finding company, I went to Brussels. In the inn where I lay, here an ordinary was kept, to which divers noblemen and principal officers of the Spanish army resorted: sitting among these at dinner, the next day after my arrival, no man knowing me or informing himself who I was, they fell into discourse of divers matters, in Italian, Spanish, and French; and at last three of them, one after another, began to speak of King James, my master, in a very scornful manner; I thought with myself then, that if I was a base fellow, I need not take any notice thereof, since no man knew me to be an Englishman, or that I did so much as understand their language; but my heart burning within me, I, putting off my hat, arose from the table, and turning myself to those that sat at the upper end, who had said nothing to the king my master's prejudice, I told them in Italian, '*Son Inglese*;' 'I am an Englishman;' and should be unworthy to live if I suffered these words to be spoken of the king my master; and therewithal turning myself

to those who had injured the king, I said, 'You have spoken falsely, and I will fight with you all:' those at the upper end of the table finding I had so much reason on my part, did sharply check those I questioned, and, to be brief, made them ask the king's forgiveness, wherewith also the king's health being drank round about the table, I departed thence to Dunkirk, and thence to Graveling, where I saw though unknown, an English gentlewoman enter into a nunnery there. I went thence to Calais; it was now extreme foul weather, and I could find no master of a ship willing to adventure to sea; howbeit, my impatience was such, that I demanded of a poor fisherman there whether he would go, he answered, his ship was worse than any in the haven, as being open above, and without any deck, besides, that it was old; but, saith he, 'I care for my life as little as you do, and if you will go, my boat is at your service.'

I was now scarce out of the haven, when a high-grown sea had almost overwhelmed us, the waves coming in very fast into our ship, which we laded out again the best we could; notwithstanding which we expected every minute to be cast away: it pleased God yet before we were gone six leagues into the sea, to cease the tempest, and give us a fair passage over to the Downs, where after giving God thanks for my delivery from this most needless danger that ever I did run, I went to London. I had not been here ten days when a quartan ague seized on me, which held me for a year and a half without intermission, and a year and a half longer at spring and fall; the good days I had during all this sickness I employed in study, the ill being spent in as sharp and long fits as I think ever any man endured, which brought me at last to be so lean and yellow, that scarce any man did know me. It happened during this sickness, that I walked abroad one day towards Whitehall, where meeting with one Emerson, who spoke very disgraceful words of Sir Robert Harley, being then my dear friend, my weakness could not hinder me to be sensible of my friend's dishonour; shaking him therefore by a long beard he wore, I stept a little aside, and drew my sword in the street, Captain Thomas Scriven, a friend of mine, not being far off on one side, and divers friends of his on the other side. All that saw me wondered how I could go, being so weak and consumed as I was, but much more, that I would offer to fight: howsoever Emerson, instead of drawing his sword, ran away into Suffolk-house, and afterwards informed the lords of the council of what I had done; who not long after sending for me, did not so much reprehend my taking part with my friend, as that I would adventure to fight, being in such a bad condition of health. Before I came wholly out of my sickness, Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, came into the king's favour: this cavalier meeting me accidentally at the Lady Stanhope's\* house, came to me, and told me he had heard so much of my worth, as he would think himself happy if, by his credit with the king, he could do me any service; I humbly thanked him, but told him that for the present I had need of nothing so much as of health, but that if ever I had ambition, I should take the boldness to make my address by him.

\* Catherine, daughter of Francis Lord Hastings, first wife of Philip Lord Stanhope, afterwards created Earl of Chesterfield.

I was no sooner perfectly recovered of this long sickness, but the Earl of Oxford and myself resolved to raise two regiments for the service of the Venetians. While we were making ready for this journey, the king having an occasion to send an ambassador into France, required Sir George Villiers to present him with the names of the fittest men for that employment that he knew ; whereupon eighteen names, among which mine was, being written in a paper, were presented to him ; the king presently chose me, yet so as he desired first to have the approbation of his privy council, who, confirming his majesty's choice, sent a messenger to my house among gardens, near the Old Exchange, requiring me to come presently to them ; myself little knowing then the honour intended me, asked the messenger whether I had done any fault, that the lords sent for me so suddenly ? wishing him to tell the lords that I was going to dinner, and would afterwards attend them. I had scarce dined, when another messenger was sent ; this made me hasten to Whitehall, where I was no sooner come, but the lords saluted me by the name of Lord Ambassador of France ; I told their lordships thereupon, that I was glad it was no worse, and that I doubted, that by their speedy sending for me, some complaint, though false, might be made against me.

My first commission was to renew the oath of alliance betwixt the two crowns, for which purpose I was extraordinary ambassador, which being done, I was to reside there as ordinary. I had received now about 600*l.* or 700*l.* towards the charges of my journey, and locked it in certain coffers in my house, when, the night following, about one of the clock, I could hear divers men speak and knock at the door, in that part of the house where none did lie but myself, my wife, and her attendants ; my servants being lodged in another house not far off. As soon as I heard the noise, I suspected presently they came to rob me of my money ; howsoever, I thought fit to rise, and go to the window, to know who they were ? The first word I heard was, 'Darest thou 'come down, Welshman ?' which I no sooner heard, but, taking a sword in one hand, and a little target in the other, I did in my shirt run down the stairs, open the doors suddenly, and charged ten or twelve of them with that fury that they ran away, some throwing away their halberts, others hurting their fellows, to make them go faster in a narrow way they were to pass ; in which disordered manner I drove them to the middle of the street by the Exchange, where, finding my bare feet hurt by the stones I trod on, I thought fit to return home, and leave them to their flight. My servants, hearing the noise, by this time were got up, and demanded whether I would have them pursue those rogues that fled away ; but I answering that I thought they were out of their reach, we returned home together.

While I was preparing myself for my journey, it happened that I passing through the Inner Temple one day, and encountering Sir Robert Vaughan in this country, some harsh words passed betwixt us, which occasioned him, at the persuasion of others whom I will not nominate, to send me a challenge : this was brought me at my house in Blackfriars, by Captain Charles Price, upon a Sunday, about one of the clock in the afternoon. When I had read it, I told Charles Price that I did ordinarily bestow this day in devotion, nevertheless, that I



would meet Sir Robert Vaughan presently, and gave him thereupon the length of my sword, demanding whether he brought any second with him ; to which Charles Price replying, that he would be in the field with him, I told my brother, Sir Henry Herbert, then present, thereof, who readily offering himself to be my second, nothing was wanting now but the place to be agreed upon betwixt us, which was not far from the waterside, near Chelsea.

My brother and I taking boat presently, came to the place, where, after we had stayed about two hours in vain, I desired my brother to go to Sir Robert Vaughan's lodging, and tell him that I now attended his coming a great while, and that I desired him to come away speedily ; hereupon my brother went, and after a while returning back again, he told me they were not ready yet. I attended then about an hour and a half longer ; but as he did not come yet, I sent my brother a second time to call him away, and to tell him I caught cold, nevertheless that I would stay there till sunset : my brother yet could not bring him along, but returned himself to the place, where we stayed together till half an hour after sunset, and then returned home.

The next day the Earl of Worcester,\* by the king's command, forbid me to receive any message or letter from Sir Robert Vaughan, and advertised me withal, that the king had given him charge to end the business betwixt us ; for which purpose he desired me to come before him the next day about two of the clock ; at which time, after the earl had told me, that being now made ambassador, and a public person, I ought not to entertain private quarrels ; after which, without much ado, he ended the business betwixt Sir Robert Vaughan and myself. It was thought by some, that this would make me lose my place, I being under so great an obligation to the king for my employment in France ; but Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, told me he would warrant me for this one time, but I must do so no more.

I was now almost ready for my journey, and had received already as choice a company of gentlemen for my attendants, as, I think, ever followed an ambassador ; when some of my private friends told me, that I was not to trust so much to my pay from the exchequer, but that it was necessary for me to take letters of credit with me, for as much money as I could well procure. Informing myself hereupon who had furnished the last ambassador, I was told Monsieur Savage, a Frenchman : coming to his house I demanded whether he would help me with moneys in France, as he had done the last ambassador ? He said he did not know me, but would inform himself better who I was : departing thus from him, I went to Signor Burlamacchi, a man of great credit in those times, and demanded of him the same : his answer was, that he knew me to be a man of honour, and I had kept my word with every body ; whereupon also, going to his study, gave me a letter of credit to one Monsieur de Langherac, in Paris, for 2000*l.* sterling. I then demanded what security he expected for this money ? he said, he would have nothing but my promise : I told him he had put a great obligation upon me, and that I would strive to acquit myself of it the best I could.

Having now a good sum of money in my coffers, and this letter of

\* Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy Seal, and Knight of the Garter.

credit, I made ready for my journey. The day I went out of London, I remember, was the same in which Queen Anne was carried to burial ; which was a sad spectacle to all that had occasion to honour her. My first night's journey was to Gravesend, where, being at supper in my inn, Monsieur Savage, formerly mentioned, came to me, and told me, that whereas I had spoken to him for a letter of credit, he had made one which he thought would be to my contentment. I demanded to whom it was directed ; he said, to Monsieur Tallemant and Ram-bouillet, in Paris : I asked then, what they were worth ? he said, above 100,000*l.* sterling. I demanded, for how much this letter of credit was ? he said, for as much as I should have need of : I asked, what security he required ? he said, nothing but my word, which he had heard was inviolable.

From Gravesend, by easy journeys, I went to Dover, where I took shipping, with a train of a hundred and odd persons, and arrived shortly after at Calais, where I remember my cheer was twice as good as at Dover, and my reckoning half as cheap ; from whence I went to Boulogne, Monstreville, Abbeville, Amiens, and in two days, thence to St. Dennis, near Paris, where I was met with a great train of coaches, that were sent to receive me ; as also by the master of the ceremonies, and Monsieur Mennon, my fellow scholar, with Monsieur Disancour, who then kept an academy, and brought with him a brave company of gentlemen on great horses, to attend me into town.

It was now somewhat late when I entered Paris, upon a Saturday night : I was but newly settled in my lodging, when a secretary of the Spanish ambassador there told me that his lord desired to have the first audience from me, and therefore requested he might see me the next morning. I replied, it was a day I gave wholly to devotion ; and therefore entreated him to stay till some more convenient time. The secretary replied, that his master did hold it no less holy ; howbeit, that his respect to me was such, that he would prefer the desire he had to serve me before all other considerations : howsoever, I put him off until Monday following.

Not long after, I took a house in Fauxbourg St. Germain, Rue Tournon, which cost me 200*l.* sterling yearly. Having furnished the house richly, and lodged all my train, I prepared for a journey to Tours and Touraine, where the French court then was. Being come hither in extreme hot weather, I demanded audience of the king and queen,\* which being granted, I did assure the king of the great affection the king my master bore him, not only out of the ancient alliance betwixt the two crowns, but because Henry IV. and the king my master had stipulated with each other, that whensoever any one of them died, the survivor should take care of the other's child : I assured him further, that no charge was so much imposed upon me by my instructions, as that I should do good offices betwixt both kingdoms ; and therefore, that it were a great fault in me, if I behaved myself otherwise than with all respect to his majesty. This being done, I presented to the king a letter of credence from the king my master. The king† assured me of a reciprocal affection to the king my master, and of my par-

\* Anne of Austria, mother of Louis XIV.

† Louis XIII. son of Henry IV.

ticular welcome to his court : his words were never many, as being so extreme a stutterer, that he would sometimes hold his tongue out of his mouth a good while, before he could speak so much as one word ; he had, besides, a double row of teeth, and was observed seldom or never to spit, or blow his nose, or to sweat much, though he were very laborious, and almost indefatigable in his exercises of hunting and hawking, to which he was much addicted ; neither did it hinder him, though he was burst in his body, as we call it, or herniosus ; for he was noted in those sports, though oftentimes on foot, to tire not only his courtiers, but even his lackeys, being equally insensible, as was thought, either of heat or cold. His understanding and natural parts were as good as could be expected in one that was brought up in so much ignorance, which was on purpose so done, that he might be the longer governed ; howbeit, he acquired in time a great knowledge in affairs, as conversing for the most part with wise and active persons. He was noted to have two qualities incident to all who were ignorantly brought up—suspicion and dissimulation ; for as ignorant persons walk so much in the dark, they cannot be exempt from the fear of stumbling ; and as they are likewise deprived of, or deficient in those true principles by which they should govern both public and private actions in a wise, solid, and demonstrative way, they strive commonly to supply these imperfections with covert arts, which, although it may be sometimes excusable in necessitous persons, and be indeed frequent among those who negotiate in small matters, yet condemnable in princes, who, proceeding upon foundations of reason and strength, ought not to submit themselves to such poor helps : howbeit, I must observe, that neither his fears did take away his courage, when there was occasion to use it, nor his dissimulation extend itself to the doing of private mischiefs to his subjects, either of one or the other religion. His favourite was one Monsieur de Luynes, who in his non-age gained much upon the king, by making hawks fly at all little birds in his gardens, and by making some of those little birds again catch butterflies ; and had the king used him for no other purpose, he might have been tolerated ; but as, when the king came to a riper age, the government of public affairs was drawn chiefly from his counsels, not a few errors were committed.

The queen-mother, princes, and nobles of that kingdom repined that his advices to the king should be so prevalent, which also at least caused a civil war in that kingdom. How unfit this man was for the credit he had with the king may be argued by this ; that when there was question made about some business in Bohemia, he demanded whether it was an inland country, or lay upon the sea ? And thus much for the present of the king and his favourite.

After my audience with the king, I had another from the queen, being sister to the King of Spain ; I had little to say unto her, but some compliments on the king my master's part, but such compliments as her sex and quality were capable of. This queen was exceedingly fair, like those of the house of Austria, and together of so mild and good a condition, she was never noted to have done ill offices to any, but to have mediated as much as was possible for her, in satisfaction of those who had any suit to the king, as far as their cause would bear.



She had now been married divers years without having any children, though so ripe for them, that nothing seemed to be wanting on her part. I remember her the more particularly, that she shewed publicly at my audiences that favour to me, as not only my servants but divers others took notice of it. After this my first audience, I went to see Monsieur de Luynes, and the principal ministers of state, as also the princes and princesses, and ladies then in the court, and particularly the Princess of Conti, from whom I carried the scarf formerly mentioned ; and this is as much as I shall declare in this place, concerning my negotiation with the king and state, my purpose being, if God sends me life, to set them forth apart, as having the copies of all my dispatches in a great trunk in my house in London ; and considering that in the time of my stay there, there were divers civil wars in that country, and that the prince, now king, passed with my Lord of Buckingham and others through France into Spain ; and the business of the Elector Palatine in Bohemia, and the battle of Prague, and divers other memorable accidents, both of state and war, happened during the time of my employment ; I conceive a narration of them may be worth the seeing, to them who have it not from a better hand ; I shall only therefore relate here, as they come into my memory, certain little passages, which may serve in some part to declare the history of my life.

Coming back from Tours to Paris, I gave the best order I could concerning the expenses of my house, family, and stable, that I might settle all things as near as was possible in a certain course, allowing, according to the manner of France, so many pounds of beef, mutton, veal, and pork, and so much also in turkeys, capons, pheasants, partridges, and all other fowls, as also pies and tarts, after the French manner, and after all this a dozen dishes of sweetmeats every meal constantly. The ordering of these things was the heavier to me, that my wife flatly refused to come over into France, as being now entered into a dropsy, which also had kept her without children for many years : I was constrained therefore to make use of a steward, who was understanding and diligent, but no very honest man. My chief secretary was William Boswell, now the king's agent in the Low-Countries ; my secretary for the French tongue was one Monsieur Ozier, who afterwards was the king's agent in France. The gentleman of my horse was Monsieur de Meny, who afterwards commanded a thousand horse in the wars of Germany, and proved a very gallant gentleman : Mr. Crofts was one of my principal gentlemen, and afterwards made the king's cupbearer ; and Thomas Caage, that excellent wit, the king's carver : Edmund Taverner, whom I made my under-secretary, was afterwards chief secretary to the lord chamberlain ; and one Mr. Smith, secretary to the Earl of Northumberland : I nominate these, and could many more, that came to very good fortunes afterwards, because I may verify that which I said before concerning the gentlemen that attended me.

When I came to Paris the English and French were in very ill intelligence with each other, insomuch that one Buckley coming then to me, said he was assaulted and hurt upon Pont Neuf, only because he was an Englishman : nevertheless, after I had been in Paris about a

month, all the English were so welcome thither, that no other nation was so acceptable amongst them, insomuch that my gentlemen having a quarrel with some debauched French, who in their drunkenness quarrelled with them, divers principal gentlemen of that nation offered themselves to assist my people with their swords.

It happened one day, that my cousin, Oliver Herbert, and George Radney, being gentlemen who attended me, and Henry Whittingham, my butler, had a quarrel with some French, upon I know not what frivolous occasion. It happened my cousin, Oliver Herbert, had for his opposite a fencer belonging to the Prince of Condé, who was dangerously hurt by him in divers places ; but as the house, or hostel, of the Prince of Condé was not far off, and himself well beloved in those quarters, the French in great multitudes arising, drove away the three above-mentioned into my house, pursuing them within the gates ; I perceiving this at a window, ran out with my sword, which the people no sooner saw, but they fled again as fast as ever they entered : howsoever, the Prince of Condé his fencer was in that danger of his life, that Oliver Herbert was forced to fly France, which, that he might do the better, I paid the said fencer two hundred crowns, or 60*l.* sterling, for his hurt and cures.

The plague now being hot in Paris, I desired the Duke of Montmorency to lend me the castle of Merlou, where I lived in the time of his most noble father, which he willingly granted. Removing thither, I enjoyed that sweet place and country, wherein I found not a few that welcomed me out of their ancient acquaintance.

On the one side of me was the Baron de Montaterre, of the reformed religion, and Monsieur de Bouteville on the other, who, though young at that time, proved afterwards to be that brave cavalier which all France did so much celebrate : in both their castles, likewise, were ladies of much beauty and discretion, and particularly a sister of Bouteville, thought to be one of the chief perfections of the time, whose company yielded some divertisement when my public occasions did suffer it.

Winter being now come, I returned to my house in Paris, and prepared for renewing the oath of alliance betwixt the two crowns, for which, as I said formerly, I had an extraordinary commission ; nevertheless, the king put off the business to as long a time as he well could. In the mean while, Prince Henry of Nassau, brother to Prince Maurice, coming to Paris, was met and much welcomed by me, as being obliged to him, no less than to his brother in the Low-Countries. This prince, and all his train, were feasted by me at Paris with a hundred dishes, costing, as I remember, in all 100*l.*

The French king at last resolving upon a day for performing the ceremony betwixt the two crowns above-mentioned, myself and all my train put ourselves into that sumptuous equipage, that I remember it cost me one way or another above 1000*l.* And truly the magnificence of it was such, as a little French book was presently printed thereof. This being done, I resided here in the quality of an ordinary ambassador.

And now I shall mention some particular passages concerning myself, without entering yet any way into the whole frame and context of my negotiation, reserving them, as I said before, to a particular treatise.

tise. I spent my time much in the visits of the princes, council of state, and great persons of the French kingdom, who did ever punctually requite my visits: the like I did also to the chief ambassadors there, among whom, the Venetian, Low-Country, Savoy, and the united princes in Germany, ambassadors, did bear me that respect, that they usually met in my house, to advise together concerning the great affairs of that time; for as the Spaniard then was so potent, that he seemed to affect a universal monarchy, all the above-mentioned ambassadors did, in one common interest, strive to oppose him. All our endeavours yet could not hinder, but that he both publicly prevailed in his attempts abroad, and privately did corrupt divers of the principal ministers of state in this kingdom. I came to discover this by many ways, but by none more effectually than by the means of an Italian, who returned over, by letters of exchange, the moneys the Spanish ambassador received for his occasions in France; for I perceived that when the said Italian was to receive any extraordinary great sum for the Spanish ambassador's use, the whole face of affairs was presently changed, inso much that neither my reasons, nor the ambassadors above-mentioned, how valid soever, could prevail; though yet afterwards we found means together to reduce affairs to their former train, till some other new great sum coming to the Spanish ambassador's hand, and from thence to the aforesaid ministers of state, altered all. Howbeit, divers visits passed betwixt the Spanish ambassador and myself, in one of which he told me, that though our interests were divers, yet we might continue friendship in our particular persons; 'For', said he, 'it can be no occasion of offence betwixt us, that each of us strive the best he can to serve the king his master.' I disliked not his reasons, though yet I could not omit to tell him, that I would maintain the dignity of the king my master the best I could; and this I said, because the Spanish ambassador had taken place of the English in the time of Henry IV. in this fashion: they both meeting in an antechamber to the secretary of state, the Spanish ambassador, leaning to the wall in that posture that he took the hand of the English ambassador, said publicly, 'I hold this place in the right of the king my master;' which small punctilio being not resented by our ambassador at that time, gave the Spaniard occasion to brag that he had taken the hand from our ambassador. This made me more watchful to regain the honour which the Spaniard pretended to have gotten herein; so that though the ambassador, in his visits, often repeated the words above-mentioned, being in Spanish, '*Que cada uno haga lo que pudiere por su amo;*' 'Let every man do the best he can for his master;' I attended the occasion to right my master. It happened one day, that both of us going to the French king for our several affairs, the Spanish ambassador, between Paris and Estampes, being upon his way before me in his coach, with a train of about sixteen or eighteen persons on horseback, I following him in my coach, with about ten or twelve horse, found that either I must go the Spanish pace, which is slow, or if I hastened to pass him, that I must hazard the suffering of some affront like unto that our former ambassador received; proposing hereupon to my gentlemen the whole business, I told them that I meant to redeem the honour of the king my master some way or other, demand-



ing further, whether they would assist me? which they promising, I bid the coachman drive on. The Spanish ambassador seeing me approach, and imagining what my intention was, sent a gentleman to me, to tell me he desired to salute me; which I accepting, the gentleman returned to the ambassador, who, alighting from his coach, attended me in the middle of the highway; which being perceived by me, I alighted also, when some extravagant compliments having passed betwixt us, the Spanish ambassador took his leave of me, went to a dry ditch not far off, upon pretence of making water, but indeed to hold the upper hand of me while I passed by in my coach; which being observed by me, I left my coach, and getting upon a spare horse I had there, rode into the said dry ditch, and telling him aloud, that I knew well why he stood there, bid him afterwards get to his coach, for I must ride that way: the Spanish ambassador, who understood me well, went to his coach grumbling and discontented, although yet neither he nor his train did any more than look one upon another in a confused manner; my coach this while passing by the ambassador on the same side I was, I shortly after left my horse and got into it. It happened this while, that one of my coach horses having lost a shoe, I thought fit to stay at a smith's forge, about a quarter of a mile before; this shoe could not be put on so soon, but that the Spanish ambassador overtook us, and might indeed have passed us, but that he thought I would give him another affront: attending, therefore, the smith's leisure, he stayed in the highway, to our no little admiration, until my horse was shod: we continued our journey to Estampes, the Spanish ambassador following us still at a good distance.

I should scarce have mentioned this passage, but that the Spaniards do so much stand upon their pundonores; for confirming whereof, I have thought fit to remember the answer a Spanish ambassador made to Philip II. King of Spain, who finding fault with him for neglecting a business of great importance in Italy, because he could not agree with the French ambassador about some such pundonore as this, said to him, '*Como a dexado una cosa di importancia per una cerimonia!*' 'How, have you left a business of importance for a ceremony!' The ambassador boldly replied to his master, '*Como por una cerimonia!*' '*Vuessa majesta misma no es sino una cerimonia;*' 'How, for a ceremony! Your majesty's self is but a ceremony.'

Howsoever, the Spanish ambassador taking no notice publicly of the advantage I had of him herein, dissembled it, as I heard, till he could find some fit occasion to resent this passage, which yet he never did to this day.

Among the visits I rendered to the grandees of France, one of the principal I made was to that brave general the Duke of Lesdigueres, who was now grown very old and deaf. His words to me were, 'Monsieur, you must do me the honour to speak high, for I am deaf;' my answer to him was, 'You was born to command and not to obey;' 'it is enough if others have ears to hear you:' this compliment took him much, and indeed I have a manuscript of his military precepts and observations, which I value at a great price.

I shall relate now some things concerning myself, which though they may seem scarce credible, yet, before God, are true: I had been now

in France about a year and a half, when my tailor, Andrew Henly of Basil, who lives in Blackfriars, demanded of me half a yard of satin, to make me a suit, more than I was accustomed to give, of which I required a reason, saying, I was not fatter now than when I came to France ; he answered, it was true, but you are taller ; whereunto when I would give no credit, he brought his old measures, and made it appear that they did not reach to their just places : I told him I knew not how this happened, but howsoever he should have a half a yard more, and that when I came into England I would clear the doubt : for a little before my departure thence, I remember William Earl of Pembroke and myself did measure heights together, at the request of the Countess of Bedford, and he was then higher than I by about the growth of my little finger ; at my return, therefore, into England, I measured again with the same earl, and, to both our great wonders, found myself taller than he by the breadth of a little finger ; which breadth of mine I could attribute to no other cause but to my quartan ague formerly mentioned, which, when it quitted me, left me in a more perfect health than I formerly enjoyed, and indeed disposed me to some follies which I afterwards repented and do still repent of ; but as my wife refused to come over, and my temptations were great, I hope the faults I committed are the more pardonable ; howsoever, I can say truly, that whether in France or England, I was never in a bawdy-house, nor used my pleasures intemperately, and much less did accompany them with that dissimulation and falsehood which is commonly found in men addicted to love women. To conclude this passage, which I unwillingly mention, I must protest again, before God, that I never delighted in that or any other sin, and that if I transgressed sometimes in this kind, it was to avoid a greater ill ; for certainly if I had been provided with a lawful remedy, I should have fallen into no extravagancy. I could extenuate my fault by telling circumstances which would have operated, I doubt, upon the chastest of mankind ; but I forbear, those things being not fit to be spoken of ; for though the philosophers have accounted this act to be *inter honesta factu*, where neither injury nor violence was offered, yet they ever reckoned it among the *turpia dictu* ; I shall therefore only tell some other things alike strange of myself.

I weighed myself in balances often with men lower than myself by the head, and in their bodies slenderer, and yet was found lighter than they, as Sir John Davers, knight, and Richard Griffiths, now living, can witness, with both whom I have been weighed. I had also, and have still a pulse on the crown of my head. It is well known to those that wait in my chamber, that the shirts, waistcoats, and other garments I wear next my body, are sweet, beyond what either easily can be believed, or hath been observed in any else, which sweetness also was found to be in my breath above others, before I used to take tobacco, which towards my latter time I was forced to take against certain rheums and catarrhs that trouble me, which yet did not taint my breath for any long time ; I scarce ever felt cold in my life, though yet so subject to catarrhs, that I think no man ever was more obnoxious to it ; all which I do in a familiar way mention to my posterity, though otherwise they might be thought scarce worth the writing.

The effect of my being sent into France by the king my master, being to hold all good intelligence betwixt both crowns, my employment was more noble and pleasing, and my pains not great, France having no design at that time upon England, and King James being that pacific prince all the world knew. And thus, besides the times I spent in treaties and negotiations, I had either with the ministers of state in France, or foreign ambassadors residing in Paris, I had spare time not only for my book, but for visits to divers grandees, for little more ends than obtaining some intelligence of the affairs of that kingdom, and civil conversation, for which their free, generous, and cheerful company was no little motive; persons of all quality being so addicted to have mutual entertainment with each other, that in calm weather one might find all the noble and good company in Paris, of both sexes, either in the garden of the Thuilleries, or in the park of Bois de Vincennes, they thinking it almost an incivility to refuse their presence and free discourse to any who were capable of coming to those places, either under the recommendation of good parts, or but so much as handsome clothes and a good equipage. When foul weather was, they spent their time in visits at each others' houses, where they interchanged civil discourses, or heard music, or fell to dancing, using, according to the manner of that country, all the reasonable liberties they could with their honour; while their manner was, either in the garden of the Thuilleries, or elsewhere, if any one discoursing with a lady did see some other of good fashion approach to her, he would leave her and go to some other lady, he who conversed with her at that time quitting her also, and going to some other, that so addresses might be made equal and free to all without scruple on any part, neither was exception made, or quarrel begun, upon these terms.

It happened one day, that I being ready to return from the Thuilleries, about eight of the clock in the summer, with intention to write a dispatch to the king about some intelligence I had received there, the queen, attended with her principal ladies, without so much as one cavalier, did enter the garden; I staid on one side of an alley, there to do my reverence to her and the rest, and so return to my house, when the queen perceiving me, staid a while, as if she expected I should attend her; but as I stirred not more than to give her that great respect I owed her; the Princess of Conti, who was next, called me to her, and said I must go along with her, but I excusing myself upon occasion of a present dispatch which I was to make unto his majesty, the Duchess of Antador, who followed her, came to me, and said I must not refuse her; whereupon, leading her by her arms, according to the manner of that country, the Princess of Conti, offended that I had denied her that civility which I had yielded to another, took me off, after she had demanded the consent of the duchess; but the queen then also staying, I left the princess, and, with all due humility, went to the queen, and led her by the arms; walking thus to a place in the garden where some orange trees grew, and here discoursing with her majesty bare-headed, some small shot fell on both our heads; the occasion whereof was this: the king being in the garden, and shooting at a bird in the air, which he did with much perfection, the descent of his shot fell just



upon us ; the queen was much startled herewith, when I, coming nearer to her, demanded whether she had received any harm ; to which she answering no, and therewith taking two or three small pellets from her hair, it was thought fit to send a gardener to the king, to tell him that her majesty was there, and that he should shoot no more that way, which was no sooner heard among the nobles that attended him, but many of them leaving him, came to the queen and ladies, among whom was Monsieur le Grand,\* who, finding the queen still discoursing with me, stole behind her, and letting fall gently some comfits he had in his pocket upon the queen's hair, gave her occasion to apprehend that some shot had fallen on her again ; turning hereupon to Monsieur le Grand, I said that I marvelled that so old a courtier as he was, could find no means to entertain ladies but by making them afraid ; but the queen shortly after returning to her lodging, I took my leave of her, and came home. All which passage I have thought fit to set down, the accident above-mentioned being so strange, that it can hardly be paralleled.

It fell out one day that the Prince of Condé coming to my house, some speech happened concerning the king my master, in whom though he acknowledged much learning, knowledge, clemency, and divers other virtues, yet he said he had heard that the king was much given to cursing, I answered that it was out of his gentleness ; but the prince demanding how cursing could be a gentleness ? I replied yes, for though he could punish men himself, yet he left them to God to punish ; which defence of the king my master was afterwards much celebrated in the French court.

Monsieur de Luines† continuing still the king's favourite, advised him to war against his subjects of the reformed religion in France ; saying, he would neither be a great prince as long as he suffered so puissant a party to remain within his dominions, nor could justly style himself the most Christian king, as long as he permitted such heretics to be in that great number they were, or to hold those strong places which by public edict were assigned to them ; and therefore, that he should extirpate them as the Spaniards had done the Moors, who are all banished into other countries, as we may find in their histories. This counsel, though approved by the young king, was yet disliked by other grave and wise persons about him, and particularly by the chancellor Sillery, and the president Jannin who thought better to have a peace which had two religions, than a war that had none. Howbeit, the design of Luines was applauded, not only by the Jesuit party in France, but by some princes and other martial persons, inso-much that the Duke of Guise‡ coming to see me one day, said that they should never be happy in France, until those of the religion were rooted out : I answered, that I wondered to hear him say so, and the duke demanding why ? I replied, that whensoever those of the religion were put down, the turn of the great persons, and governors of provinces of that kingdom would be next ; and that, though the present king was a good prince, yet that their successors may be

\* Roger, Duc de Bellegarde, grand Escuyer.

† Charles Albret, Duc of Luynes.

‡ Charles son of Henry Duke of Guise, who was killed at Blois.

otherwise, and that men did not know how soon princes might prove tyrants when they had nothing to fear ; which speech of mine was fatal, since those of the religion were no sooner reduced into that weak condition into which now they are, but the governors of provinces were brought lower, and curbed much in their power and authority, and the Duke of Guise first of them all ; so that I doubt not but my words were well remembered. Howsoever, the war now went on with much fervour ; neither could I dissuade it, though using, according to the instructions I had from the king my master, many arguments for that purpose. I was told often, that if the reformation in France had been like that in England, where they observed we retained the hierarchy, together with decent rites and ceremonies in the church, as also holidays in the memory of saints, music in churches, and divers other testimonies, both of glorifying God and giving honour and reward to learning, they could much better have tolerated it, but such a rash and violent reformation as theirs was, ought by no means to be approved ; whereunto I answered, that though the causes of departing from the Church of Rome were taught and delivered by many sober and modest persons, yet that the reformation in great part was acted by the common people, whereas ours began at the prince of state, and therefore was more moderate ; which reason I found did not displease them : I added further then, that the reformed religion in France would easily enough admit an hierarchy, if they had sufficient means among them to maintain it, and that if their churches were as fair as those which the Roman Catholics had, they would use the more decent sorts of rites and ceremonies, and together like well of organs and choirs of singers, rather than make a breach or schism on that occasion : as for holidays, I doubted not but the principal persons and ministers of their religion would approve it much better than the common people, who, being labourers and artizans for the most part, had the advantages for many more days than the Roman Catholics for getting their living ; howsoever, that those of the religion had been good cautions to make the Roman Catholic priests, if not better, yet at least more wary in their lives and actions ; it being evident that since the reformation began among those of the religion, the Roman Catholics had divers ways reformed themselves, and abated not only much of their power they usurped over laics, but were more pious and continent than formerly. Lastly, that those of the religion acknowledged solely the king's authority in government of all affairs ; whereas the other side held the regal power not only inferior in divers points, but subordinate to the papal : nothing of which yet served to divert Monsieur de Luines, or the king, from their resolutions.

The king having now assembled an army, and made some progress against those of the religion, I had instruction sent me from the king my master to mediate a peace, and if I could not prevail therein, to use some such words as may both argue his majesty's care of them of the religion, and together, to let the French king know, that he would not permit their total ruin and extirpation. The king was now going to lay siege to St. Jean d'Angely, when myself was newly recovered of a fever at Paris, in which besides the help of many able physicians, I had the comfort of divers visits from many principal grandes of

France, and particularly the Princess of Conti, who would sit by my bedside two or three hours, and with cheerful discourse entertain me, though yet I was brought so low, that I could scarce return any thing by way of answer, but thanks. The command yet which I received from the king my master quickened me, insomuch that by slow degrees I went into my coach, together with my train, towards St. Jean d'Angely. Being arrived within a small distance of that place, I found by divers circumstances, that the effect of my negotiation had been discovered from England, and that I was not welcome thither; howbeit, having obtained an audience from the king, I exposed what I had in charge to say to him, to which yet I received no other answer but that I should go to Monsieur de Luines, by whom I should know his majesty's intention. Repairing thus to him, I did find outwardly good reception, though yet I did not know how cunningly he proceeded to betray and frustrate my endeavours for those of the religion; for, hiding a gentleman called Monsieur Arnaud behind the hangings in his chamber, who was then of the religion, but had promised a revolt to the king's side, this gentleman, as he himself confessed afterwards to the Earl of Carlisle, had in charge to relate unto those of the religion, how little help they might expect from me, when he should tell them the answers which Monsieur de Luines made me. Sitting thus in a chair before Monsieur de Luines, he demanded the effect of my business? I answered, that the king my master commanded me to mediate a peace betwixt his majesty and his subjects of the religion, and that I desired to do it in all those fair and equal terms which might stand with the honour of France and the good intelligence betwixt the two kingdoms: to which he returned this rude answer only; 'What hath the king your master to do with our actions? why doth he meddle with our affairs?' My reply was, 'that the king my master ought not to give an account of the reason which induced him hereunto, and for me it was enough to obey him; howbeit, if he did ask me in more gentle terms, I should do the best I could to give him satisfaction;' to which, though he answered no more than the word *bien*, or well, I, pursuing my instruction, said, 'that the king my master, according to the mutual stipulation betwixt Henry IV. and himself, that the survivor of either of them should procure the tranquillity and peace of the other's estate, had sent this message; and that he had not only testified this his pious inclination heretofore in the late civil wars of France, but was desirous on this occasion also to shew how much he stood affected to the good of the kingdom; besides, he hoped that when peace was established here, that the French king might be the more easily disposed to assist the Palatine, who was an ancient friend and ally of the French crown.' His reply to this was, 'We will have none of your advices;' whereupon I said, that I took those words for an answer, and was sorry only that they did not understand sufficiently the affection and good-will of the king my master; and since they rejected it upon those terms, I had in charge to tell him, that we knew very well what we had to do. Luines, seeming offended herewith, said, '*Nous ne vous craignons pas*,' or, 'we are not afraid of you:' I replied hereupon, that 'if you had said you had not loved us, I should have believed you, but should have returned you



another answer ;' in the mean while that I had no more to say than what I told him formerly, which was, that we knew what we had to do. This, though somewhat less than was in my instructions, so angered him, that in much passion he said, '*Par Dieu, si vous n'êtes Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, je vous traitterois d'un autre sorte;*' 'By God, if 'you were not Monsieur Ambassador, I would use you after another 'fashion.' My answer was, that as I was an ambassador, so I was also a gentleman ; and therewithal laying my hand upon the hilt of my sword, told him, there was that which should make him an answer, and so arose from my chair ; to which Monsieur de Luines made no reply, but arising likewise from his chair, offered civilly to accompany me to the door ; but I telling him there was no occasion for him to use ceremony after so rude an entertainment, I departed from him. From thence returning to my lodging, I spent three or four days afterwards in seeing the manner of the French discipline, in making approaches to towns ; at what time I remember, that going in my coach within reach of cannon, those in the town imagining me to be an enemy, made many shots against me, which so affrighted my coachman, that he durst drive no farther ; whereupon alighting, I bid him put the horses out of danger ; and notwithstanding many more shots made against me, went on foot to the trenches, where one Seaton, a Scotchman, conducting me, shewed me their works, in which I found little differing from the Low-Country manner. Having satisfied myself in this manner, I thought fit to take my leave of the king, being at Cognac, the city of St. Jean d'Angely being now surrendered unto him. Coming thus to a village not far from Cognac, about ten of the clock at night, I found all the lodgings possessed by soldiers, so that alighting in the market-place, I sent my servants to the inns to get some provision, who bringing me only six rye loaves, which I was doubtful whether I should bestow on myself and company, or on my horses, Monsieur de Ponts, a French nobleman of the religion, attended with a brave train, hearing of my being there, offered me lodging in his castle near adjoining. I told him it was a great courtesy at that time, yet I could not with my honour accept it, since I knew it would endanger him, my business to those parts being in favour of those of the religion, and the chief ministers of state in France being jealous of my holding intelligence with him ; howbeit, if he would procure me lodging in the town, I should take it kindly : whereupon, sending his servants round about the town, he found at last, in the house of one of his tenants, a chamber, to which, when he had conducted me, and together gotten some little accommodation for myself and horses, I desired him to depart to his lodgings, he being then in a place which his enemies, the king's soldiers, had possessed : all which was not so silently carried, but that the said nobleman was accused afterwards at the French court, upon suspicion of holding correspondence with me, whereof it was my fortune to clear him.

Coming next day to Cognac, the Mareschal de St. Geran, my noble friend, privately met me, and said I was not in a place of surety there, as having offended Monsieur de Luines, who was the king's favourite, desiring me withal to advise what I had to do : I told him I was in a place of surety wheresoever I had my sword by my side, and

that I intended to demand audience of the king ; which also being obtained, I found not so cold a reception as I thought to meet with, insomuch that I parted with his majesty, to all outward appearance, in very good terms.

From hence returning to Paris shortly after, I found myself welcome to all those ministers of state there, and noblemen, who either envied the greatness or loved not the insolencies of Monsieur de Luines ; by whom also I was told, that the said Luines had intended to send a brother of his into England with an embassy, the effect whereof should be chiefly to complain against me, and to obtain that I should be repealed ; and that he intended to relate the passages betwixt us at St. Jean d'Angely, in a much different manner from that I reported, and that he would charge me with giving the first offence. After thanks for this advertisement, I told them my relation of the business betwixt us, in the manner I delivered, was true, and that I would justify it with my sword ; at which they being nothing scandalized, wished me good fortune.

The ambassador into England following shortly after, with a huge train, in a sumptuous manner, and an accusation framed against me, I was sent for home, of which I was glad, my payment being so ill, that I was run far into debt with my merchants, who had assisted me now with 3 or 4000*l.* more than I was able at the present to discharge. Coming thus to court, the Duke of Buckingham, who was then my noble friend, informed me at large of the objections represented by the French ambassador ; to which when I had made my defence in the manner above related, I added, that I was ready to make good all that I had said with my sword ; and shortly after I did, in the presence of his majesty and the Duke of Buckingham, humbly desire leave to send a trumpet to Monsieur de Luines, to offer him the combat upon terms that passed betwixt us ; which was not permitted, otherwise than that they would take my offer into consideration. Howsoever, notice being publicly taken of this my desire, much occasion of speech was given, every man that heard thereof much favouring me ; but the Duke of Luines' death following shortly after, the business betwixt us was ended, and I commanded to return to my former charge in France. I did not yet presently go, as finding much difficulty to obtain the moneys due to me from the exchequer, and therewith, as also by my own revenues, to satisfy my creditors in France. The Earl of Carlisle\* this while being employed extraordinary ambassador to France, brought home a confirmation of the passages betwixt Monsieur de Luines and myself, Monsieur de Arnaud, who stood behind the hangings, as above related, having verified all I said, insomuch that the king my master was well satisfied of my truth.

Having by this time cleared all my debts, when demanding new instructions from the king my master, the Earl of Carlisle brought me this message : 'That his majesty had that experience of my abilities and fidelity, that he would give me no instructions, but leave all things to my discretion, as knowing I would proceed with that circumstance, as I should be better able to discern, upon emergent occa-

\* James Hay Earl of Carlisle, Knight of the Garter, Master of the great Wardrobe, and ambassador in Germany and France.

'sions, what was fit to be done, than that I should need to attend directions from hence, which, besides that they would be slow, might perchance be not so proper, or correspondent to the conjuncture of the great affairs then in agitation, both in France and Germany, and other parts of christendom ; and that these things therefore must be left to my vigilance, prudence, and fidelity : ' whereupon I told his lordship, that I took this as a singular expression of the trust his majesty reposed in me ; howbeit, that I desired his lordship to pardon me, if I said I had herein only received a greater power or latitude to err ; and that I durst not trust my judgment so far as that I would presume to answer for all events, in such factious and turbulent times, and therefore again did humbly desire new instructions, which I promised punctually to follow. The Earl of Carlisle returning hereupon to the king, brought me yet no other answer back than that I formerly mentioned, and that his majesty did so much confide in me, that he would limit me with no other instructions, but refer all to my discretion ; promising together, that if matters proceeded not as well as might be wished, he would attribute the default to any thing rather than to my not performing my duty.

Finding his majesty thus resolved, I humbly took leave of him and my friends at court, and went to Monsieur Savage ; when demanding of him new letters of credit, his answer was, he could not furnish me as he had before, there being no limited sum expressed there, but that I should have as much as I needed ; to which, though I answered that I had paid all, yet, as Monsieur Savage replied, that I had not paid it at the time agreed on, he said he could furnish me with a letter only for 3000*l.* and nevertheless, that he was confident I should have more if I required it, which I found true ; for I took up afterwards upon my credit there as much more, as made in the whole 5 or 6000*l.*

Coming thus to Paris, I found myself welcomed by all the principal persons, nobody that I found there being either offended with the passages betwixt me and Monsieur de Luines, or that were sorry for his death, in which number the queen's majesty seemed the most eminent person, as one who long since had hated him : whereupon also I cannot but remember this passage, that in an audience I had one day from the queen, I demanded of her how far she would have assisted me with her good offices against Luines ? She replied, that what cause soever she might have to hate him, either by reason or by force, they would have made her to be of his side ; to which I answered in Spanish, '*No ay fuerza por las a reynas ;*' There is no force for queens ; at which she smiled.

And now I began to proceed in all public affairs according to the liberty with which my master was pleased to honour me, confining myself to no rules but those of my own discretion. My negociations in the mean while proving so successful, that, during the remainder of my stay there, his majesty received much satisfaction concerning my carriage, as finding I had preserved his honour and interest in all great affairs then emergent in France, Germany, and other parts of christendom ; which work being of great concernment, I found the easier, that his majesty's ambassadors and agents every where gave me perfect intelligence of all that happened within their precincts ; inso-



much that from Sir Henry Wotton, his majesty's ambassador at Venice, who was a learned and witty gentleman, I received all the news of Italy ; as also from Sir Isaac Wake, who did more particularly acquaint me with the business of Savoy, Valentina,\* and Switzerland ; from Sir Francis Nethersole, his majesty's agent in Germany, and more particularly with the united princes there, on the behalf of his son-in-law, the palatine or King of Bohemia, I received all the news of Germany ; from Sir Dudley Carlton, his majesty's ambassador in the Low-Countries, I received intelligence concerning all the affairs of that state ; and from Mr. William Trumball, his majesty's agent at Brussels, all the affairs on that side ; and lastly, from Sir Walter Aston, his majesty's ambassador in Spain, and after him from the Earl of Bristol and Lord Cottington, I had intelligence from the Spanish court ; out of all whose relations being compared together, I found matter enough to direct my judgment in all public proceedings ; besides, in Paris I had the chief intelligence which came to either Monsieur de Langherac, the Low-Country ambassador, or Monsieur Postek, agent for the united princes in Germany, and Sigr. Contarini, ambassador for Venice, and Sigr. Guiscardi, my particular friend, agent for Mantoua, and Monsieur Gueretin, agent for the palatine or King of Bohemia, and Monsieur Villers, for the Swiss, and Monsieur Ainorant, agent for Geneva ; by whose means, upon the resultance of the several advertisements given me, I found what I had to do.

The wars in Germany were now hot, when several French gentlemen came to me for recommendations to the Queen of Bohemia, whose service they desired to advance, which also I performed as effectually as I could ; howbeit, as after the battle of Prague, the imperial side seemed wholly to prevail, these gentlemen had not the satisfaction expected. About this time the Duke de Crouy, employed from Brussels to the French court, coming to see me, said, by way of rhodomontade, as though he would not speak of our isles, yet he saw all the rest of the world must bow under the Spaniard ; to which I answered, ' God be ' thanked they are not yet come to that pass, or when they were, they ' have this yet to comfort them, that at worst they should be but the ' same which you are now ; ' which speech of mine being afterwards, I know not how, divulged, was much applauded by the French, as believing I intended that other countries should be but under the same severe government to which the Duke of Crouy and those within the Spanish dominions were subject.

It happened one day that the agent from Brussels, and ambassador from the Low Countries, came to see me, immediately one after the other, to whom I said familiarly, that I thought that the inhabitants of the parts of the seventeen provinces, which were under the Spaniards, might be compared to horses in a stable, which as they were finely curried, dressed, and fed, so they were well ridden also, spurred, and galled : and that I thought the Low Country men were like to horses at grass, which, though they wanted so good keeping as the other had, yet might leap, kick, and fling, as much as they would ; which freedom of mine displeased neither : or if the Low Country ambassador did

\* The Valteline.

think I had spoken a little too sharply, I pleased him afterwards, when, continuing my discourse, I told him that the states of the United Provinces had within a narrow room shut up so much warlike provision both by sea and land, and together demonstrated such courage upon all occasions, that it seemed they had more need of enemies than of friends, which compliment I found did please him.

About this time, the French being jealous that the king my master would match the prince his son with the King of Spain's sister, and together relinquish his alliance with France, myself, who did endeavour nothing more than to hold all good intelligence betwixt the two crowns, had enough to do. The Count de Gondomor passing now from Spain into England, came to see me at Paris, about ten of the clock in the morning, when, after some compliments, he told me that he was to go towards England the next morning, and that he desired my coach to accompany him out of town; I told him, after a free and merry manner, he should not have my coach, and that if he demanded it, it was not because he needed coaches, the pope's nuntio, the emperor's ambassador, the Duke of Bavaria's agent, and others, having coaches enough to furnish him, but because he would put a jealousy betwixt me and the French, as if I inclined more to the Spanish side than to theirs. Gondomor then looking merrily upon me, said, 'I will dine with you yet;' I told him, by his good favour, he should not dine with me at that time, and that when I would entertain the ambassador of so great a king as his, it should not be upon my ordinary, but that I would make him a feast worthy of so great a person; howbeit, that he might see after what manner I lived, I desired some of my gentlemen to bring his gentlemen into the kitchen, where, after my usual manner, were three spits full of meat, divers pots of boiled meat, and an oven with store of pies in it, and a dresser board covered with all manner of good fowl, and some tarts, pans with tarts in them, after the French manner; after which, being conducted to another room, they were shewn a dozen or sixteen dishes of sweetmeats, all which was but the ordinary allowance for my table. The Spaniards returning now to Gondomor, told him what good cheer they found, notwithstanding which, I told Gondomor again that I desired to be excused if I thought this dinner unworthy of him, and that when occasion were, I should entertain him after a much better manner. Gondomor hereupon coming near me, said, he esteemed me much, and that he meant only to put a trick upon me, which he found I had discovered, and that he thought that an Englishman had not known how to avoid handsomely a trick put upon him under show of civility; and that I ever should find him my friend, and would do me all the good offices he could in England, which also he really performed, as the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Pembroke confirmed to me; Gondomor saying to them, that I was a man fit for employment, and that he thought Englishmen, though otherwise able persons, knew not how to make a denial handsomely, yet I had done.

This Gondomor being an able person, and dexterous in his negotiations, had so prevailed with King James, that his majesty resolved to pursue his treaty with Spain, and for that purpose to send his son Prince Charles in person to conclude the match; when, after some

debate whether he should go in a public or private manner, it was at last resolved, that he, attended with the Marquis of Buckingham, and Sir Francis Cottington his secretary, and Endimion Porter, and Mr. Grimes, gentleman of the horse to the marquis, should pass in a disguised and private manner through France to Madrid; these five passing, though not without some difficulty, from Dover to Boulogne, where taking post horses, they came to Paris, and lodged at an inn in Rue St. Jacques, where it was advised amongst them whether they should send for me to attend them: after some dispute, it was concluded in the negative, since, as one there objected, if I came alone in the quality of a private person, I must go on foot through the streets, and because I was a person generally known, might be followed by some one or other, who would discover whither my private visit tended, besides, that those in the inn must needs take notice of my coming in that manner; on the other side, if I came publicly with my usual train, the gentlemen with me must needs take notice of the Prince and Marquis of Buckingham, and consequently might divulge it, which was thought not to stand with the prince's safety, who endeavoured to keep his journey as secret as possible. Howbeit, the prince spent the day following his arrival in seeing the French court and city of Paris, without that any body did know his person, but a maid that had sold linen heretofore in London, who seeing him pass by, said, certainly this is the Prince of Wales, but withal suffered him to hold his way, and presumed not to follow him. The next day after, they took post horses, and held their ways towards Bayonne, a city frontier to Spain.

The first notice that came to me was by one Andrews, a Scotchman, who, coming late the night preceding their departure, demanded whether I had seen the prince? When I demanding what prince? for, said I, the Prince of Condé is yet in Italy; he told me the Prince of Wales, which yet I could not believe easily, until with many oaths he affirmed the prince was in France, and that he had charge to follow his highness, desiring me in the mean while, on the part of the king my master, to serve his passage the best I could. This made me rise very early the next morning, and go to Monsieur Puisieux, principal secretary of state, to demand present audience; Puisieux hereupon entreated me to stay an hour, since he was in bed, and had some earnest business to dispatch for the king his master as soon as he was ready; I returned answer, that I could not stay a minute, and that I desired I might come to his bedside; this made Puisieux rise and put on his gown only, and so came to the chamber where I attended him. His first words to me were, 'I know your business as well as you; your prince is departed this morning post to Spain:' adding further, that I could demand nothing for the security of his passage, but it should be presently granted, concluding with these very words; '*Vous serez servi au point nommé,*' or, 'You shall be served in any particular you can name.' I told him that his free offer had prevented the request I intended to make, and that because he was so principal a minister of state, I doubted not but what he had so nobly promised, he would see punctually performed; as for the security of his passage, that I did not see what I could demand more, than that he would suffer him quietly to hold his way, without sending after, or interrupting him.



He replied, that the prince should not be interrupted, though yet he could do no less than send to know what success the prince had in his journey. I was no sooner returned out of his chamber, but I dispatched a letter by post to the prince, to desire him to make all the haste he could out of France, and not to treat with any of the religion in the way, since his being at Paris was known, and that though the French secretary had promised he should not be interrupted, yet that they would send after his highness, and when he gave any occasion of suspicion, might perchance detain him. The prince after some examination at Bayonne (which the governor thereof did afterwards particularly relate to me, confessing that he did not know who the prince was), held his way on to Madrid, where he and all his company safely arrived. Many of the nobility, and others of the English court, being now desirous to see the prince, did pass through France to Spain, taking my house still in their way, by whom I acquainted his highness in Spain, how much it grieved me that I had not seen his highness when he was in Paris ; which occasioned his highness afterwards to write a letter to me, wholly with his own hand, and subscribe his name 'your friend Charles,' in which he did abundantly satisfy all the unkindness I might conceive on this occasion.

I shall not enter into a narration of the passages occurring in the Spanish court, upon his highness's arrival thither, though they were well known to me for the most part, by the information the French queen was pleased to give me, who, among other things, told me that her sister did wish well unto the prince. I had from her also intelligence of certain messages sent from Spain to the pope, and the pope's messages to them ; whereof, by her permission, I did afterwards inform his highness. Many judgments were now made concerning the events which this treaty of marriage was likely to have ; the Duke of Savoy said that the prince's journey thither was, '*Un tiro di quelli cavallieri antichi che andavano così per il mondo a diffare li incanti*,' that 'it was a trick of those ancient knight errants, who went up and down the world after that manner to undo enchantments : ' for as that duke did believe that the Spaniard did intend finally to bestow her on the imperial house, he conceived that he did only entertain the treaty with England, because he might avert the king my master from treating in any other place, and particularly in France ; howbeit, by the intelligence I received in Paris, which I am confident was very good, I am assured the Spaniard meant really at that time, though how the match was broken, I list not here to relate, it being a more perplexed and secret business than I am willing to insert into the narration of my life.

New propositions being now made, and other counsels thereupon given, the prince taking his leave of the Spanish court, came to St. Andrew's in Spain, where shipping himself with his train, arrived safely at Portsmouth, about the beginning of October, 1623 ; the news whereof being shortly brought into France, the Duke of Guise came to me, and said he found the Spaniards were not so able men as he thought, since they had neither married the prince in their country, nor done any thing to break his match elsewhere ; I answered, that the prince was more dexterous than that any secret practice of theirs

could be put upon him ; and as for violence, I thought the Spaniards durst not offer it.

The war against those of the religion continuing in France, Pere Segnerand, confessor to the king, made a sermon before his majesty upon the text, 'That we should forgive our enemies,' upon which argument having said many good things, he at last distinguished forgiveness, and said, we were indeed to forgive our enemies, but not the enemies of God, such as were heretics, and particularly those of the religion ; and that his majesty, as the most Christian king, ought to extirpate them wheresoever they could be found. This particular being related to me, I thought fit to go to the queen-mother without further ceremony, for she gave me leave to come to her chamber whensoever I would, without demanding audience, and to tell her, that though I did not usually intermeddle with matters handled within their pulpits, yet because Pere Segnerand, who had the charge of the king's conscience, had spoken so violently against those of the religion, that his doctrine was not limited only to France, but might extend itself in its consequences beyond the seas, even to the dominions of the king my master ; I could not but think it very unreasonable, and the rather, that as her majesty well knew that a treaty of marriage betwixt our prince and the princess her daughter, was now begun, for which reason I could do no less than humbly desire that such doctrines as these henceforth might be silenced, by some discreet admonition she might please to give to Pere Segnerand, or others that might speak to this purpose. The queen, though she seemed very willingly to hear me, yet handled the business so, that Pere Segnerand was together informed who had made this complaint against him, whereupon also he was so distempered, that by one Monsieur Gaellac a Provencal, his own countryman, he sent me this message ; that he knew well who had accused him to her majesty, and that he was sensible thereof ; that he wished me to be assured, that wheresoever I was in the world, he would hinder my fortune. The answer I returned by Monsieur Gaellac was, 'That nothing in all France but a friar or a woman durst have sent me such a message.'

Shortly after this, coming again to the queen-mother, I told her that what I said concerning Pere Segnerand, was spoken with a good intention, and that my words were now discovered to him in that manner, that he sent me a very affronting message, adding, after a merry fashion, these words, that I thought Segnerand so malicious, that his malice was beyond the malice of women : the queen, being a little startled hereat, said, '*A moy femme, et parler ainsi ?*' 'To me a woman, and say so ?' I replied gently, '*Je parle a votre majesté comme reyne, et non pas comme femme ;*' 'I speak to your majesty as a queen, and not as a woman,' and so took my leave of her. What Pere Segnerand did afterwards, in way of performing his threat, I know not ; but sure I am, that had I been ambitious of worldly greatness, I might have often remembered his words ; though, as I ever loved my book, and a private life, more than any busy preferments, I did frustrate and render vain his greatest power to hurt me.

My book, *De Veritate prout distinguitur à Revelatione verisimili, possibili, et à falso*, having been begun by me in England, and formed there in

all its principal parts, was about this time finished ; all the spare hours which I could get from my visits and negotiations being employed, to perfect this work, which was no sooner done, but that I communicated it to Hugo Grotius, that great scholar, who, having escaped his prison in the Low Countries, came into France, and was much welcomed by me and Monsieur Tileners\* also, one of the greatest scholars of his time, who, after they had perused it, and given it more commendations than is fit for me to repeat, exhorted me earnestly to print and publish it ; howbeit, as the frame of my whole book was so different from any thing which had been written heretofore, I found I must either renounce the authority of all that had written formerly concerning the method of finding out truth, and consequently insist upon my own way, or hazard myself to a general censure, concerning the whole argument of my book ; I must confess it did not a little animate me, that the two great persons above-mentioned did so highly value it, yet, as I knew it would meet with much opposition, I did consider whether it was not better for me a while to suppress it. Being thus doubtful in my chamber, one fair day in the summer, my casement being opened towards the south, the sun shining clear, and no wind stirring, I took my book, *De Veritate*, in my hand, and kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words,

‘ O THOU eternal God, Author of the light which now shines upon me, and Giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech Thee, of Thy infinite goodness, to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make ; I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book *‘De Veritate* ; if it be for Thy glory, I beseech Thee give me some sign from heaven ; if not, I shall suppress it.’

I had no sooner spoken these words, but a loud though yet gentle noise came from the heavens (for it was like nothing on earth), which did so comfort and cheer me, that I took my petition as granted, and that I had the sign I demanded, whereupon also I resolved to print my book. This, how strange soever it may seem, I protest before the Eternal God is true, neither am I any way superstitiously deceived herein, since I did not only clearly hear the noise, but in the purest sky that ever I saw, being without all cloud, did to my thinking see the place from whence it came.

And now I sent my book to be printed in Paris, at my own cost and charges, without suffering it to be divulged to others (till such as I thought might be worthy readers of it ; though afterwards, coming it in England, I not only dispersed it among the prime scholars of Europe, but was sent to not only from the nearest but furthest parts of Christendom, to desire the sight of my book, for which they desired anything I should desire by way of return ; but hereof more fully in its place.

The treaty of a match with France continuing still, it was thought fit

\* In the little book of Lord Herbert's verses, published after his death, it is related, that he passed to Tilenus after the fatal deflexion of my arm. Daniel Tilenus was a scholar of the same age as that time. He wrote about Antichrist, and Animadversions on the Synonymes of the same name of his works were published at Paris. He was, however, a Silurian, and his name was not Tileners, latinized into Tilenus, according to the pedantry of that age, but he was called Grotius, the similitude of whose studies might well connect him with Tilenus.



for the concluding thereof, that the Earl of Carlisle and the Earl of Holland should be sent extraordinary ambassadors to France.

Here Lord Herbert's curious work terminates,\* a fact much to be regretted, since it cannot be doubted but, that to a mind thus active and observant, many more important details must have presented themselves, especially during the long and eventful struggle between the king and parliament; which it would have been particularly interesting to have had recorded in his own lively and attractive manner. Whether his proceeding no farther arose from choice or necessity, cannot now perhaps be distinctly ascertained, though it may be thought probable, from some expressions in a letter which will be found in a subsequent page, that sudden infirmity may have been the cause, as he there represents himself to be in a state of great inability, at certainly not much more than two years, and perhaps not one, from the time of his commencing his history.

The occurrence with M. de Luynes, Constable of France, of which he speaks at the close of his narrative, and in which Lord Orford observes, 'he returned the insolence of the former with the spirit of a gentleman, without committing his dignity of ambassador,' probably induced him to propose giving a history of the transactions which took place during his residence at that court; but as this proves to have been an intention never fulfilled, all that perhaps remains from his pen on this subject, are the following letters, written at that period, and which, as they have not yet been made public, it may be desirable to preserve, as exemplifying his acute feeling for the honour of the high station he had been called to occupy, as well as of his talent and vigilance in fulfilling the duties of it.

The first of these respects chiefly the affairs of the Protestants in Bohemia, addressed to the Marquis of Buckingham, and appears to refer to a former letter, which had then perhaps been very recently written. It is as follows:

‘TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

‘Right Honourable and Right Worthy my Lord Marquis,—Since my writtinge this offer I understood the kinge passed neare this place in his way to Compiene in Picardy; this made me repaire to court, where I visited only Mr. de Luynes, who amonge other speeches told mee they had given instructions to their ambassadour in England that if there were any overture made of a match for our Prince with Madame Henrietta, the king's sister, that it should be received with all honour and affection: and (if I bee not mistaken in the meaning of his words) sayd so much was already insinuated by their sayd ambassadour: I answered him as civilly as I could, having no instructions to speake of any such thing, and came to the busines of Bohemia, wherein I desired to know how his Mr. stood affected. Hee told me that hee had not yet leasure to consider the consequences, and that hee first desired to heare how the king my Mr. did declare himself. I told him, his Ma<sup>ty</sup> did advise what was to be done; that in the

\* First printed at Strawberry Hill in 1764; secondly at London, 1770; and thirdly at Edinburgh in 1809, from which last, some of the particulars in the following pages are taken.

'meane while he did profess that when hee sent his ambassadour to  
'compose the differences of the empire, that hee knew nothing of the  
'Palatine's election to the kingdom of Bohemia, or that there was any  
'such designe ; that besides his M<sup>ty</sup>s protestation, which was an argu-  
'ment above all that could be made to the contrary, there were many  
'reasons to persuade that even the Palatine's highnes himselfe knew  
'nothinge of any such intention ; as first, the unanimity of consent in  
'the Bohemians, which argues there was no faction or labouring of  
'voices : secondly, the necessity, since they could not tell where else  
'to putt themselves under protection : thirdly, that if it had been the  
'Palatines Hig<sup>nes</sup> desire, that certainly he would have used both that and  
'other means to prevent the election of K. Ferdinand to the empire ;  
'this was the effect of the reasons I gave ; to which I added, that how-  
'soever the king my M<sup>r</sup>. did resolve, I hoped at least his M<sup>r</sup>. would bee  
'indifferent ; that they had no greatnes to feare but that of the house  
'of Austria : that they might take this tyme to recover the countryes  
'detained from them : that lastly, there was no other way, as matters  
'now stand, to establish the peace of Christendom, since he might bee  
'sure the untamed Germans would never submit themselves to other.  
'Hee here seemed to harken more to my reasons than to answer  
'them ; tould me all these matters should be referd to the king being at  
'Compiegne ; whither he desired mee to come, which I promised ; as  
'having the busines of the king's renewinge his *offer* to require ; I have  
'written these particularities to Mr. Secretary *Nanton*, and attend your  
'L<sup>dps</sup> further comandments, with the affection of

'Your L<sup>dps</sup> most faithfull servant and honorer, HERBERT.'

'M. de Luynes doth much desire to hold correspondence with your  
'L<sup>d</sup>, and desired mee to tell your L<sup>d</sup> so much ; I should bee glad to  
'have leave to use a little compliment to him on your L<sup>dps</sup> part.

'*Merliou, j of October, Stil. no. 1619.*'

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The next two letters are addressed to his Majesty James I.

'MY most gracious Sovereigne.—Havinge obtained the copy of this  
'king's letter to the emperour, transcribed, as it should seeme, in that  
'haste, that it is a little imperfect, and imparted to me as a secret of  
'that trust, that the discovery of it must bee his ruin who did mee the  
'favour ; I have taken the boldnes together with it to present unto  
'your S. Majesty the condition on which I received it, which I therefore  
'submitt to your S. Ma<sup>tyes</sup> most gracious consideration. As for the  
'contents, your S. Ma<sup>ty</sup> may be pleased to observe, it is so farre from  
'sending succors, that they desire first to weigh the Emperours propo-  
'sitions : besides, in my opinion, they touch more the revolt in Austria,  
'the ancient patrimony of that house, then in Bohemia and the elective  
'possessions : so that in this sense I may hope to reconcile it with this  
'King's message to mee by the master of his ceremonies, wherein hee  
'promised to proceed in this affair of Bohemia, with all respect unto  
'your S. Majesty, of which I beseech your S. Ma<sup>ty</sup> to take notice ; for  
'it will assuredly maintain all good correspondence. The rest being

‘but complement. I believe your S. Ma<sup>ty</sup> can easily pass over, especially  
 ‘in a stile so secret and particular, as letters of this nature usually are ;  
 ‘but that searchinge and unfallible judgement of your S. Ma<sup>ty</sup>, that can  
 ‘penetrate and discerne even the most inscrutable hearts, can best  
 ‘determine of these things. For my part, it is enough, that I pretend  
 ‘to nothing herein, but to that trust and obedience, in which I shall  
 ‘remain for ever,

‘Your S. Ma<sup>tyes</sup> most humble, most loyal, and most affectionate

‘Subject and servant,

‘*Paris, 30 Jan. 1619.*

HERBERT.’

‘MY most good and gracious Sovereigne.—I cannot refuse this gentleman the testimony hee desires mee to give your Sacred Majesty, that he is your S. Ma<sup>tyes</sup> most faithfull and most affectionate servant, which I think myselfe the rather bound to say, that for his beinge so, he seemes to have sufferd no little hard measures from the bigot ministers of this state. But hee will best tell your S. Ma<sup>ty</sup> the evill usage they have given him, and my little power to remedy it, notwithstanding my manny remonstrances which might have obtained, if not a better, yet at least a truer answer from M<sup>sr</sup>. de Puisieux, who was not ashamed to say, that M<sup>sr</sup>. de Bellingam (this gentleman’s pupil,) did put him away, when not only hee himselfe did know the contrary, but was assured wee knew it. But these are the ordinary effronteries of two or three of these ministers of state, to whom the answer of the instructions, I receive from your S. Ma<sup>ty</sup> is referr’d, and with whom unless I can take some such order as I have already done with Pere Arnoux, I shall not be able to perform that service, to your S. Ma<sup>ty</sup> in this place, which I desire. Ld, Buisson is returned, and as M<sup>sr</sup> Le Prince did tell mee, hath made a proposition to your S. Ma<sup>ty</sup> concerninge a marriage betwixt his Hignes and Madame Henrietta, to which hee says your S. Ma<sup>ty</sup> did answer, that your S. Ma<sup>ty</sup> did desire it too, but that your S. Ma<sup>ty</sup> was so farre ingaged with Spaine, that your S. Ma<sup>ty</sup> could not treat thereof; this M<sup>sr</sup>. Le Prince told mee, and I thought it my duty to let your S. Ma<sup>ty</sup> know the report; on which occasion, I cannot omitt to tell your S. Ma<sup>ty</sup> that the match is generally desired by this nation and particularly by Madame herselfe, who hath not only cast out many words to this purpose but, where there hath been question of diversity of religions, hath sayd, that a wife ought to have no will, but that of her husbands; which words, I confesse, have incited mee to do her this good office: for the rest, beinge so farre from having a voice, that I will not so much as have a thought, which is not warranted by your S. Ma<sup>tyes</sup> authority, which I hold in that infinite reverence, that, I am sorry I can say no more, then that I will live and dy

‘Your S. Ma<sup>tyes</sup> most obedient, most loyall, and most affectionate

‘Subject and servant,

‘*Paris, this 14 Aug. 1620.*

HERBERT.’



The next letter (partly in cipher), is as follows, addressed to Mr. Secretary Naunton :

‘ Right Honourable,—I will begin this dispatch w<sup>th</sup> giving yr Hon<sup>r</sup> an accompt that the *Ærchinés cono di Bologna* is newly elected Pope : I cannot send your Hon<sup>r</sup> his description (with that certaintie I desire), only I finde that this state is well contented with the choice, or at least would have the world think so.

‘ There hath lately been held a consultation heer, at which were present (Cy.) 69 (*i.e.* French king), (Cy.) 99 (M. de Luynes), (Cy.) 74 (M. Le Prince), and three of the most ancient of (Cy.) 112 (*i.e.* council). One of whom being demanded by (Cy.) 69 (the king), what hee thought of a warre heer against those of the religion, answered that it was too late to say any thing, if (Cy.) 69 (the king) had already taken his resolution ; yet because it was (Cy.) 69 (the king’s) his pleasure, he should speake, he could doe no lesse then relate unto (Cy.) 69 (the king) the miseries he had observed in the civil warres, between Charles IX. and Henry III. and those of the Religion ; of which hen ever sawe other conclusion, but y<sup>t</sup> when good subjects had byn lost on either side, they became at last so weary of the warre and of their owne errors that, among the many edicts which were accorded to those of the religion, the later was ever the better ; that for his part, he desired not to see those of the Religion either in a better or worse estate, then the last edict of Nantes left them ; and so he thought these times did require. This opinion (Cy.) 99 (M. de Luynes) would have seconded by using some words tending to pacification ; which (Cy.) 69 (the king) interrupted, saying “ *Vous ne sçavez pas, ce que vous ditez,*” whereupon (Cy.) 74 (M. Le Prince) toke courage to pursue (after his wonted manner) his arguments and violences against those of the Religion ; and now the question is, not whether a warre shall be made, but where, when, and how. Some persuaded the King to begin with the lesser townes in the way to or near Rochelle (as Saumur, St. Jean d’Angely, etc.) but others oppose that, saying the King’s principale quarrel is against Rochelle and the assembly. But that is contradicted againe by others, who say the place is of such strengthe that their army may sooner get an affront there than any thing els, while they of the religion wil have leisure to assemble and fortifie themselves in other places of the kingdome ; therefore a third conseil hath byn thought of, which is, that an army shall be sent to Prinas to chastise that towne for their late taking and raising their castle ; and under that colour to keep from joyning together those of y<sup>e</sup> Religion in Dauphiné and Languedoc, in which countreys the principale forces of those of y<sup>e</sup> Religion doe consist ; but this conseil hath as well found his opposition, at least for the present ; which whether it proceeds from an expectation that Mons<sup>r</sup>. des Biguieres will be heer shortly (by whose meanes it is hoped, all these differences may be accommodated) or that M. de Luynes averseness from entring into any warre at home (as foreseeing that his enemies, who dare not show themselves openly in time of peace, will not feare to declare themselves in time of warre) be a sufficient cause of this stay, I cannot well affirm.

‘ Sure it is, they have a faire occasion given them to oppresse the

'religion in all those southern parts upon an accident which lately happened : Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Chastillon relates it in this manner. His Excellency in the Low-Countreys, thinking it fit, in these troublesome times to fortifie his good towne of Aurange, sent lately thither six or seven bras peeces together with some other provision of lesser armes ; which opportunitie, saith Mons. de Chastillon, himself thought to be very proper to supplye with armes some townes and garrisons which he and they of the Religion hold in those quarters ; the armes which they formerly had being (as he saith) either consumed with rust or otherwise growne unserviceable ; whereupon (he saith) it was necessary to provide armes for 3 or 4000 men ; the shippe wherein this munition was brought, did very unfortunately strike upon some sands near Arles in Provence ; the governor whereof manning out some schalloppes entred the shippe and perceiving it was laden with armes, seased upon them for the king's use. Heerupon Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Chastillon hath sent to complaine as well in his Excell<sup>s</sup>. name as his own ; but I think will hardly finde right for either, as matters now stand : though he hath the commodity of the good offices which in this behalf may be done by the new Low-Countreys ambassad<sup>rs</sup>.

'Who in their first and only audience they have yet obteyned have byn so farre from saying any thing which might tend to shew a desire of continewing their truce with the Spaniard, that after some compliments, they made it their principall business to treat with this King of an accomodement between themselves and the French concerning some maritime affairs, which are yet in controversie. The King received them graciously ; and after referring them for answer to his conseil, entred into some such familiar questions with them as gave them contentment.

'And now it is time to give your Hon<sup>r</sup> an account of two passages, which may give some small augure of this States better disposition to our Religion and affaires. The first is, that whereas they of the Religion on Sunday last coming from Charenton, were assaulted in their coaches and on horseback with stones and durt en la Rue St. Athonie, near a chappel of y<sup>e</sup> Jesuits, this State hath taken order, not only vigorously to punishe the offenders, but also to give a reprimende to the seditious preachers, whose bitter and invective sermons are thought the principall cause of this tumult. The second is, that the agent for the united Princes of Germanie hath desired to know the resolution of this State, concerning the continewing or breaking of the union, and received answer, that this State did desire them by all meanes not to break ; promising very shortly to send one unto Huilbrun for the further declaration of their minde heerin : the person nominated is one Guicciard, who though he be not of the Religion, yet is held to be bon François.

'The King (tis thought) goeth very shortly to Fontainbleau, whereupon I have pressed Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Cadenet for an answer to my last instructions, and am promised I shall have it very shortly. He saith the hawks he brought from England, and which (as I take it) his Ma<sup>ty</sup> gave him, put all y<sup>e</sup> court in admiration of their good flying. But the King (as it seems) will shortly intend other things, and wants not y<sup>e</sup> instigation of (Cy.) 74 (M. Le Prince) for making any warre,

‘who offireth a project for paying of y<sup>e</sup> King’s army for three yeares : which this invention, which is, to take backe againe y<sup>e</sup> venal offices from those who bought them and remburse them their moneyes, and after to sell them againe, which will at least triple the summe : these are the desyeres of that boulte feux (Cy.) 74 (M. le Prince) only to get the authoritie of an army into his hands.

‘My health suffers mee not yet to goe abroad ; but I hope in God to recover both it and my hand very shortly to doe his Ma<sup>ty</sup> service. So with my due respects I conclude and rest

‘Your Honor’s most faithfull and most affectionat servant,

‘*Paris, 15 Febr. 1620, St<sup>o</sup> Aug<sup>o</sup>.*

HERBERT.\*

‘P.S. Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Guise desired me to send word to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> for the message which his Ma<sup>ty</sup> was pleased to send him. I heare that that the new Pope hath assumed the name of Gregorie.’

The last of these letters was written during his second embassy, to His Majesty James I.

‘My most gracious Sovereigne,—Now that I thanke God for it, his Highnes accordinge to my continuall prayers, hath made a safe and happy returne unto your sacred Majestie’s presence, I think myselve bounde, by way of complete obedience to those commandements I received from your Sacred Majestie, both by Mr. Secretarie Calvert and my brother Henry, to give your Sacred Majestie an account of that sense which the generall sort of people doth entertaine here, concerninge the whole frame and contexte of his Highnes voyage. It is agreed on all parts that his Highnes must have received much contentment, in seeinge two great kingdomes, and consequently in enjoyinge that satisfaction which princes but rarely, and not without great perill obtain. His Highnes discretion, diligence, and princely behaviour every where, likewise is much praysed. Lastly, since his Highnes journey hath fallen out so well, that his highnes is come back without any prejudice to his person or dignitie : they say the successe hath sufficiently commended the Councell. This is the most common censure (even of the bigot party, as I am informed) which I approve in all, but in the last pointe in the delivery whereof I finde somethinge to dislike, and therefore tell them, that thinges are not to be judged alone by the successe, and that when they would not looke so highe as God’s providence, without which no place is secure, they might finde even in reason of state, so much, as might sufficiently warrante his Highnes person, and libertie to returne.

‘I will come from the ordinarie voice, to the selecter judgment of the Ministers of State, and more intelligent people in this kingdome, who though they nothinge vary from the above-recited opinion, yet as more profoundly lookinge into the state of this longe-treated-of alliance betwixt your Sacred Majestie and Spaine in the persons of his Highnes and the Infanta, they comprehend their sentence thereof (as I am informed) in three propositions.

\* The signature alone of this letter is in the handwriting of Lord Herbert, and this evidently appears to have been written with great difficulty.



'First, that the protestation, which the Kinge of Spaine made to his Highnes upon his departure, whereby he promised to chase away, and dis-favor all those who should oppose this marriage, doth extende no further, than to the sayd kinges servants, or at furthest, not beyonde the temporall princes his neighbours, so that the Pope, beinge not included herin, it is thought his consent must bee yet obtained, and consequently that the business is in little more forwardnes than when it first beganne.

'Secondly, That the Pope will never yeeld his consent, unless your Sacred Majestie grante some notable privileges and advantage to the Roman Catholique religion in your Sacred Majestie's kingedomes.

'Thirdly, That the sayd Kinge of Spaine would never insiste upon obtaininge those privileges, but that hee more desires to forme a party in your Sacred Majestie's kingedomes, which he may keep always obsequious to his will, then to maintain a friendly correspondence betwixt your Sacred Majestie and himselfe. I must not, in the last place, omitte to acquaint your Sacred Majestie very particularly with the sense which was expressed by the bons Francois, and body of those of the Religion, who hartily wishe that the same greatnes which the Kinge of Spaine doth so affecte over all the worlde, and still maintaines even in this country, which is to bee protector of the Jesuited and bigot partie, your Sacred Majestie would embrace in beeing Defender of our Faith. The direct answer to which though I evade, and therefore reply little more, then that this counceil was much fitter when the Union in Germany did subsist than at this tyme ; yet do I think myselfe obliged to represente the affection they beare unto your Sacred Majestie. This is as much as is come to my notice, concerninge that pointe your Sacred Majestie gavemee in charge, which therefore I have plainly layd open before your Sacred Majestie's eyes, as understandinge well, that princes never receive greater wronge, then when the ministers they putte in truste do palliate and disguise those thinges which it concerns them to knowe. For the avoydinge whereof, let me take the boldnes to assure your Sacred Majestie that those of this King's Councel here will use all means they can, both to the King of Spaine, and to the Pope (in whom they pretend to have very particular interest) not only to interrupte but yf it be possible to break off your Sacred Majestie's allyance with Spaine. For which purpose the Count de Tillieres hath stricte commande to give eether all punctuall advise, that accordingly they may proceede. It rests that I most humbly beseech your Sacred Majestie to take my free relation of these particulars in good part, since I am of no faction, nor have any passion or interest, but faithfully to performe that service and dutie which I owe to your Sacred Majestie, for whose perfect health and happiness I pray, with the devotion of

'Your Sacred Majestie's

'Most obedient, most loyall, and most affectionate

'subject and servant,

'HERBERT.\*

*'From Merlou Castle, the 31st of October, 1623. Stil. No.'*

\* Harleian MSS. This last has however been twice printed: first in 'The Cabala,' and recently by Mr. Ellis, in his interesting Collection of Original Letters.

In 1624 he published at Paris *De Veritate*, etc. In the year 1625 he was made a Baron of Ireland, by the title of Lord Herbert of Castle Ireland; and in 1631 he was created a peer of England, by that of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in Shropshire.

When the differences between King Charles and his parliament broke out, Lord Herbert joined his interest to that of the latter. He seems previously to have made a speech in behalf of the king, which gave great offence to the house: but the year after he changed his politics, and supported the parliament, for which change he became a great sufferer from the vengeance of the royalists. He attended the army of the parliament to Scotland, in 1639, and obtained indemnification for his castle of Montgomery, which had been demolished by their order.

His strong constitution appears to have given way at a comparatively early period, for in 1643, at the age of about 62, he speaks of his having become exceedingly debilitated, especially in the first of the following letters:

FROM EDWARD LORD HERBERT TO SIR HENRY HERBERT.

‘SIR HENRY,—The business I intended by you I have dispatched another way. I am thinkinge of a journey to the Spaw; but I doubt how I shall be able to go, my body beinge more infirme then to endure any labour. And let me assure you, I find myselfe grown older in this one yeare than in fifty-nine yeares before; which as it is true, I should bee glad were knowne among the best of those to whom you go. I shall pray for a good and speedy end to all those troubles: and in particular, that God would guide those who are now met. And here I must remember that of all of us, there remains now but you and I to brother it. I pray you remember my kind love to your lady, and all yours. So I rest,

‘Your faithfull loving brother,

‘Mossley C., 14th June, 1643.

HERBERT.’

‘To the right worthy Sir Henry Herbert, Knight, at his house near Bewdley, Ribsford, S.S.’

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FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

‘SIR HENRY,—For the good offices you ever done mee, I thanke you. But why thereupon you should fall upon your old whettinge, I marvaile. I had rather, for my parte, forget all unkinde passages then remember them, so as to send you a forgiveness for them. If Richard Whitingham sent you word (as he told mee) of the condition of the two parkes, you would take nothing unkindly, especially when I wished him to tell you, that if you sent a gelding thither, he should be welcome. But here also you may remember the old answer. If you will not take it unkindly that I denyed you a curtesay, I will not take it unkindly that you asked it. Good brother, use no more close

‘repetitions; and now I grow old and infirme, do not add afflictions  
‘and discomforts to

‘Your faithful lovinge brother,

‘June 24, 1643.

E. HERBERT.’

‘*To the right worthy Sir H. Herbert, at Oxford.*’

---

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

‘SIR HENRY,—Though the messenger brought no letter from you  
‘to myselfe, yet because hee tould mee you were well, the welcome news  
‘thereof in these troublesome times invites me to congratulate it with  
‘you. If it had pleased R. Wittingham to have tould you that I had stone  
‘horses in my lower parke, and no grass in my upper parke (as he tould  
‘me he would), there had been no occasion for you to demand that I  
‘could not conveniently do: but if you send a gelding or two untill  
‘Michaelmas, they shall bee received. Wee are here almost in as  
‘great straits as if the warre were amongst us. Shrewsbury, which is  
‘our ordinary magazine, being exhausted of wine, vinegar, hops, paper,  
‘and pepper at four shillings the pound; and shortly, a want of all  
‘commodities that are not natives with us will follow, the intercourse  
‘between us and London being interdicted. My dear and only brother,  
‘I wish you all health and happiness, and so rest, though much broken  
‘in my health,

‘Your faithfull lovinge brother,

‘25th Aug., 1643.

E. HERBERT.’

‘My kind remembrance to your lady and children.’

---

Lord Herbert died in 1648, at his house in Queen-street, London,  
and was buried at St. Giles’s-in-the-Fields, with this inscription over  
his grave:

‘Hic inhumatur corpus Edvardi Herbert equitis Balnei, baronis de  
‘Cherbury et Castle-Island, auctoris libri, cui titulus est, “De Veritate.”  
‘Reddor ut herbæ; vicesimo die Augusti anno Domini 1648.’

‘He had,’ says, Lloyd, ‘designed a fair monument of his own inven-  
‘tion, to be set up for him in the church of Montgomery, according to  
‘the model following: Upon the ground a hath-piece of 14 foot square,  
‘on the midst of which is placed a Doric column, with its right of  
‘pedestal basis, and capitols of 15 foot in height; on the capitol of the  
‘colum is mounted an urn with a heart flamboul, supported by two  
‘angels. The foot of this column is attended with four angels, placed  
‘on pedestals at each corner of the said hath-pace; two having torches  
‘reverst, extinguishing the motto of mortality; the other two holding  
‘up palms, the emblems of victory.’

In his lordship’s Occasional Verses occurs the following charac-  
teristic ‘Epitaph for himself.’



‘READER,

‘The monument which thou beholdest here,  
Presents, Edward, Lord Herbert, to thy sight ;  
A man, who was so free from either hope or fear,  
To have or lose this ordinary light,  
That when to elements his body turned were,  
He knew that as those elements would fight,  
So his immortal soul should find above  
With his Creator, peace, joy, truth, and love !’

Lord Herbert was succeeded by his son Richard Lord Herbert, and he by Edward, who dying April 21, 1691, was buried April 28, by the side of his grandfather.

His peculiar religious opinions give an additional interest to the following prayer, which he appears to have been in the habit of using, the copy being found in his own hand-writing.

#### A PRAYER, BY EDWARD LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY.

‘O GOD! Thou, by whose power and wisdom all things at first were made, and by whose providence and goodness they are continued and preserved, still behold, from Thy everlasting dwelling above, me Thy creature and inhabitant of this lower world, who from this valley of change and corruption, lifting up heart and eyes to Thee his eternal God and Creator, does here acknowledge and confess these manifold blessings, these vast gifts bestowed on me ; as namely, that before I yet was, when I could neither know nor consent to be great and good, Thy eternal providence had ordained me this being, by which I was brought into this world, a living, free, and reasonable creature, not senseless or brutish, but capable of seeing and understanding Thy wondrous works herein ; and not only so, but of using and enjoying them, in that plentiful measure wherein they have been hitherto afforded me. O Lord, with all humbleness I confess, that were there no other pledge of Thy favour than this alone, it were more than any of Thy creatures in this life can possibly deserve.

‘But Thy mercies go farther yet. Thou hast not only made me see, know, and partake Thy works, but hast suffered me to love Thee for the blessings shewed us in them. I say, Thou hast admitted fraile dust and ashes to so high a dignity as to love Thee, the infinite and eternall Beauty. And not only disdainest it not, but acceptest, yea, and rewardest the same : and whence can this come, but from Thy everlasting goodness, which, had it not vouchsafed to love me first, I could not have had the power (than which man has no greater) of loving Thee againe. Yet here Thy mercies stay not. Thou hast not only given mee to know and love Thee, but hast written in my heart a desire even to imitate and bee like Thee (as farre as in this fraile flesh I may), and not only so, but many ways inabled me to the performance of it. And from hence, Lord, with how much comfort do I learne the high estate I received in my creation, as beinge formed in Thine owne similitude and likenesse. But, O Lord, Thy mercies (for they are infinite) are not

'bounded even here. Thou hast, then, not only given mee the means of 'knowinge, lovinge, and imitatinge Thee in this life; but hast given mee 'the ambition of knowinge, lovinge, and imitatinge Thee after this life; 'and for that purpose hast begunne in mee a desire of happinese, yea 'of eternal bliss, and from thence proceeded to give mee hope; and not 'only so, but also a faith which does promisse and assure mee, that 'since this desire can come from none but Thee, nothing Thou doest 'can be in vain. What shall I say, then, but desire Thee, O Lord, to 'fulfill it in Thy good tyme, to mee Thy unworthy creature, who in this 'flesh can come no nearer Thee than the desiringe that mortality which 'both keeps mee from Thy abode, and makes me most unlike Thee 'here. Amen.'

Lord Herbert not having mentioned the year of his birth, it is necessary to remark, that as he states his age to have been between 18 and 19, on his coming to London in 1600, and Wood, that he was entered a gentleman commoner of the University College, Oxford, in 1595, his birth must certainly have taken place in 1581, so that at his decease he had attained his 67th year.

The following is the catalogue of the works, which he gave to the world in his lifetime, or which were published posthumously by his friends:

'*De Veritate, prout distinguitur à Revelatione, à verisimili, à possibili, et à falso. Cui Operi additi sunt duo alii tractatus; primus, de Causis Errorum; alter, de Religione Laici. Undè cum Appendice ad Sacerdotes de Religione Laici; et quibusdam poematibus.*' Paris 1624, and 1633, and London, 1645; a book so strongly imbued with the light of revelation, relative to the moral virtues and a future life, that no man ignorant of the Scriptures, or of the knowledge derived from them, could have written; and yet most strangely intended to impugn the validity of that revelation itself—designed to question the necessity and truth of *any* communication from the Deity, and yet professing to rely for its sanction on a supposed miraculous interposition of that very kind;—contradictions so singular, as to point to this work as one of those great errors of a great mind, into which a too confident reliance on the powers of intellect may lead on subjects of inquiry which are in themselves of a nature purely religious. It was replied to by Leland, Baxter, Gassendi, and Haliburton, as well as by Locke, who, in his notice of this work, says Lord Orford, 'allows his lordship 'to be a man of parts.\*' In 1639, a French translation appeared at Paris; and Thomas Master is said to have assisted Lord Herbert in latinizing it.

'*De Religione Gentilium, Errorumque apud eos causis.*' The first part was printed at London 1645, 8vo., and the whole in 1663, 4to., and reprinted in 1700, 8vo. Mr. W. Lewis translated it into English, under this title, 'The Ancient Religion of the Gentiles, and Causes of their

\* Lord Orford's remark on this extraordinary singularity of Lord Herbert's is as follows:—'There is no stronger characteristic of human nature, than its being open to the grossest 'contradictions: one of Lord Herbert's chief arguments against revealed religion is the improbability that heaven should reveal its will to only a portion of the earth, which he terms 'particular religion. How could a man who doubted of *partial*, believe *individual* revelation.'—*Royal and Noble Authors.*

'Errors considered. The mistakes and failures of the heathen priests and wise men in their notions of the Deity, and matters of Divine worship, are examined with regard to their being destitute of Divine revelation.' 1705, 8vo. Lord Herbert sent the MS. of this work to Gerard Vossius, in the year 1645, as appears from his letter, and Vossius's answer.—*Biog. Dict.* quoted by Mr. Park.

'*Expediitio Buckinghami Ducis in Ream insulam.*' Published by Tim. Baldwin, LL.D. 1656. Lond. 8vo.

'Life and Reign of Henry the Eighth.' Lond. 1649, 1672, and 1682. This latter edition was according to Wood, collated by certain scholars of the University of Oxford, with the original MS. deposited in the Bodleian Library by the author in 1643. It was reprinted in Kennett's Complete History of England, Vol. II. The following character of the work is given by Lord Orford: 'It was undertaken by command of King James I., and is much esteemed; yet one cannot help regretting, that a man who found it necessary to take up arms against Charles I. should have palliated the enormities of Henry VIII., in comparison of whom, King Charles was an excellent prince. It is strange, that writing a man's life should generally make the biographer become enamoured of his subject; whereas, one should think that the nicer disquisition one makes into the life of any man, the less reason one should find to admire him.' In another place, Lord Orford observes, that the Life of Henry VIII. is allowed to be a master-piece of historic biography; and Bishop Nicholson in his English Historical Library asserts, 'that the author has acquitted himself with the like reputation as Lord Chancellor Bacon gained by the Life of Henry VII., having in the politic and martial part been admirably exact, from the best records that remain.'

Lord Herbert had, however, a valuable assistant in the person of Thomas Master, 'esteemed,' says Anthony Wood, 'a vast scholar, a general artist and linguist, a noted poet, and a most florid preacher.' He died in 1643, at Oxford, of the same malignant fever which carried off Cartwright, and many others. Lord Edward honoured his memory with a Latin epitaph, printed in his Occasional Verses. He had also prefixed a Latin poem to Master's '*Mensa lubrica Montgom. illustriss. Domino D. Edwardo Baroni de Cherbury*,' a poem descriptive of shovelboard play, printed for the second time at Oxford, 1658. What assistance he gave to his lordship may be collected from the following extract: 'He was a drudge to, and assisted much, Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, when he was obtaining materials for the writing of the life of Henry VIII. Four thick volumes in folio of such materials I have lying by me, in every one of which I find his handwriting, either in interlining, adding, or correcting: and one of those four, which is entitled, "*Collectaneorum lib. secundus*," is mostly written by him, collected from Parliamentary Rolls, the Paper Office at Whitehall, Vicar General's Office, books belonging to the Clerks of the Council, MSS. in Cotton's Library, Books of Convocation of the Clergy, etc. printed authors, etc. And there is no doubt, that as he had an especial hand in composing the said Life of Henry VIII. (which, as some say, he turned mostly into Latin, but never printed), so had he a hand in latinizing that lord's book "*De Veritate*," or others.'



Lord Herbert's Historical Collections are preserved in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford, and several of his letters among the Harleian Manuscripts.

In 1688, 'A Dialogue on Education,' 4to was published, and attributed to his lordship.

'Occasional Verses of Edward Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury and Castle Island, who deceased in 1648.' Lond. 1665. 8vo. Published by Henry Herbert, his younger son, and dedicated to Edward Lord Herbert, the author's grandson.

In Joshua Sylvester's '*Lachrymæ Lachrymarum*, or, The Spirit of 'Tears, distilled for the untimely Death of Prince Henry,' Lond. 1613, 4to; and in other publications, several poems of Lord Herbert may also be found.

The two Latin poems, inserted in his Life, together with a longer, entitled, '*Hæred. ab Nepot. suis Præcepta et Consilia*, E. B. H. de C. 'et C. J. de K.' were printed, in 1647, 4to. in a unique tract, preserved in the Bridgewater Library.

As a poet, Lord Herbert does not rank high, and is often almost unintelligible. Mr. Park observes, that 'his lordship's scarce volume 'of Occasional Poems, consists chiefly of metaphysical love verses; 'ingenious, but unnatural; platonic in sentiment, but frequently gross 'in expression; and marked by an eccentricity which pervaded the life 'and character of Lord Herbert.'

#### TO A YOUNG PALE BEAUTY.

From thy pale look, while angry love doth seem  
 With more imperiousness to give his law,  
 Than where he blushing doth beg esteem;  
 We may observe tried beauty in such awe,  
 That the brav'st colour under her command  
 Affrighted, oft before you doth retire;  
 While, like a statue of yourself you stand  
 In such symmetrique form, as doth require  
 No lustre but its own; as then, in vain,  
 One should flesh colouring to statues add,  
 So were it to your native white a stain  
 If in other ornaments were clad,  
 Than what your rich proportions do give,  
 Which in a boundless fair being unconfin'd,  
 Exalted in your soul, so seem to live,  
 That they become an emblem of your mind;  
 That so, who to your orient white should join  
 Those fading qualities most eyes adore,  
 Were but like one who, gilding silver coin,  
 Gave but occasion to suspect it more.

#### TO HIS WATCH, WHEN HE COULD NOT SLEEP.

Uncessant minutes, whilst you move you tell,  
 The time that tells our life, which, though it run  
 Never so fast or far, your new begun

Short steps shall overtake : for though life well  
 May 'scape his own account, it shall not yours.  
 You are death's auditors, that both divide  
 And sum whate'er that life inspir'd endures,  
 Past a beginning ; and through you we bide  
 The doom of fate, whose unrecal'd decree  
 You date, bring, execute ; making what's new,  
 Ill ; and good, old ; for as we die in you,  
 You die in time, time in eternity.

His character, as drawn by Lord Orford at the commencement of this volume, is so complete, that little need be added to it. The following are the remarks of Granger, in his *Biographical History of England* : 'Lord Herbert stands in the first rank of the public ministers, historians, and philosophers of his age. It is hard to say whether his person, his understanding, or his courage, was the most extraordinary ; as the fair, the learned, and the brave, held him in equal admiration. But the same man was wise, and capricious ; redressed wrongs, and quarrelled for punctilios ; hated bigotry in religion, and was himself a bigot to philosophy. He exposed himself to such dangers as other men would have carefully declined ; and called in question the fundamentals of a religion which none had the hardness to dispute beside himself.'

Some late writers appearing to have entertained something like a doubt respecting Lord Herbert's personal courage, from his differences never having actually terminated in duels, it may not perhaps be amiss to remark, that it is far more likely his commanding aspect, and the knowledge his opponents possessed of the unconquerable nature of his resolution, might have operated to prevent his being encountered, than that this was occasioned by any insidious feeling on his part, which indeed his whole character seems to prove, particularly his surprising defence of himself, on occasion of the attack made upon him by Sir J. Ayres : so that the accuracy of Lord Orford's remark may still be very safely relied on, when in his *Royal and Noble Authors* he describes Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, as 'one of the greatest ornaments of the learned peerage ; a man of a martial spirit and a profound understanding.'

The following complimentary lines, which were addressed to him by Ben Jonson, sufficiently shew that the man of whom such things could be said before living witnesses, must indeed have been no ordinary kind of personage, even after making all due allowance for the language of friendship, or even of gratitude :

#### TO SIR EDWARD HERBERT.

If men get name, for some one virtue ; then,  
 What man art thou, that art so many men,  
 All-virtuous Herbert ! On whose every part,  
 Truth might spend all her voice, fame all her art.  
 Whether thy learning they would take, or wit,  
 Or valour, or thy judgment seasoning it,

Thy standing upright to thyself, thy ends  
 Like straight, thy piety to God, and friends :  
 Their later praise would still the greatest be,  
 And yet they all together, less than thee.

It appears probable, that Lord Herbert's religious opinions towards the close of his life differed from those of his earlier years, for when on his death-bed he sent for the Lord Primate Usher of Ireland, and would have received the sacrament, saying indifferently of it, that if there was good in any thing it was in that, or if it did no good it could do no harm ; to which the primate objecting, refused, though many blamed him : then having inquired the time, he said, an hour hence I shall depart, and turning his head on the other side he expired serenely. He had prayers constantly twice a day in his house, and on Sunday would have his chaplain read one of Smyth's sermons. His monumental inscription was from the pen of Lord Stanhope.



THE LIFE AND REIGN  
OF  
KING HENRY THE EIGHTH;  
TOGETHER WITH WHICH IS BRIEFLY REPRESENTED  
A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE TIMES.

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*Written by the* RIGHT HON. EDWARD LORD HERBERT *of Cherbury.*

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IT is not easie to write that prince's history, of whom no one thing may constantly be affirmed. Changing of manners and condition alters the coherence of parts, which should give an uniform description. Nor is it probable that contradictories should agree to the same person: so that nothing can shake the credit of a narration more, than if it grow unlike itself; when yet it may be not the author, but the argument caused the variation. It is impossible to draw his picture well who hath several countenances.

I shall labour with this difficulty in King Henry VIII. not so much for the general observation (among politicks) that the government of princes rarely grows milder towards their latter end; but because this king in particular, (being about his declining age, so diverse in many of his desires, that he knew not well how either to command or obey them) interverted all, falling at last into such violent courses, as in common opinion derogated not a little from those virtues which at first made him one of the most renown'd princes of Christendom.

His education was accurate, being destined (as a credible author affirms, Concil. Trid. l. 1. 1.) to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, during the life of his elder brother Prince Arthur; that prudent king his father chusing this as the most cheap and glorious way for disposing of a younger son. For as he at once disburdened his revenues, and the publick from the charge incident to so great a person, so he left a passage open to ambition; especially ever since Eugenius IV. had (Vid. Consti. An. 1440.) declared the place of a cardinal above all other in the Church. Besides, he consider'd it would be no little security to his posterity, that his dignity was conferr'd on one who had interest in the conservation of the Crown. By these means not only

the more necessary parts of learning were infus'd into him, but even those of ornament; so that, besides his being an able Latinist, philosopher, and divine, he was (which one might wonder at in a king) a curious musician; as two intire masses compos'd by him, and often sung in his chapel, did abundantly witness. These were qualities which invested in an excellent and well-form'd personage, made him every way recommendable. To which again, a great courage and active spirit being added, he seem'd to hold that strong temper of authority, which made him esteem'd and redoubted both at home and abroad. Had his age answer'd his youth, or expectation, none of his predecessors could have exceeded him; but as his exquisite endowments of nature engag'd him often to become a prey of these allurements and temptations, which are ordinarily incident unto them; so his courage was observ'd by little and little to receive into it some mixture of self-will and cruelty.

I am the more particular in his description; for that princes actions are not always drawn from reason of state, but sometimes even from inclination and humour. They have many ways to be wise, and seldom err while they keep their estate and reputation. Nothing is so easie as to reign, if the body of government be well framed. Let the counterpoises of reward and punishment go aright, the wheels of this great clock seldom fail. This king used both well as long as his means and complection suffer'd him; though at last, passing these bounds on either side, he cannot be denied to have fallen into divers irregularities.

The time of his birth was June 28. 1491, and of his coming to the crown April 22. 1509, when though he might be thought apter for delights than business; yet, as he follow'd the advice of able counselors, fewer errors were committed than when all things were swayed by his own arbitrement; for, as they were selected (out of those his father most trusted) by the Countess of Richmond his grandmother, (noted to be a vertuous and prudent lady) so he took their impressions easily, both out of a diffidence of his own strength in the managing of the weighty affairs of his kingdom, and a desire he had to be free to those exercises which most sorted with his youth and disposition. And certainly it was a happy conjuncture for him, since, if the first part of wisdom consist in an ability to give good counsel, the next is to take it; the condition betwixt both being ever most obnoxious to danger. But that their names may be known to posterity, I shall mention them as they are upon record.

William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor of England.

Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Secretary, and Lord Privy-Seal.

Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, Lord Treasurer of England.

George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward of the King's Household.

Sir Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, of Gower, Chepstow, and Rayland, Lord Chamberlain.

Sir Thomas Lovel, Master of the Wards, and Constable of the Tower.

Sir Henry Wyat.

Thomas Ruthal, Doctor of Law.

Sir Edward Poynings, Knight of the Garter, Controller.

Sir Henry Marney, (April 9. 1532.) Lord Marney.

Sir Thomas Darcy, (1511.) Lord Darcy.

The frame of this council was of scholars chiefly, and soldiers : among the former sort I find the Archbishop Warham, much celebrated by the learned Erasmus ; and of the latter kind, there will be divers mention'd with honour, in the following history. So that their choice proceeded rather from their sufficiency in the business they were to discharge, and care of that authority they must support, than from any private affection. Insomuch, that notwithstanding the high reverence they bore to their prince's person, they were observed so to love the prosperity of his affairs, as they would not only impartially advise, but often modestly contest with him in any thing for his good. Besides, among them (though not many) there were divers able to execute and perform as well as counsel. So that, without divulging any secret, or descending from the dignity of their place, to require advice from their inferiors, they mov'd in their own orb. This held up the majesty of the council. Only I find it strange, that among all these, there was not so much as one that I may call stiled from the common law ; which, though I cannot commend, (wisdom evermore beginning at home) yet I doubt not was so temper'd, as when any difficulty in this kind did arise, the counsel learned in the law was sent for. However, it seems that king kept them at a distance towards the beginning of his reign ; though towards the middle and latter end I find some were (through their great abilities) received into the body of his council ; yet so, as the king was noted not to admit reason of law every-where, for reason of state : therefore he us'd to take their advice obliquely, and no otherwise than to discover how safe his own designs were, and so with less danger to vary from them. Which deviations yet he would so regulate, as his actions at home had still, if not their ground, yet at least their pretext from the common law. Neither was it hard, the practice thereof having been so long intercepted in the civil wars of Lancaster and York, as there were not a few overtures for the regal authority, both in his father's time and his, to appear in, and enter.

The first office perform'd by these counsellors, was mix'd betwixt piety to their deceas'd prince, and duty to their new ; it being the best



continuance of that regal authority which should never die, to revive the memory thereof in that way only which is permitted, being pomp and ceremony. This appeared not only (May 9.) in a great funeral, but by that magnificent structure in Westminster, where the chapel having been finished by Henry VII. himself, had the tomb afterwards added and perfected by his executors, 1519. Concerning which, though it be reported that the chapel cost only 10,000*l.* (or, as others say, 14,000*l.*) and the tomb 1000*l.* yet as money went then, it might be thought a sumptuous monument.

While the obsequies and rites were preparing (the particulars whereof Hall (April 23.) after his manner relates) King Henry retired privately from Richmond (where his father died) to the Tower of London, both that he might with more leisure advise with his council concerning the present affairs of his kingdom, as also the better to avoid those salutes and acclamations of the people, which could not but be unseasonable, till the lamentations and solemnity of his father's funeral were past. He thought not fit to mingle the noises. Here then it was in the first place resolv'd to make good his authority, as having more undoubted right to the crown by the union of the white-rose and the red in his person, than any king ever deliver'd to us by warrantable history. For this end he found or took occasions. In one kind Henry Stafford, brother to the Duke of Buckingham, serv'd for example, who (upon I know not what suspicion) was apprehended presently, and committed to the Tower; which yet seem'd afterwards so frivolous, that to repair this disgrace, he was the same year made Earl of Wiltshire. In the other kind, Doctor Ruthal became the object, being (together with one of his council) made the same day Bishop of Duresme. Thus, though it seems he hasted to take upon him the real marks of sovereignty, yet he so temper'd them, as to leave his subjects in hope of an even hand. Besides, that he might show himself gracious to his subjects, he not only confirm'd the pardon his father gave a little before his death for offences, except murder, felony, and treason, (to which general abolitions do not properly reach) but for farther performance of his father's last will caus'd a proclamation to be made; That if any man could prove himself to be then wrongfully depriv'd of his goods, by occasion of a certain commission for forfeitures, he should (upon due complaint) have satisfaction; whereupon so many petitions were presently exhibited against Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, Esq., (employed lately for taking the benefit of penal statutes) that it was thought fit to call them before the council, where (April 25.) Empson spake to this effect:—

‘Right honourable and others here present :

‘I have remark'd two causes in general, that move attention. One is ‘the greatness, the other is the strangeness and novelty of argument.

'Both these concur so manifestly in the affairs now question'd, that I will not much implore your patience. Though on the other side, considering my violent persecution, I cannot but think it a favour, that I may speak for myself ; but (alas) to whom ? The king my master, to whom I should appeal, as to my supream judge and protector, abandons me to my enemies, without other cause, than that I obey'd his father's commands, and upheld the regal authority. The people, on whose equal tryal I should put my life, seek my destruction, only because I endeavour to execute those laws whereof themselves were authors : what would have happen'd to me, if I had disobey'd my king, or broke my country's laws ? Surely, if I have any ways transgress'd, it is in procuring that these penal statutes might be observed, which yourselves in open parliament decreed, and to which you then submitted, both your persons, estates, and posterity ; and if this be a crime, why do you not first repeal your proper Acts ? Or if (which is truth) they stand still in full force and vertue, why do you not vindicate from all imputation both yourselves and me ? For who ever yet saw any man condemn'd for doing justice ? Especially when by the chief dispencer thereof (which is the king) the whole frame of the proceeding hath been confirm'd and warranted ? Nay, whoever saw man on these terms not rewarded ? And must that which is the life and strength of all other actions, be the subversion and overthrow of mine ? Have you read or heard in any well-govern'd country, that the infractors of laws made by public vote, and consent, escap'd without punishment, and they only punish'd who labour'd to sustain them ? Or when you had not read or heard any such thing, could you imagine a more certain sign of ruine in that common-wealth. And will you alone hope to decline this heavy judgment ? When, contrary to all equity and example, you not only make presidents for injustice and impunity, but together with defaming would inflict a cruel death on those who would maintain them ; as if this might be a fit guerdon for those who (I must tell you) every where else would have been thought the best patriots ; what can we expect then, but a fatal period to us all ? But let God turn this away, though I be the sacrifice. Only, if I must die, let me desire that my enditement may be entred on no record, nor divulged to foreign nations, lest, if they hear, in my condemnation, all that may argue a final dissolution in government, they invade and overcome you.'

To this was answer'd briefly, that he receiv'd a great deal of liberty to speak ill, as well as to do : that he should find at last, he was punish'd for passing the bounds of his commission from the late king, and for stretching a law which in it's self was severe enough to the common and poorer sort of people, from whom he exacted most unjustly. The chief parts of his accusation (that I can find) were,

1. That he had committed divers persons to prison, without suffering them to answer till they had compounded for their fines.

2. For searching unduly men's estates, and bringing them wrongfully to hold under that tenure they call in capite; without that the parties could be permitted to a traverse, till they had payed great fines and ransoms.

3. That wards, being come to full years, were not allow'd to sue out their livery, till they had paid an excessive composition.

4. That out-law'd persons could not be allow'd to sue out their charter of pardon, till they had paid half the profit of their lands for two years, upon pretence that it was according to law.

5. That he usurp'd upon the jurisdiction of other courts, in hearing and determining divers matters properly belonging to them.

6. Lastly, that whereas a prisoner being indicted for theft, in the city of Coventry, to the value of one pound, was by the jury acquitted; the said Empson conceiving the evidence to be sufficient, committed the jury to prison, till they enter'd into bond to appear before the king's council; where the matter being again consider'd, it was order'd, they should pay eight pounds for a fine, (which was thought so heinous, as, at a sessions being held afterwards at Coventry, a particular indictment was fram'd against him, and he was found guilty.) How many of these allegations were verified, or how far they might be warranted by the last king's commission, appears not to me. Howsoever, for the present, they were (April 23.) committed to the Tower.

This Empson, reported to be a sieve-maker's son in Torcester, from this mean beginning, by his wit and industry, came to be of council to King Henry VII. and master or surveyor of his forfeits in divers kinds, in which place he served as an instrument, for raising great sums to the king. Dudley (a gentleman of birth, and such parts as he was chosen speaker of the parliament-house, 19 Henry VII.) (1503.) assisting him. These men (call'd by Polydore Virgil, *Judices fiscales*) having it seems, exceeded their bounds, were detested of all, but especially the poorer sort, who found it easier to hate than to pay. To satisfy their complaints therefore, it was thought fit to permit them to the ordinary ways of justice: the promoters they used being so severely punish'd in the mean time, betwixt the pillory and shame, that they dy'd all (a few days after) in prison, save one Giovanni Baptista Grimaldi, who, foreseeing the storm, took sanctuary in Westminster.

All clamours being thus silenc'd, the next care was, that the crown might be put on the king's head, with that solemnity, which in former times was used. This was not yet so speeded, but that the king's council thought fit first to advise with him concerning his marrying. About which many propositions being made, the graver sort told him, that the same reasons which made his wise father chuse to match with Spain, (first by marrying his eldest son Arthur to Katherine, daughter of Ferdinand King of Arragon, and after Arthur's death, by treating a match between the said lady and him) were in force still.



That since he had pretences on France, no alliance could be useful on that part. Besides, that betwixt great estates adjacent to one another, such jealousies use to rise, that they may make peace sometimes, but never friendship. That leagues and confederations have in them the nature of harmonical accords, which jar in the second, but agree in the third interval. Therefore, that he should match with Spain, or at least with some prince, that might join with him, when there should be question of opposing France, which, since (1499.) the late union of the dukedom of Britain, he was to consider as a potent and dangerous neighbour. As for the House of Burgundy, and Low-Countries, (which was come to the hands of Maximilian the emperor, by his match with Mary, daughter and heir to the last duke called Charles the Bold, Carolus Audax) he needed not fear anything, unless he did wilfully provoke them; the causes of love on that part seeming to be perpetual, as being founded upon the mutual necessity of those ports and havens, to which, upon all foul weather, the shipping must resort on either side; and (1508, Dec. 16.) lately confirm'd by a new contract of Charles, grandchild and heir of Maximilian, with Mary the king's sister [which yet held not,] it was then (1503.) consider'd, whether he might not immediately take the said Lady Katherine; and the rather, because the treaty had not only been dispensed with, in the time of Henry VII., his father; but some offence lately taken by Ferdinand, because it was deferr'd so long; (for perfecting whereof therefore, he had sent ample commission to his ambassador here, (as I find by our records, about this time;) and to conduce hereto, was alledg'd (as Polydore hath it) (Virg. Histor. Angl.) the law, Deuter. 25. of marrying the brother's wife; and, to help this again, the Princess Katherine protested herself to be a virgin, offering to be try'd by matrons. It was added also, that the lady was present, and that saved time and charge; besides, she had given so much proof of vertue and sweetness of condition, that they knew not where to parallel her. Again, when she should depart the kingdom, a great dower must follow her, which would be transported yearly out of the nation. All which motives were corroborated by the above-mention'd dispensation, obtain'd (1503.) divers years before from Julius II. who, as he was a stirring and warlike prelate, and had his ends upon King Henry VII., in the wars then begun in Italy, made no great difficulty to grant it; and the rather, because he was sensible, that all the children which should be gotten betwixt them, would be firm to the papacy; since, if ever they renounc'd the pope's authority, they must disclaim the power by which themselves were made legitimate. A messenger therefore having been sent to Rome, Anno 1503. (Ferdinando's power and mediation concurring) obtain'd a license from the pope, many of the cardinals, in vain, opposing it; whereof more amply, when we shall have occasion to speak of the divorce. Thus, upon the third of June, being about

six weeks after his father's death, he espoused the Lady Katherine. Their coronation was yet deferr'd till the 24th of the same month. The forms and magnificence whereof being set down by Hall, Hollinshed, and others, are by me purposely omitted. Not long after the king, who had left off mourning, was forc'd to take it again, for his grandmother, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, a vertuous lady, and a great benefactor to both our universities, by whose advice (as it is said) chiefly the king's counsellors were chosen : whom she so disposed, as they might deliberate well among themselves always, before they gave their advice to this young king, as not thinking fit (at that age) he should be distracted by difference of opinions. Neither did they vary much, during her life ; though afterward, some smothered jealousies broke out into open faction. Insomuch that Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, and Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester, out of a competition for being most eminent in the king's favour, became at last not sufficiently united between themselves. But, as it is a rare felicity in princes to make election of able counsellors, so it is no less to order them aright. For, as secret combination for their own ends, usually brings them too close to one another ; so ambitious opposition keeps them too far off ; the true distance being that only, which is created by a just emulation to do their master service ; in which posture, unless they be studiously kept, without being suffer'd to decline to either extream, many inconveniences must follow in the administration of public affairs.

Now though these two (as Polydore relates) had brought all business within their verge, (William Compton, chief gentleman of the bed-chamber, and who was next in favour to them, being more attentive to his profit, than to publick affairs :) I doubt not yet, but their fellow-counsellors were often admitted ; though, perhaps, not being acquainted with all the premises, they were hardly able to ground a solid advice. The bishop was an old and intimate counsellor to King Henry VII., and knew all the mysteries of state. The Earl of Surrey was (indeed) later in credit, yet a brave and understanding nobleman, though (as Polydore observes) his estate was much wasted by the civil wars, (his father John, who was made Duke of Norfolk by Richard III., having been kill'd in Bosworth-field on his side, and the earl himself kept prisoner in the beginning of Henry VII.'s reign.) However, his very place of Lord Treasurer, (which he held ever since the 16th of Henry VII.) made him much in request ; as one who both kept and dispensed that mass of wealth, left by Henry VII. ; which (if we may believe authors) was 1,800,000*l.* sterling. A greater sum (doubtless) than any king of this realm before had in his coffers. And such as might be thought in effect quadruple to so much in this age. It seems yet, so great a part of it was, by the king's order, distributed to divers of the court-gallants, that the bishop, who was Lord Privy-Seal, and remember'd how hardly

it was gotten, repin'd at it, and thereupon did ill offices to the earl, as if (saith Polydore) he parted with it too easily ; or, perchance, made advantage to himself thereby. But that we may leave these things to the credit of Polydore (in whom I have observ'd not a little malignity,) I find it resolv'd between them, that in imitation of his father (who instituted first a band of 50 archers to wait on him) some horse-guards should be ready always to attend his person. The number proposed was but 50. But, as every one had an archer, a demilance, and a custrel (as our history calls it, but being truly coustillier) or a kind of ambactus, or servant belonging to him, besides three great horses for his own use, so it grew to a considerable number : of these Henry Bouchier Earl of Essex was captain, and Sir John Peachie lieutenant. But whether this might raise some jealousy among the people (which yet my authors mention not) or that their expence were greater than that it could continue after the rate it began, (both they and all their horses being trapp'd in cloth of gold, silver, or gold-smith's work) I find it was dissolv'd at last, and came to nothing.

This year a great plague begun at Calais, which though it consum'd many persons, was not thought sufficient yet to keep off an enemy. So that Sir John Peachie with 300 men, was sent thither to defend the place ; by whose good order the town was secured.

Empson and Dudley being (as is above said) committed to the Tower, new and strange crimes were found and objected against them, as appears in their indictments upon record, wherein, they are accus'd of conspiracy against the king and state ; and first, that during the sickness of the late king in March last, they summon'd certain of their friends to be in arms at an hour's warning ; and upon the death of the said king, to hasten to London. Out of which, and other circumstances, it was collected by the jury, that their intent was to seize on the person of the new king, and so to assume the sole government ; or when they could not attain this, to destroy him.

Of which crimes, how improbable soever, Dudley in his tryal at Guildhall in London, July 16. 1509, and Empson at Northampton, Oct. 1. were found guilty by their juries, and both condemn'd of treason, and so remanded to the Tower.

Our king being thus settled in his throne, took several prospects upon all his neighbouring princes.

In Scotland (then) reign'd James IV., being of a middle age ; who was his confederate by treaty, and brother-in-law by the match of Margaret (whom Henry VII. gave him, Anno 1503.) Howbeit, as he held a stricter correspondence with France, than stood with the interest of our kingdom ; some jealousies of state arose betwixt Henry VII. and him, which yet were past over a little before our king's coming to the crown, and the former treaty confirm'd.

In France, Louis XII., an old and warlike prince reign'd ; who stu-



diously yet conserv'd the peace made betwixt Henry VII. and himself, 1498, both that he might the better incorporate and settle in the French crown the dukedom of Britaign, claim'd by him in Anne his wife's right, (being not only a large addition to his dominions, but of great nearness and consequence to this island) and that he might be freer to attend his designs in Italy (whereof in its due place.) For which reasons also he had concluded (1499. April 30. du Tillet), (by the means of James IV.) a league with John, King of Denmark, and Sweden, then powerful by sea ; by which that king was bound to assist him, in case of invasion.

In Arragon, Ferdinand an ancient and politick prince rul'd in his own right, and in Castile by the right of Isabel his wife, inheritrix thereof, who dy'd 1504. By this lady he had one son, who deceas'd 1497, and four daughters. Isabel the eldest being (1490.) marry'd to Alphonso Prince of Portugal, and afterwards (1498.) to Manuel king thereof, dy'd without issue, whereby Jone the second daughter became heir of Castile in the right of her mother ; and had by her husband Philip (son to Maximilian the emperor) Charles and Ferdinand (emperors successively) and four daughters, Leoneta, Katherine, Mary, and Isabel. This Philip (1504.) shortly after his coming to the kingdom of Castile in the right of Jone his wife dying (1506.), and she, through some indisposition of mind or body, proving unapt for government, Ferdinand reassum'd his power in regard of the minority of his grandchild Charles. Mary third daughter to Ferdinand, was wife to Manuel King of Portugal, in place of her deceas'd sister. And for the match of Katherine with England, the following history will sufficiently speak it.

In the empire Maximilian (though chosen only king of the Romans) appear'd potent ; both by the authority deriv'd thence, and by the match he had made with Mary, daughter and heir of Charles the Bold, Carolus Audax, last duke of Burgundy ; by which not only his estate there, but all the Low-Countries descended to him. Nevertheless, as he consider'd of what importance it was, for his designs to make a firm alliance with England, he in (1503) first offer'd a league to Henry VII., and (for consolidation thereof) his daughter Margaret, dowager of Savoy ; and, when that fail'd, procur'd a kind of contract Dec. 16. 1508. betwixt Charles (afterwards emperor, and not above eight years old) his grandchild, and Mary (afterwards queen of France) younger daughter to Henry VII. Neither of which marriages yet taking effect, the result was only a peace and friendship, establish'd upon the first proposition of alliance betwixt them ; of which also Maximilian was no less glad (as having secured the Low-Countries thereby) than Louis XII. was for Britaign. And they had reason ; the adding of the one to France, and the other to the house of Austria, being not only the greatest strenghtning our most suspected neighbours ever had, but a weakning of us, while we lost two of our best and most useful con-

federates ; so that the permitting thereof so easily, may be thought a greater indulgence than could stand with reason of state, had not a consumption and weariness, through our long civil dissensions at home occasion'd it. For the inhabitants of both countries, wanted not pretext to dispute the right of their princes : In Portugal reign'd Manuel, of whose matches having formerly spoken, I shall add little more, than that he had (1501.) already made divers discoveries towards the East-Indies.

In the Low-Countries, Margaret Duchess of Savoy, appointed (1508.) regent by her father Maximilian, and having also the charge of her nephew Charles his education (who was born at Gaunt,) many ways approv'd her self a discreet lady ; as (1500.) appears by the many good offices she did to our king, and to all other Christian princes, as well as by the bringing up of her nephew for a tutor, to whom, in that part of learning call'd humaniores literæ, the politer studies, she chose Adrian of Utrecht, afterwards pope ; and for state-buiness Anthoine de Croy, Lord of Chieures, an able person, who instructed him therein as soon as he was capable of it.

In the papal see, Julius II., a warlike prelate presided ; who having far more, and other designs than stood with the dignity and function of an ecclesiastical person, adventur'd to trouble all things. As supposing himself not only priviledg'd by his place, from all attempts of foreign princes ; but that the power of peace and war did so immediately depend on him, that he should, at least, not want occasion to exercise his charge of arbiter of their differences. Towards which also, because he knew how much our king could contribute, he passionately desir'd a strict league with him, which was embrac'd, as will appear.

As for the Great Turk Bajazet II., though now grown a formidable enemy to Christendom, our king look'd on him at a distance, and no otherwise than as he stood in relation to his confederates.

Having thus survey'd the present monarchs in particular, he did not forget to take into his special consideration the State of Venice, which about this time did much enlarge it's territories, so that, notwithstanding the opposition not only of the chief Christian potentates, but even of the Turks themselves, they extended their dominions every way : insomuch, that the Pope, Maximilian, Ferdinand, and Louis XII., had the last year, being 1508, enter'd at (Dec. 9.) Cambray into a league against them, the conditions whereof were ; that they should not desist till they had recover'd all those places which the Venetians had taken from them ; upon confidence yet, that the first conqueror should restore to any of the confederates that which belong'd to him. And that Louis XII. should be general of the armies, and personally present in the expedition. To which also he was the more dispos'd, for that the Venetians had gotten from him sundry places belonging to the duchy of Milan. Howbeit, as these affairs did not directly concern

our king, so he took the more leisure to attend the event, and to serve himself thereof.

By this time it was thought fit for many reasons, but specially for contenting the commonalty, which seem'd to be wholly alter'd by the rigorous proceedings of Henry VII., to call a parliament, which began in Jan. following. Here then Empson and Dudley, formerly not only expos'd to the revenge of all men, but publickly condemn'd (as is above related) were attainted of high-treason. And here I shall touch a little upon the laws enacted the first year (1510. Regni i. Jan. 21.) of this king, as far as they may concern the historical and political parts. I find therefore, divers of these statutes by which King Henry VII. took advantage of the people, repeal'd, explain'd, or limited. Among which the benefit of forfeitures for penal laws, was reduc'd to the term of three years next preceding. Insomuch that the principal scope of this parliament, seem'd to have reference to Empson and Dudley's business, which was so represented, (by the Lower House of Parliament chiefly) that the king was willing to restrain his own authority in some sort, that he might enlarge the people's confidence and affection towards him. Lastly, in this kind some untrue inquisitions found by Empson and Dudley, as also some assurances of lands past to them, were annihilated and made void. Besides which I find little material, save only that a sumptuary law against excess of apparel, was repeal'd, and a new one, a little more decent, subrogated.

As our king was now in high esteem with his people for justice, so was he no less redoubted abroad, for the hopes he gave of being an active and courageous prince. All which was the more regarded, because his treasure was so great, that he might be thought able suddenly, and without the delays usual in raising of money, to execute his designs.

Therefore divers ambassadors repair'd to him from France, Denmark, Scotland, and other places, who were magnificently entertain'd.

The business of the French king (Louis XII.) was chiefly to keep good correspondence between the two countries, while himself went on with his wars in Italy. In sequence hereof also, Tillet saith, there was a peace made between England and France this year, March 23. 1510. And, whereas at the treaty of peace in July 1498, Louis XII. had given caution to Henry VII., to pay that which remained of 745,000 crowns, due according to a treaty made between Charles VIII. and the said Henry, 13 Nov. 1492. Now the said Louis did stipulate to pay the remainder of the sum.

That of Scotland was congratulation in King James IV.'s brother-in-law, and his sisters' names, with confirmation of the late treaty of peace; containing also some propositions tending to the penetrating of our king's present designs, that they might frame their counsels accordingly, which was with some relation to France.



That for Denmark, was chiefly to establish a better course for trade ; for which purpose a statute (8 Henry VI., 1429.) was repeal'd at this parliament, which did prohibit our men other traffick, towards Denmark and Iseland, than to a place call'd Northbarn.

The king finding now all things safe both abroad and at home, took those liberties which became his youth ; yet were not his exercises sportful alone, but had in them a mixture of letters and arms. Therefore though some relate, that he used singing, dancing, playing on the flute and virginals, making verses, and the like : yet his more serious entertainments were the study of history and school-divinity (in which he especially delighted,) justs, turneys, barriers, and that not in an ordinary manner, but with the two-handed-sword and battle-ax. These again were set forth with costly pageants and devises, and these so frequently, that not only much time, but a great part of the treasure was consum'd in 'em. Of which whoever desires to see more, may peruse Hall and Hollinshed, who have many particulars worth looking on, for him that hath so much leisure. Besides these, he used sometimes tennis and dice, at which certain strangers used to play with him ; till the king, finding them to be cheats, at length chas'd 'em away.

Empson and Dudley lying now in prison, condemn'd and attainted by parliament, the importunate clamours of the people prevailing with the king in this year's progress, he not only restor'd divers mulcts, but for further satisfaction to the commonalty (by a special writ) commanded to have their heads struck off, August 18, doing therein (as thought by many) more like a good king, than a good master.

Julius II. having recover'd what he desir'd in Italy, by his wars the last year, was contented now to accept the submission of the Venetians, with whom (his confederates not being privy thereto) he made peace Feb. 24. 1510, and being jealous of the greatness of the French in Italy, (with whom he had also this quarrel, that they defended Alfonso d'Este Duke of Ferrara against him) he endeavour'd all he could to oppose them ; to this purpose he inclin'd Ferdinand, by giving him the investiture of Naples ; King Henry VIII. he solicited, by putting him in mind of the glory of his ancestors, etc., and offering him the honour to be *caput fœderis Italici*. Our king upon this sends Christopher Bambridge Archbishop of York, to reside at Rome, and treat of these matters. In the meanwhile the pope and the Venetians proceed, and attempt Ferrara, Genoua, and other places. But as they prosper'd not, he lays hold on his spiritual sword, and excommunicates Este, with all his adherents. Louis XII., on the other side, calls a synod of the French Church at Tours in France ; where certain questions touching the the pope's late actions and his authority were proposed, and resolved against him, and his excommunication pronounced void. It was also decreed, that an admonition should be sent to him, to imbrace peace and moderation ; which if he refus'd, he should be summon'd to call a

free and general council (according to the decree of the council of Basle.) Louis having proceeded thus far, communicated the matter to Maximilian (whom as yet the pope had not won from him) and joyning with themselves the cardinals Barnardine, Brisonet, and others, they summon'd a council to be held 1 Sept. 1511. at Pisa, commanding the pope to appear there. While these things were doing, the French under Chaumont came before Bononia, where the pope now lay sick, and besieg'd it, forcing him to such hard conditions, as, upon the coming of relief, he would not stand to. Howsoever, this besieging of the pope being given out, sounded so ill, that our king presently made a league with Ferdinand for his defence ; which was an engagement for greater actions hereafter, as we shall see in its place.

The first day of this year, being 1511, the queen was brought to bed of a son, which therefore in the name of a new-years-gift, was by her presented to the king. But as the child liv'd not to the latter end of the next month, so the greatness of joy did more than expire in the shortness. Notwithstanding which, it is said the youthful parents were soon comforted, reputing, that in children (as in silver vessels) little is usually lost, but the fashion. But it fell not out so well, for it pleas'd God, that no heirs male remain'd betwixt them two. In the mean time Ferdinand the King of Arragon, being (Feb.) not ignorant in what estate his daughter was, sent ambassadors to perform his due compliments on that occasion, and withal to solicit the king for assistance against the Moors in Africk. He had already conquer'd those in the province and city of Granada ; through the streets whereof as he rode triumphantly, 1492, the certain news was brought him of those great riches, discover'd in the Indies by Columbus ; which I therefore mention, because (to use the Spanish phrase) I think it is the greatest coyuntura that ever happen'd ; he having reduc'd his dominions in Spain to an intireness, and at the same time receiv'd news of that immense treasure in another world. His demand was presently granted by our king, and the Lord Thomas Darcy sent (June 1.) with 1500 archers (the soldiers then in request) to Ferdinand, with whose help he intended to revenge the loss receiv'd (Aug. 30, 1510.) at Gelves in Barbary. Howbeit, as Julius II., being much press'd by the French (whose affairs prosper'd in Italy) requir'd the help of Ferdinand against them ; he desisted from his enterprize, and resolv'd to succour the pope ; whereupon also our men, richly rewarded, did return home.

In like manner Margaret regent of the Low-Countries, obtain'd (May.) of the king 1500 archers to assist her against the Duke of Gueldres, though confederate of Louis XII. and James IV. These therefore under the command of Sir Ed. Poynings, knight of the garter, lately (June 9. 1509.) made warden of the Cinque-Ports, presently after their landing were met by the said lady regent, and thereupon united and recommended with much favour and particularity to the rest of her

army. The exploits done by this brave cavalier, and our English, I have not expressly set down, both for that the lady regent join'd not any considerable forces with them, for the exploiting great actions ; and that themselves were not free to attempt anything by themselves. Howsoever, I find they were licensed to return, (not without great testimonies of their worth) and that, upon review of the troops, Sir Edward Poynings found that not fully a hundred of his men were wanting.

The king's authority over the narrow seas (studiously conserved ever by his ancestors) was about this time somewhat lessen'd by the piracies of Andrew Breton (whom our chronicles call Barton) a Scottish man. This Breton, in revenge of his father's death, as also other injuries, having in vain sought redress in Flanders, for a ship taken from his said father by some Portugals obtain'd letters of mark from James IV., upon condition yet, he should not exercise piracy. Notwithstanding which, he seiz'd on divers of our lesser barques (upon pretence of carrying Portugal's goods) and pillaged them. For remedy of which inconvenience, the two sons of Thos. Earl of Surrey (Lord Treasurer, and Earl-Marshal of England) were employ'd. The younger call'd Edward, being lord admiral, commanding in one ship ; and Thomas the elder brother in another. Thereupon (in several places though at one time) they invested Breton's two ships ; which, though the Scottish writers make to be far less than ours, maintain'd a cruel fight : the obstinate pirate (though so grievously hurt that he died on the place) encouraging his men with his whistle, even to his last breath. But our English pursu'd their point so, that at last (Aug. 2.), they forc'd these ships, and brought them (together with the men that remain'd) away, and presented them to the king ; who, upon their submission, graciously pardon'd them ; so that they would depart out of his kingdom within 20 days. James IV. hearing of this, sent to require satisfaction, as being against the treaty betwixt them. But it was answer'd, that it did not become a king to impute breach of treaty to his confederates and allies, only for doing justice on a pirate. The messenger, rather silenc'd with this answer, than satisfied, returns to his king ; who, when occasion was offer'd, fail'd not to shew, how ill he took the death of Breton.

The pope being freed from siege at Bononia, proceeds in his wars against the French ; goes in person against Mirandola, and by composition takes it ; but, not long after (Jan. 2. I. de Serr. May.), loses Bononia to the French, led by Gaston de Foix, his whole army being routed. Yet was not this a greater affront to him than the council to be held at Pisa, a city now in the hands of the Florentines, whom therefore Julius presently interdicts, and shortly after expelling Soderinus (governor thereof by means of Charles VIII. of France) restores the family of the Medices, who were formerly expuls'd. The princes also and the cardinals who summon'd this council being excommuni-



cate, etc., notwithstanding which they proceed. But being slighted by the citizens of Pisa, they translate the council to Milan; but finding no better respect there, they remove it to Lyons in France; where they summon'd Julius to appear, and answer, and finally suspended his authority. Upon this, the pope thunders against France, exposing it (together with Navarre, whose king favour'd Lewis) to the conqueror; and, to abrogate the council of Lyons, he summon'd another to be held at the Lateran in Rome, April 19. 1512. Unto this council our king sent his commissioners, being Sylvester Bishop of Worcester, John Bishop of Rochester, Thomas Docwra Lord Prior of Saint Johns, and Richard Abbot of Winchelcombe, Feb. 4. 1512, as appears by our records. In this council the sentence of excommunication was confirm'd against the authors of the other council, and the acts of it revers'd. Not content herewith, he sent also to Ferdinand, and to King Henry VIII. (who had already privately meditated a league with him) to take open arms, and fall upon France. Not neglecting together to use all means for withdrawing Maximilian from the French party. For though he had join'd with Louis to call the council at Pisa, (first rough-hew'd at (1510, Sept.) Tours) and did still adhere to him: yet, as the pope and Ferdinand, whom he would not disoblige, offer'd him more advantageous conditions, he was gain'd at last to the contrary party, and Lewis expos'd to the danger. The principal agent which the pope used to our king, was Christopher Bambridge, who had resided a while at Rome; and for this service was thought to deserve the cardinal's hat, which also he obtain'd in March 1511. In the mean while, the business being brought to our council-table, some spake in this manner.

That a fairer opportunity was never offer'd, whether he desir'd to maintain the authority of the pope, or to recover his own right in France. That either of these were just considerations, but both together not to be pretermitted. To further these designs, he should not only have the assistance and blessing of his holiness, but of his father-in-law. Besides which, it was possible Maximilian the emperor might join herein; however he and Lewis, had of late concurred in their designs. That it was probable, his subjects in France retain'd still a due memory not only of their allegiance, but of the benefit receiv'd from the crown of England. Besides, that in France there never wanted discontented persons, who would join with his forces. And for his coffers, they were not so full in any king's time; to which again he could not doubt but a large supply would be given by parliament, which never fail'd in contribution, when there was no question of war with that country. As for the difficulties he should find in the enterprise, they were not considerable. Louis XII. being not only deeply engag'd in a war in Italy, but having lost his best men there; so that before he could give order for his affairs at home,

he might be oppress'd; or, when he would leave his pretences on Italy, to look to his own country, that would yet free the pope from the danger he was in, and consequently give his majesty the honour of performing his intentions.

Some yet, that did more seriously weigh the business, opin'd thus; That the king's title indeed in France, especially to the hereditary provinces, was undoubted; the occasion fair; and many circumstances besides conducing to this great business: yet that all these were not sufficient for the making of a war against so potent a neighbour, unless there were more than possibility of effecting our purposes. This they might consider by comparing these times with the former. And if when all Guyenne, Anjou, Touraine, and for a long while Normandy was ours; and when, besides this, the Duke of Bretagne was our friend, and the House of Burgundy, an assur'd ally and confederate to this kingdom, we yet could not advance our designs in that country, what hope is there now to attain them? Are we stronger now than at that time? Or can we promise ourselves better success? Let it be granted, that as many battles as we have fought against the French, have been almost so many victories; what was this kingdom the better for them; who can say he made a fortune thereby? Had we ever a more glorious time than that of Edward III.; and was yet the country ever more poor or weary of the wars? If you will not believe our histories, look even on our records, and you will find not only how the treasure of our kingdom was much exhausted, but even the people themselves glutted with their prosperity. And shall we trust now to better days? What though with our 12,000 or 15,000 we have oft defeated their armies of 50,000, or 60,000? Stands it with reason of war to expect the like success still? Especially, since the use of arms is chang'd, and for the bow (proper for men of our strength) the caleever begins to be generally receiv'd. Which, besides that it is a more costly weapon, requireth a long practice, and may be manag'd by the weaker sort. Let us therefore (in God's name) leave off our attempts against the *terra firma*. The natural situation of islands seems not to sort with conquests in that kind. England alone is a just empire. Or, when we would enlarge ourselves, let it be that way we can, and to which it seems the eternal Providence hath destin'd us; which is, by sea. The Indies are discover'd, and vast treasure brought from thence every day. Let us therefore bend our endeavours thitherwards; and if the Spaniard or Portugals suffer us not to join with them, there will be yet region enough for all to enjoy. Neither will piety, equal to that of succouring Julius II., be wanting; since, by converting those infidels to the Christian religion, there will be a larger field open'd for doing good, than by establishing a doubtful and controverted head of the Church: the Council of Pisa having determin'd both to depose him, and substitute another.

But our young king, with whom zeal to do the pope's service, and ambition to recover that patrimony whereof our King Henry VI. was in possession, and which our civil wars only lost, declin'd this sober advice, and adher'd to the former. And that, especially, for two reasons urg'd by way of supplement; whereof the one was, that there was new hope Maximilian the emperor would be won to his side. The other was, that he understood from Rome, the Pope had an intention to take away the stile of CHRISTIANISSIMUS from the French, (which their historians confess) and transfer it on him; which he thought would be a perpetual glory to the nation.

Hereupon it was resolv'd, together with calling a parliament, to send (by John Young doctor of law, and master of the rolls) unto Louis XII. a monitory ambassage, requiring him to desist from war against the pope. But Louis, whether out of his own courage, or that he thought the emperor assur'd to him, or that (indeed) there was no hope of a peace, (he having been privately advertis'd that our king resolv'd war) regarded not at all his advice; our king therefore, that he might have more than one title to invade France, sent to require his patrimonial inheritance of Anjou, Guyenne, etc., and, in case of refusal, to denounce war. This then being proclaim'd, levies were commanded, and monies granted by parliament (which began Feb. 4.) were rais'd. While these things were doing, I shall observe my former method, and by the way touch on the laws then (15<sup>11</sup>. Feb. 4. An. Reg. 3. Parl. 1 H. 8.) enacted, which may belong to history.

That because money, plate, and jewels being transported out of the kingdom, had impoverish'd it, a double value should be paid by the offenders.

There was also confirm'd an order formerly taken concerning escheators, commissioners, and finding and turning of offices; which it seems had relation to Empson and Dudley's proceedings. Because also unlawful games kept men from shooting in the long-bow, they were put down, and archery commanded. For the better understanding of which act, another past, whereby the cross-bow was also forbidden.

There were likewise certain great privileges granted to men that went beyond sea with the king. As also penalties ordain'd for captains that abridg'd the number of their soldiers, or detain'd their wages; as also for soldiers departing without license.

At this parliament also the king was pleas'd to restore John Dudley, son and heir of Edmund Dudley lately attainted. On whom, towards the end of his reign, he conferr'd the place of Lord Admiral of England, as shall appear in this history.

About this time there was one Hieronymo Buonviso born at Lucca, who being a bankrupt merchant, through his friends in Italy, obtain'd so much favour from the pope, as to be made a kind of agent here. This man being acquainted with all the pope's business, and upon his



letters of credence, receiving likewise the king's and council's answers to his negociations, became so expert in all those affairs, that being corrupted by the French, (who gave him a pension, as I find in our records) he discover'd many things that much concern'd either side. And from hence it arose chiefly, that Louis XII. was so particularly inform'd of our designs, that he used many preventions, as may be observ'd in the following history.

The war with France being thus determin'd, it was consulted in what part we should begin. And though that of Calais seem'd the most ready way, yet, because Ferdinand promis'd to join with the king in this war, (which was call'd holy) it was by his consent, resolv'd to land somewhere in the Spanish dominions; and that from thence, both their armies (being united) should jointly invade Guyenne. For better understanding of which project, I must observe, that both the kings (besides that of vindicating of Julius II.) had their several designs, as will appear afterwards. The general nam'd by the king was Thomas Grey, Marquiss of Dorset, with whom went, besides his three brothers, the Lord Thomas Howard, son and heir to the Earl of Surrey, the Lord Brook, Lord Willoughby, and Lord Ferrars, and divers knights and squires, all of them brave persons, and about 10,000 soldiers; among whom, I find in the Spanish history, (Curita) there were about 5000 archers, who besides their bows and arrows, carri'd halberts, which they pitch'd on the ground till their arrows were shot, and then took up again to do execution on the enemy. An excellent part of military discipline, and yet not remarkable by our English chroniclers. These men about the third, or as the Spaniards have it, the eighth of June, (being shipp'd in Spanish vessels) arriv'd at Passage, a port in Guipuscoa, where one Faderique Bishop of Siguenca, (an able person) attended them. This bishop, after he had assur'd them of their welcome, and that the Duke d'Alva, general of the Spanish forces, with 1000 barded horse, 1500 gennets, or light-horse, and 6000 foot, would shortly join with them, did much cheer our men after their long sea-voyage. In the meanwhile, John d'Albert (king of Navarre, in the right of his wife Katharine de Foix) having the Spanish army in Arragon on the one side, and the English on the other of his kingdom, thought himself in some straits. And the rather, that the pope having lately excommunicated him for assisting the French, and by a bull dated March 1. 1512, exposed his kingdom in prey to the conqueror; he suspected Ferdinand had some design upon him. Neither was he deceiv'd; for, that he might be drawn away from Louis, or at least, that a quarrel might be pick'd against him, Ferdinand sends to require, that he would declare himself; pretending some jealousy of his proceedings, ever since Louis XII. (who was advertis'd of this holy league, as it was termed) had requir'd his help, or when he would refuse, threaten'd him with taking Bearne away, as being a feud

held of France. To comply with Ferdinand also, the English general sent to him, not only to remember the ancient league and friendship betwixt the two nations, when the English were in possession of Guyenne ; but thereupon (as well as in the name of the Church) to require his help in this holy war. The King of Navarre in this perplexity (for he was urg'd no less to the contrary by the French) protested, that it concern'd him to be neutral, he being as much in danger of losing Bearne on the French, as Navarre on the Spanish side. Yet, whether to gain time, or indeed really to shew his forwardness in this church affair, he offer'd (upon security given, that neither Ferdinand nor the English should molest him) that for four months space, the States of Navarre should (by their oaths) solemnly assure him of all amicable usage in that country ; and before that time, he doubted not, but Bayonne (which was the key to Guyenne) would be taken by Ferdinand and the English. But this was not thought sufficient ; therefore it was demanded, that the King of Navarre would deposit some towns as cautionary on that behalf. But as he still excus'd himself, the English and Spanish (who had separately treated before) thought now jointly to send their agents to the King of Navarre ; so that Antonio de Acuna, Bishop of Camora, and Sir John Stile (resident ambassador for our king in Spain) were presently dispatch'd to him. Being admitted to audience, their demand was to have the fortresses of Estella, Maya, and San Juan, consign'd for their security in the enterprize of Guyenne. But the King of Navarre protesting still, that it concern'd him to hold neutrality, was at last press'd to make a final answer. Here then he agreed, that Viana, and some other places of less strength than those demanded, should remain as pledges of his fidelity : yet, before this could be settled, the French were come to the confines of both jurisdictions : where the English, being desirous to give some proof of their valour, without any order from their general, pass'd over the river Vidassona, which divides Guipuscoa from Guyenne, to skirmish with the French. This grew at last so hot, that the marquiss was constrain'd to pass over the rest of his army to disengage them ; which being done, he reir'd again to his camp near Fuentarabia, in good order. Hereupon the Marquiss of Dorset began to complain, that the delay of Ferdinand had given the French time to raise these forces to oppose them ; and together demanded briefly his clear resolution, what he meant to do in the point of invading Guyenne : but he was answer'd, that since the King of Navarre would not admit a way through his dominions, he must be forc'd ; neither did he think, that John would take it ill to suffer a little violence, when it were for nothing else, but to shew the French, that he did not voluntarily consent thereunto. The marquiss reply'd, that this being no part of his commission, he must first acquaint the king his master with it. But Ferdinand finding that both the French army increas'd, and that the suffering them to

come nearer might frustrate his designs in Navarre, commanded the Duke of Alva, without more delay, to invest Pamplona, the chief town of Navarre, entertaining in the mean while John's ambassadors with hope of an accommodation, who seem'd also to believe it, until they heard of the siege. The industrious Ferdinand, that he might draw also the Marquiss of Dorset to assist him, us'd these reasons, That the passage to Bayone by the way of Fuentarabia was narrow, having the sea on one side, and on the other side the huge mountains of Navarre and Bearne; so that if they should undertake the siege at Bayone, without assuring themselves of the countries behind them, they might be shut up on every side, whensoever John should declare himself for the French party. Therefore, that he should proceed according to military rules, and prevent this inconvenience, by seizing first on all the avenues. The Marquiss of Dorset hereupon calling a council of war, return'd this answer; that he desir'd to lose no time, and therefore thought it the best course for both to divide the armies: and that Ferdinand should enter Guyenne by Navarre, while he took the way of Bayone. Yet the king, who still pursu'd his design, seeming not satisfy'd herewith, desir'd rather that both the armies might pass jointly through Navarre. The Spanish marching still first, and making way for the English to follow. But the Marquiss of Dorset answer'd again, he might not transgress his commission, which permitted him not hostilely to enter into Navarre upon any terms. Insomuch that now almost six weeks were spent in those treaties.

Ferdinand finding no more to be expected from the English, resolves alone to invade Navarre, promising the Marquiss yet from thence to fall on Guyenne; not doubting (on this assurance) but the marquiss would stay, and at least serve as a countenance to his enterprize. Here upon the Duke of Alva being commanded (July 22. 1512.) to proceed (without hurting any yet, but those who resisted) soon after (July 25.) took Pamplona; which when our Marquiss heard, he testify'd much discontentment, both as he found Ferdinand kept not his promise, and as his victuals were much shortened on this occasion, he having been abundantly supply'd before from Navarre.

In the mean while, Ferdinand, to prevent that ill intelligence, which the marquiss might give, sends to England a messenger on purpose, with account of his actions, and to desire a more ample order to the marquiss to assist him; not neglecting the while, any occasion either for reducing the best part of Navarre to obedience, or (July 31.) entitling himself to the right thereof, as our records tell us: which in all particulars of this affair, do much confirm the Spanish history.

Being thus advanc'd, he thought fit again to sollicite John, King of Navarre (now (August) retir'd towards Bearne) that he would join in this holy war. And that he might do so the better, he temper'd threats and promises in a more effectual manner: the Bishop of



Camora and Sir John Stile, hereupon were dispatch'd again, requiring his final answer. But the Duke of Longueville being come with puissant force near to those parts, they made bold to detain the bishop, not without terrifying him with worse usage ; giving leave yet to Sir John Stile to return. Things being brought to these extremities, John, King of Navarre, thought fit to go to the French court, to excuse himself for suffering the Spanish to become so soon masters of Navarre. Neither had he it seems any way to make this so credible, as by permitting the French with the same facility to seize on Bearne. Thus was this king in a short time, dispossess'd of all his estate, only for not knowing how to behave himself, either like a friend or enemy.

Now Louis XII., though not so much as hoping, that the English and Spanish should stand thus divided, yet as he desir'd rather a war in that country, than his own, so he prepar'd as if he were at once to sustain both their forces ; commanding the Duke de Longueville to proceed warily. But the difficulty was not great : for though Salvatierra was kept by John, as long as he treated with Ferdinand ; yet now he abandon'd it to the French, and retir'd himself to Paris. Betwixt this town and Bayone, then the French enquarter'd their army, though for having 5000 in that city (daily reinforc'd by new levies) it seem'd not to stand in so much need of defence. This while the Duke de Alva requires an oath of obedience from those of Pamplona, and in general from the rest of the chief inhabitants of Navarre. They again offer it upon the terms agreed on, which was for four months, and till they had given proof of their neutrality in the business of Guienne. But the duke reply'd, that King John being fled away to the French, and therein having declar'd himself an enemy both to him and this holy war, he would now accept no oath, but that of a simple obedience to his king and master : upon this ensu'd disputes and diversities of opinions ; all which yet were moderated by the Spanish army, which did not much insist upon reason, having power in their hands.

Navarre being thus in a manner reduc'd, Ferdinand sends the Mareschal Aquilera to the Marquiss Dorset, protesting that his army should pass the mountains at Saint Juan de Pie del Puerto : and this he did to try, whether it would move him yet to join forces. But the Marquiss, who was inform'd that the place did lead to Bearne (which remain'd only for an intire conquest of the dominions of John) as well as to Bayone, thought fit to attend more certainty, concerning the way of the Spanish army. Ferdinand on the other side, taking this as a delay, would not omit the prosecuting of his intentions, laying (in the mean while) all the fault on the marquiss's slackness. But no man ought to blame any general in this kind, unless he knew his instructions. Ferdinand therefore was too forward herein. But the Duke de Alva who consider'd of what moment diligence is in great affairs, sends some away presently to seize on Saint Juan de Pie del Puerto ; which

accordingly was perform'd, though the French were now entering that country. To make this good also, the duke himself (by the king his master's commandment) follows with the body of his army. And now Ferdinand again sends to invite the marquiss. But as the English could not pass thither, but by a place call'd Maya (a rough and almost untrodden passage) or another way far about (for either of which they wanted horses to draw their ordnance) so was there a new difficulty interpos'd, for joining the armies. Howsoever, it concern'd Ferdinand (after many delays) to acquit himself so far, as to seem at least roundly to go on in the invading of Guyenne. And his masterpiece was, together with performing his own intentions, now to have brought his offer to our king, within the compass of probability. He consider'd also, that alone, he was too weak for the French forces; so that he had more than one reason to sollicit the English army.

Being in this posture, he begins to think what remain'd to be done: on the one side, he had the honour of diverting the French from their great designs in Italy; (for Louis began now to attend his home affairs) and therein to have freed the pope. On the other side, having reduc'd all Navarre, (only Estella excepted, which he took afterwards) and pass'd the mountains, he seem'd engag'd to secure his conquests. Therefore he thought on nothing now, but going on; trusting for the rest, to the negotiation of Martin de Ampios, whom he had sent to our king. And this man, (if we may believe the Spanish history) obtain'd, that the Marquiss of Dorset should do whatsoever he was advis'd by Ferdinand for the holy cause. But, before this instruction could come, the marquiss, who saw winter now approaching, and very near 3000 of his men sick or dead of disorder, and drinking those hot wines, and for the rest suffering much for scarcity of victuals; and lastly, being advertis'd that the French had fortify'd Bayonne, and planted a great army before it, thought it too late to begin any great enterprize. Therefore he sent the treasurer of his army, and Sir John Stile, to Ferdinand, to represent those difficulties, and to acquaint him with his determination to be gone. At last, though with much ado, Ferdinand (according to an article of the agreement), provided some ships for the English; but before they could depart, the marquiss, between discontent and ill diet, so distemper'd himself, that he fell sick, the Lord Howard being substituted in the mean while for command of the army. While yet they made ready for their journey, letters came (Sept.) from our king by Windsore the herald, commanding the army to stay; promising withal to send a new supply under the Lord Herbert his chamberlain. But the soldiers so mutined, that at last the generals were constrain'd to embarque themselves, and come home (about the end of Nov.) to England. Whereupon Ferdinand (who desir'd now only to maintain what he had gotten) turns himself to other arts; labouring (by Maximilian's mediation) to withdraw the French from

assisting John. The conditions being, that Charles Prince of Castile, their grandchild, should match with Reynera, or Reynee, second daughter to Louis XII. (which yet was but colourable as appears in their histories) and, that the French should condescend hereunto, it was no little motive, that they had acquir'd so much in Bearn ; so that keeping their possessions on either part, much treaty pass'd without any other effect, than that John on both sides was outed : though, for ostentation, Richard de la Pole (calling himself Duke of Suffolk) as I find by our records, was appointed by Louis to attempt the recovery of Pampelona though in vain. And thus ended this voyage to the grief of our king, who seem'd so much offended with the ill success, that he propos'd once to punish the principal authors of it. But his general excus'd himself by the narrowness of his instruction, and partly laid the fault on Ferdinand, who being bound by promise to furnish the army with many necessaries, yet fail'd. Lastly, they made it appear, that Ferdinand never intended anything but the conquest of Navarre, (which therefore his successors hold to this day.) ¶ Though this voyage were improsperous, yet I find by Polydore, that Sir Edward Howard, who conducted the marquiss to Spain, having with the fleet first clear'd the seas from enemies, landed (May.) at a little bay in Brittain, and march'd seven miles into the country, whence (after burning some towns) he brought away rich spoils. Not contented herewith yet, he put (May 23.) his men on shore at Conquet, and divers other places ; where (June 1.) the French still receiving the worse, they at last desir'd a parley. The substance whereof was, that the English would leave off this kind of desultory and cruel war, which tended only to the burning of villages, and ransacking the poor. But he reply'd, he was not to take his directions from them : besides, that it was the part of brave gentlemen to defend their country, and not shamefully to sue for mercy. After which, and a banquet in his ship, they were dismiss'd, and our admiral return'd home. ¶ The French in the mean while, making great preparatives by sea, our king thought fit to reinforce his fleet, adding to 20 ships under the command of his admiral, 25 more under the command of the choicest of those gallants that attended him ; placing in the chief ships call'd the *Regent*, Sir Thomas Knevet master of his horse, and Sir John Carew in the *Sovereign* ; Sir Charles Brandon, and Sir Henry Guilford, went with 60 of the tallest yeomen of his guard. This brave fleet chancing to meet 39 sail coming out of Brest in Brittain, assaulted them (Aug. 10.) ; where two of the greatest ships on both sides being grappled, fell on fire by some accident, or as the French will have it, by the desperate courage of Primauguet (barbarously, as I conceiv'd it, styl'd by our chronicles Sir Piers Morgan) and so were consum'd. The captain of the English ship (being the *Regent*) and of the French (call'd the *Cordeliere*) together with the soldiers in them, perish'd all, save only a few French,



who sav'd themselves with swimming. Howsoever, the rest of the French were so terrifi'd herewith, that they made away presently, some to Brest, and some to the isles adjoining. To repair this loss, our king built a ship, the greatest ever known before, though Buchanan and Lesle say, that James IV., King of Scotland made one; whom the English and French king desiring afterwards to imitate, fail'd so much, that they were not able to make it steer.

The king finding now that businesses were grown to some extremity, betwixt the two nations, discloses his design of going in person into France, as chusing rather to make war in his enemies country, than to attend it at home. This also, that he might the better perform, he is advis'd to discover what correspondence he might expect from his neighbours and confederates. Therefore he had sent a good while since Sir Robert Wingfield to negotiate with Maximilian, and draw him to his party; neither found he much difficulty therein. The emperor being glad that the warlike disposition of our king turn'd itself against France; so that with assurance of his affection, he encourag'd our king to go on. For Maximilian was now fallen off from the French, both that the pope strongly procur'd it, and that he thought it best to adhere rather to Ferdinand and his grandchild's interests: for pretext whereof, yet alledging only some breach of article of the Treaty of Cambray on Louis his part. The French on the other side, joyning with the Duke of Ferrara, prepar'd to defend themselves; raising for this purpose a puissant army, under the command of Gaston de Foix Duke of Nemours, governor of Milan, who (April 11.) (in the name of the Pisan council) fought the battle of Ravenna, which being won for his king, he lost for himself, as dying (almost wilfully) against a little body of the enemies, when the victory for the rest was gotten. Howbeit, the French under Monsieur de la Palisse proceeding, took Ravenna, and divers others places, which they deliver'd to a cardinal legate in the name of the Pisan council, so that they were now, (together with this city) masters of Milan, Genoa, Bononia, and Florence. Nevertheless, as the contrary part led by Raymond de Cardona, (viceroy of Naples under Ferdinand) had in the name of the holy league, brought huge forces into those parts, the French were forced to quit all those places, within the space of two months: (as Sandoval hath it,) Maximilian Sforza (son to Lodovico) whom the French had divested, being replac'd in Milan, to hold it in the name, or at least under the protection of the Suisse, whereupon also the Duke of Ferrara (unable any longer to subsist) humbled himself to the pope, and was pardon'd. Maximilian yet, not content with these victories, would have added to them Vicenza detain'd by the Venetians. But they refusing, the pope, whether desirous to conserve Maximilian's friendship at what price soever, (since he had now disavow'd the Pisan council) or that perchance he thought not himself sufficiently reveng'd on the Venetians, joyns in the enterprize.

Ferdinand in the mean while, (according to his wonted manner) makes a double treaty. On the one side therefore, he not only joyn'd offices with our king to Maximilian for this purpose, but encourag'd him to repair the imputation of slackness laid on the English in their voyage to Spain, desiring yet, that if he sent any army again into those parts, it might be under the command of his general. While on the other side, he secretly treated with Louis XII., for the match above mention'd ; promising also to assist him [in his affairs in Italy. That politick king's intention being, by one means or other, to divert the French from aiding King John to recover Navarre : (who yet I find dy'd (1516.) of grief not long after.) Lastly, our king remembring how the Scots have usually helpt the French, and being inform'd besides, that James IV. did resent still the death of Breton, and some other affronts, he sends Nicholas West, Dean of Windsor, and doctor of law, to know how he stood affected : and the rather, that he was inform'd King James had an army on foot. To which he answer'd, that he lov'd and esteem'd alike, both Henry VIII., and Louis XII. ; and therefore that he thought it best, to be neutral in any difference betwixt them. West reply'd, that he might do well to signifie thus much by letters. But King James said, that the sending any declaration of neutrality under his hand, might argue he inclin'd a little to the English side, and consequently might breed a suspicion ; especially when Louis XII. could not be ignorant of the favourable audience given him, and therewithal dismiss him. Upon whose return ; our king taking this cautelous answer into mature consideration, found it arose from a private league betwixt Louis and James, (which our records furnish us) to this effect.

I. Because the King of England's predecessors have often sought to endamage both princes and realms, therefore they (May 22.) combine to resist the same ; and one to aid the other perpetually against the said king.

II. If the King of England shall at any time wage war against the King of Scots, the King of France and his successors shall wage war with all their power against the King of England, and the Scottish king promiseth the like.

III. Neither king shall suffer his subjects to serve or aid the King of England against the other.

IV. Neither of the two may take truce with the King of England, without the other give his consent, or be comprehended therein if he please.

V. If the said Louis decease without children, and there be strife about the succession, the King of Scots shall not intermeddle, but accept him who shall be made king, for his friend, and defend him against his adversaries, if the King of England assist them. And the same Louis promises to do, if the Scottish king decease without issue.

This convention shall be confirm'd by the pope, and neither of the contrahents shall procure nor accept any absolution from the oath.

Our king understanding this, resolv'd to send his treasurer Thomas Earl of Surrey into Yorkshire, and the northern parts, to have an army in readiness, in case the Scots should stir in his absence. Together with all this provision, he thought fit to call (Regni 4. Nov. 4.) a parliament, where, besides enacting divers good laws (whereof I shall hereafter mention some) he obtain'd two fifteens and four demies. He had also a kind of subsidy, call'd head or poll-money, that is, of every duke ten marks; an earl five pounds, a lord four pounds, a knight four marks, every man valu'd at eight hundred pound in goods, four marks: and so after that rate till him who had forty shilling in wages, who paid twelve pence; after which, every one who was above fifteen years of age, paid four pence. Order was also given that bulwarks, brays, and walls, should be rais'd in his castles, and strongholds on the sea-side, wheresoever it was needful.

Julius II. expecting now the success of that war he had kindled against the French, dyes; (1513. Feb. 21.) in whose place was chosen Cardinal Giovanni di Medici, by the name of Leo X. This pope pursuing his predecessor's designs, encourageth our king to war against France. But he having now accomplish'd the age of twenty-one years, needed little invitation, and the rather, that he was assur'd by his ambassadors, Sir Edward Poynings, Sir Thomas Bolen, and John Young, that Maximilian would really perform his treaty with him, only he suspected Ferdinand. Therefore (I find by our records) he (Jan.) sent into Spain, William Knight doctor of law; commanding him, together with Sir John Stile, to use all arguments to perswade Ferdinand, that the return of the English army, was contrary both to his will and command; offering further, that if he might have assistance against France for the conquest of Guyenne, that 100,000 crowns should be given in hand to Ferdinand, and as much more when it was gotten. For this purpose also promising pay for 6000 men at six pence per diem for six months. But Ferdinand now, to whom nothing was dearer, than the conservation of his conquest in Navarre, cunningly declin'd this proposition; as hoping by a treaty with France, to effect his purposes; howbeit he advis'd our king to send his standard royal with some forces to Guyenne; and to try whether the people would follow it; since he said, they were very affectionate unto him. But our king gathering hence, as well by some private advertisements, that Ferdinand treated secretly with France, resolv'd to press him to declare himself, and therefore by letters, upon June 17. he requires Ferdinand to seal a treaty against France, to which his ambassadors here had consented. But Ferdinand disavowing his ambassadors proceeding, since the holy league (as he said) became void, upon the return of the king's army, discovers withal that he had made a truce with



France for one whole year, which he advis'd our king also to accept. The treaty to which Ferdinand's ambassadors enter'd at this time, was the treaty here set down, which I find among our records, and have mention'd, as being full of design, however eluded.

I. The first article of the confederation made between the pope, emperor, kings of England and Arragon, against Louis XII., was to be friends of the friends, and enemies of the enemies, etc., to give mutual aid, at the charges of the demandant.

II. To denounce war within 30 days after the date hereof, and within two months to invade him, viz.—The pope in Provence or Dauphine. The emperor in some other fit place. The King of England in Aquitaine (or Guyenne) Picardy or Normandy. The King of Arragon in Bearne, Languedoc, and Aquitaine. Not to desist from hostility, or make any truce without common consent.

III. That the subjects of the confederates serve not the enemy under pain of losing life and goods.

IV. That the emperor (if he have not yet done it) shall recall the authority by him given to the schismatical cardinals, and their conventicle, and within a month after the date of this, signifying his pleasure to them, shall void and nullifie all their proceedings and acts in the same.

V. The pope shall (at the request of the confederates) fulminate his ecclesiastical censures against all that oppose this league.

VI. The king of England shall give the emperor, (towards the great charges he shall be at) 100,000 crowns.

VII. Yet the emperor by this treaty will not engage his grand-child Charles (now under his tuition) into this war with Louis.

But this treaty being refus'd by Ferdinand, our king proceeds by the help of his other confederates, to the war with France; the pope for the more declaring himself, both confirming an excommunication granted by Julius II. against James King of Scots, in case he should break the peace and treaty with the king of England, and (Mar.) granting an indulgence to all that should assist King Henry, and the other confederates, against Louis and the schismatics of the Council of Pisa.

All things here being thus dispos'd for a war, Maximilian with some patience attends the coming of our English army; as being confident, however the business succeeded between the two nations, he could make his advantage thereof. That he might do this the better, he thought it not amiss to interpose some difficulties. Neither could he be wholly won, till he had obtain'd of Henry 120,000 ducats towards his charge in bringing 3000 horse and 8000 foot which should enter Burgogne, as soon as the king attempted Picardy.

While these preparations were in hand, our king, to take off James, sends Doctor West again into Scotland, where, instead of all other

offices, that king exhorted ours to a peace with France, promising on those terms his friendship. But our king being resolved to proceed, thought fit in the first place to clear the sea from the French navy : and therefore sends his fleet, being compos'd of 42 sail, besides lesser barques, against them. The French being inform'd hereof long before, had gotten one Pregent, a knight of Rodes, (called by our historians, Prior John) with four gallies to pass the streights, and come to Britagne, where many good ships were appointed to join with them. And till they came, it was thought better to keep within the haven of Brest, than to encounter our navy lying at anchor in sight of them. Our men therefore resolve to attempt them in the middle of their defences ; while they intend this, one of our ships (under the command of Arthur Plantaginet) was cast away on a blind rock. This staid our men awhile ; at last they pursue their design, and enter the haven, where the French fleet lay under the covert of many platforms that were raised on the land. Besides, they had joined 24 hulks together, with purpose to set them on fire, and let them go adrift with the tide, when our English should approach them ; or (as our records have it) to keep the fire from theirs. Lastly, they (April 17.) moored their ships as near the castle as they could, and so attended Pregent's coming. Being prepared thus, the lord admiral, Sir Ed. Howard, considering the order in which the French lay, thought fit to advertise his king and master thereof, advising him withal to come in person, and have the glory of this action. But our king's council taking this message into consideration, and conceiving that it was not altogether fear (as was thought) but stratagem and cunning, that made the French thus attend their advantage, thought the king was not so much invited to the honour, as danger of this action, and therefore rejected the overture. Thereupon they write sharply to him again (as our historians say, though our records mention not this particular) commanding him to do his duty. Whereof that brave cavalier was so sensible, as it caused him to hazzard his person afterwards so rashly, that it occasion'd his death ; the manner whereof was thus, as it was drawn out of our records : where, by a letter dated from him, April 17, it appears, that, after he had come before Brest with his navy, he sent out his boats, to make a shew of landing ; whereupon the French flocking to the shoar, to the number of above 10,000 (the English in all the boats being not above 1500) he thought fit to land over against Brest, where he burnt the country in sight of the castle ; the French ships (the while) lying beneath it, being defended with their hulks : and that he thought not fit to do any more till victuals came, whereof he stood then in need ; though he said, he had them at a great advantage, their gallies being not yet come. Together with which dispatch unto the king, he sent Mr. Arthur Plantaginet, much discouraged, as he said, by the casting away of his ship ; and disabled to serve in any other kind, because his

soldiers that remain'd were bestow'd elsewhere. After which I find by another letter of Sir Edward Echingham (who was present in the expedition) that April 22. six gallies of the enemies, (being two more than were expected) and four foysts under Pregent, put into Blanc-sablon-bay near Conquett, a little below Brest ; which being notified to our admiral, he himself, being attended with four choice captains, resolv'd to board them April 25. Whereupon entring himself into one of the two gallies (which only the English had at that time) and committing the other to Walter Devereux Lord Ferrers, he advances with two row-barges and two crayers ; in the one of which was Sir Thomas Cheyney and Sir John Wallop, in the other Sir Hen. Sherborne and Sir Wm. Sidney ; Pregent (this while) lying between two rocks, that had bulwarks on them, full of ordnance. All which yet could not deter our lord admiral, who therefore about 4 p.m., boarded the galley in which Pregent was, and enter'd it with his sword and target, one Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and seventeen English more attending him, commanding together his galley to be fastned or graped to his enemies ; but whether the French hewed asunder the cable, or our mariners let it slip for fear of the ordnance, the English galley fell off, and this noble person was left in the hands of his enemies ; of whom therefore our men could give no other account, but that when he was past all hope of recovering his gallies, he took his whistle from his neck, and flung it into the sea. The Lord Ferrers in the mean time (who was in the other galley) fail'd not to do his part, until having spent all his shot, and seeing the admiral's galley fall off, he retired ; which the row-barges also did, as not knowing but the admiral was safe. The sad news of whose loss yet being at length made known, it was thought fit to send to the French admiral, to know what was become of him. Whereupon Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir Richard Cornwall, and Sir John Wallop came to know what prisoners were taken ; to whom Pregent (or Prior John) answered, none, but a mariner, who told him, that a certain person they bore overboard with their pikes was their admiral. Lastly, he added (in the letter) that the French in Bourdeaux had made six new gallies, which were shortly expected at Brest, and that our gallies, as he said, could do the French men most displeasure.

Upon news of our admiral's death, his place was (May 4.) presently bestowed on his brother the Lord Thomas Howard ; who, wisely considering the advantage of the French gallies in a calm, and number of their ships, and the danger of the winds for us, if they blew south-west, desired of the king so many soldiers as might both man the ships, and make good the landing. But before he came, our fleet (it seems wanting one to command it) was return'd, and Pregent (upon notice thereof) encourag'd to land in Sussex, from whence yet he was quickly repuls'd, without doing more that year. And now the lord admiral having equipp'd the navy roval, scoured the seas, and secur'd our king's



intended passage. The particularities I shall omit, until (in imitation of Polydore) I have set down the description of Thomas Woolsey (afterwards cardinal) a man at this time beginning to be in special favour with the king, the original whereof I must reduce from his chief raiser and founder, Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester.

This bishop, being made principal secretary and privy-seal, became not only an able, but potent minister of state ; having yet difference with the lord treasurer Thomas Earl of Surrey, a noble man of great courage and experience in affairs, he stood not secure. They had often, been reconciled by the king, who not only best knew but often suffered most for their opposition. Yet as the wiping out of blots sometimes makes them greater, so satisfactions for injuries seldom expiate them so totally, but that some impression remains. Therefore they stood still at a distance, in which condition yet they wanted not their advantages on either side. The bishop had abundant matter to suggest ; the huge treasure, which Henry VII. left, being so exhausted, that it was now almost consumed ; while the lord treasurer in the disposing of this young king's bounty, so ordered businesses, as in facilitating dispatches, he got him many friends and followers. The lord treasurer on the other side, said, that nothing being done without the king's special order, it was through envy only the bishop thus oppos'd him. In these terms then they stood still, without almost concurring in any thing, but in excluding all others from gaining on the king's disposition ; which yet they did not so much by mutual consent, as by diminishing in their turns, every body else, that was extraordinarily in his good opinion. At last the bishop thinking how to better his party, brought in this Thomas Woolsey ; to which purpose also Sir Thomas Lovell Knight, and master of the wards, assisted him. This man, though of mean birth, being observed by them to be of a quick and stirring wit, and particularly famous for a dispatch in Henry VII. his time, wherein he used extraordinary diligence, was thought a fit instrument for their purposes. He was already a chaplain in the household, and almoner, and from thence raised to the place of a counsellor. Being in this nearness, he knew as well how to discourse with the king in matter of learning, (the king being much addicted to the reading of Thomas Aquinas) as to comply with him in his delights ; insomuch, as (saith Polydore) he would sing, dance, laugh, jest, and play with those youths in whose attendance and company the king much delighted. Briefly, (to use Polydore's words) he made his private house *Voluptatum omnium sacrarium, quo regem frequenter ducebat*: A recepticle for pleasures of all kinds, where he frequently entertain'd the king. He omitted not yet in the midst of all these jollities, to speak seriously, representing so all businesses to the king, as he got much credit with him. And this, again, was confirm'd by those gallants, who contributed no little thereunto. Whereupon he began to tell the king, that he

should sometimes follow his studies in school-divinity, and sometimes take his pleasure, and leave the care of publick affairs to him : promising that what was amiss in his kingdom should be rectified. Likewise, he omitted not to infuse fears and jealousies of all those whom he conceived the king might affect. Whereby he became so perfect a courtier, that he had soon attained the height of favour. For as princes have arts to govern kingdoms, courtiers have those by which they govern their princes, when through any indisposition they grow unapt for affairs. These arts being hopes and fears, which as doors and passages to the heart, are so guarded by their vigilancy, that they can both let themselves in, and keep all others out : and therefore may be termed not only the two ends of that thread upon which government depends, but through their dexterous handling, may be tyed upon what knot they will. Particularly, he desired to reduce all businesses to himself ; for which end he spake in this manner :

‘ Sir, Your highness hath now sufficient experience of strange effects, which contradictions in councils bring forth : it is unsafe to believe singly either of those on whose advice your highness most relies, and impossible to believe both. May your highness therefore choose some one, who being dis-interest’d, may have no passion or thought but to serve your highness. All those strong reasons of state which conclude monarchy the best form of government, make for a favourite in the next place. Insomuch, that of supream authority, as of those pyramidal heights on which the statues of princes were anciently plac’d, I dare say, there can be none well rais’d, that from the lowest foundation is not sharpn’d by degrees unto its point. But lest this should be thought looking upwards only, be pleas’d a while to look down, and consider things the other way, and the prospective will hold its proportion. For how, sir, should a king conserve his power, if he divide and let it fall at once on divers inferior persons? Believe me, sir, to diffuse it over suddenly, is to take away not only from the dignity, but even intireness of it : it being with authority, as with a spring or fountain, which, that it may keep his course and name, must be cherish’d and entertain’d, till it grow great, by the contributions and concurrences of those lesser heads that run into it. Kings must never descend but by steps. The more orders are under them, the higher still they stand. Neither will your other counsellours think themselves much lessen’d this way ; for when they may use the ordinary power and sway allow’d them over their inferiors, they will not think themselves much concern’d for the rest. Besides, your people will be glad of it, as knowing which way to address their suit. To leave them more at large, were to expose them to those delays and uncertainties they would never patiently endure. Again, it would be impossible any other way to keep secrecy in business, (which yet is the life of council) or almost to find out who is the divulger. Moreover, when your high-

'ness in some great and perplex'd affairs, hath occasion to acquaint your counsellors only with some part of your meaning, what instrument can be so apt as a favourite? While, if things succeed ill, or otherwise that your highness would not seem to have the advice proceed from you, how easily may your highness disavow all, and lay the fault on him? Thus may your highness find the many uses you may make of your favourite. Yet, sir, let me say, I should never advise your highness to see by his eyes, or hear by his ears only; this were to keep you in too much darkness and subjection. To prevent this therefore, be pleas'd to appoint able persons, and such as may not know of each other, by whom your highness may be inform'd, not only what is done, but even said vulgarly. Thus shall your highness take order not to be deceiv'd. As for the more doubtful and intricate parts of business, which require particular scrutiny and examination, your highness, in my opinion, may do well to have three or four confident persons, not yet of the body of your council, with whom separately your highness may advise, before those difficulties be brought unto them. This will enable your highness to speak thereof when you transfer it to the body your council, and make you discern their opinions; only, if any thing be determin'd, let your favourite still be the chief actor in the execution. Hereof then your highness may please to advise. Neither will I presume to nominate my self otherwise; only I will crave leave to say thus much, that when your highness would out of your own election, think fit to use my best service herein, I should not doubt but so to establish and conserve your highness's authority, as to make you the greatest and happiest prince living. Neither should I fear to fall when any benefit might grow to your majesty thereby.' The young king being perswaded thus, without other advice or consideration, adopted Woolsey, and thereupon orders him to dispatch his chiefest affairs. This got him not only estimation and addresses, but presents and rich gifts from the greatest persons. They again brought him to that insolency, that he seem'd not only to forget his birth, (being a butcher's son) but all his former friends; insomuch as no man, (saith Polydore) durst remember him of an ancient acquaintance. A badge or livery whereof (he saith) appear'd in his outward garment, he being the first (saith the same Polydore) among all priests, bishops, and cardinals, that ever wore silk for his uppermost vestment. Yet was it not alone; for as divers other priests imitated him, some envy was rais'd on the whole clergy. But this was when silk was either more rare, or more esteem'd; it being in this age so common, that it is become the wearing of every mean person. The gallants of the court finding now the king's favour manifestly shining on Woolsey, apply'd themselves much to him: and especially Charles Brandon, who for his goodly person, courage, and conformity of disposition, was noted to



be most acceptable to the king in all his exercises and pastimes. Notwithstanding all which, (saith Polydore) the king sadly examin'd businesses himself: and howsoever the chief trust was committed to Woolsey, did not omit yet (as far as his youth would suffer him) to use his own judgment in his weightiest affairs.

All preparations for the expedition to France being now hastned, amongst which, that of victualling the army was (not without sarcasm to his birth) recommended to Woolsey, it was yet controverted, whether the king should go in person. They who oppos'd it, urg'd their first due affection to, and tenderness over him; saying further, that if the king should die without issue, (however the succession were undoubted in his sister Margaret) yet that the people were so affected to the house of York, as they might take Edmund de la Pole out of the Tower, and set him up. That the war in France was not of that consequence (especially since, with the death of Julius II., it seem'd the chief causes of dissension ceas'd) that the king should go in person, and desert his own kingdom. On the other side it was alledg'd, that to commit an army, wherein the flower of his nobility and kingdom was, to any one subject, was not only unsafe, but to the prejudice of many worthy competitors for that honour. That it was no new thing (whether they regarded the ancient kings of England, or the modern emperor, and two French kings successively) to go in person with a royal army. That the same providence rul'd everywhere. But it was reply'd, that till the king had more issue (and that masculine) it was against all reason of state to hazard the kingdom to those tumults which might follow; to which opinion, as the best, it is likely the king would have condescended, had not fresh letters arriv'd from Maximilian, in the pope's name, exhorting him speedily to come; and promising that he would not only give him meeting, but take pay under him. In the meanwhile it was thought fit that Edmund de la Pole, (son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk by Elizabeth, sister to Edward IV., who had been made prisoner by Henry VII., and so continu'd many years) should have his head struck off; our king therein (April 30.) but executing what his father Henry at his departure out of the world commanded, (as Bellay hath it.) And true it is, that he was of a turbulent and audacious spirit: but whether any late matter was alledg'd against him, doth not sufficiently appear to me by any record. Though some correspondence with his younger brother Richard de la Pole (who I find by the French writers, commanded 6000 French at the siege of Therouëne) might perchance accelerate his end.

The king resolv'd now to go in person, thought fit yet to send his vanguard before. This was commanded by George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, high steward of the king's household, who was accompany'd with Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, Thomas Docwra, Lord Prior of the Order of St. John's, Sir Rob. Ratcliffe, Lord Fitz-walter,

and Lord Hastings, the Lord Cobham, Sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light-horse, and many other brave knights and esquires, and the number of above 8000, who came to Calais in Mid-May. These being followed again with the middleward of about 6000 more, commanded by the Lord Herbert, lord chamberlain to the king (whom also the Earls of Northumberland, Kent, and Wiltshire, the Lords Audley and De-la Ware, the Barons Carow and Curson, and divers other worthy knights and esquires accompany'd) arriv'd at Calais fifteen days after. These two lords attending the king's further directions, stay'd there till June 17. when they both in good order of battle march'd towards Theroüene, before which town they arriv'd upon the two-and-twentieth following, pitching their tents about a mile off. This town was fenc'd with a large ditch, strong bulwarks, and a quantity of great ordnance, which shot freshly, insomuch that the Baron of Carow, Master of the Ordnance, was the first night kill'd by a bullet in the Lord Herbert's tent, which came so near him, that the French (though erroneously) writ he was slain there.

The Earl of Shrewsbury planted himself on the north-west, and the Lord Herbert on the east side of the town, whence they made their approaches. In the town was a garrison of about 2000 foot, and 250 lances, commanded by Monsieur Francois de Teligny, and Anthoine de Crequy, Sieur de Pondormy. To relieve them again, the French rais'd a puissant army, to which 10,000 men, under the Duke of Gueldres, and 6000 more, under Richard de la Pole, brother to Edmund, lately beheaded, were added.

In the meanwhile our king having constituted Queen Katherine regent, passeth the sea to Calais upon the last of June, bringing with him the rest of his army, which was transported with about 400 sail : with him came also the almoner, and new favourite Thomas Woolsey, who for having liv'd long in that town under the treasurer thereof, was perfectly acquainted with the addresses of it. The king being visited by the ambassadors of the emperor, the Regent of Flanders, and Duke of Brunswic, stay'd here till the 21st of July, when hearing that the French meant to relieve Theroüene, under the command of Louis Duc de Longueville, and Marquis de Rotelin, whom le Seigneur de la Palisse, as also the famous Bayard, la Fayette, Clermont d'Anjou ; and Buisse d'Amboise accompany'd, he hasten'd his departure. His army consisted of about 9000 good fighting men, besides those who belong'd to the carriages, which were some 2000 or 3000 more. Sir Charles Brandon (a little before May 15. created Viscount Lisle) had the vantguard, whom the Earl of Essex, (lieut.-general of the spears) accompanied. In the battle the king came, having the Duke of Buckingham on the one hand with 600 chosen men, and Sir Ed. Poynings on the other, with as many more ; Sir Henry Guilford carrying the standard royal. The rereguard being compos'd in great part of

the retinue of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and Woolsey, to the number of 800 men, was led by Sir Will. Compton. In the spaces betwixt, the great ordnance (among which Bellay mentions those call'd The Twelve Apostles) was drawn, and part of the carriages dispos'd. After all these yet came Sir Ant. Oughtred and John Neville, with 400 spears. This little, but flourishing army, was scarce enter'd the French confines near Ardres, when news was brought that the enemy appear'd. Hereupon Sir Rice ap Thomas (who came from Theroüene with 500 light-horse to meet the king) joining with the Earl of Essex, and Sir Thomas Guilford, who commanded 200 archers on horse-back, drew towards the French, but they presently disappear'd. As they march'd yet, two pieces of ordnance miscarry'd, the one whereof was (July 28.) lost, the other (July 29.) recover'd in despite of the French. Upon the fourth of August the king came to Theroüene, before which he caus'd a sumptuous pavilion to be pitch'd. Sir Alexander Baynam, captain of the pioneers, shortly after caus'd a mine to be made under the walls ; but the French countermining, it was well disputed, and divers kill'd on both parts. Maximilian being (Aug. 9.) now come to Ayre, it was thought fit an interview should be made. But the day being very foul, the ceremony was short.

About two days after, Lyon, king of arms in Scotland, in his herald's coat, comes to the camp, and desires leave to deliver a letter (Dat. Jul. 9.) to the king : Gartier brings him in. The king having perus'd the contents (which were expostulation for some pretended injuries, and thereupon denunciation of war unless he return'd) makes a sharp answer by word of mouth, among other things, telling him, that he had left an earl behind him in the North, who could very well defend his kingdom against the attempts of his master. But Lyon refus'd to carry any verbal message. Whereupon our king thought fit by letter (Aug. 12.) again to answer to this purpose, 'That he understood his expostulation to be nothing but the picking of a quarrel to assist the French, and invade him in his absence. That he wish'd him to call to mind, how John, King of Navarre, for aiding the French in the same manner, lost his kingdom ; and advis'd him to take that for a warning. Lastly, he bid him be assured, that what he did to him or his realm now he was absent, should be remembred, and requited again in like measure.' Before yet these letters could be deliver'd by Lyon, his king and master, James IV. was kill'd, as shall be hereafter related.

Upon the twelfth of August, Maximilian the emperor came to the king, in the quality of his soldier, and therefore not only wore the cross of St. George, but receiv'd his pay duly, which I find by some to have been a hundred crowns per diem. Notwithstanding which, that all due respect might be render'd to his person, the king gave order to lodge him according to his dignity, in a tent of cloth of gold ; for the rest, most sumptuously entertaining him the space of two days that he stay'd in the camp. Theroüene was not yet so straitly besieg'd, but that on the one



side, which was towards the river Lys, there was a way open, on which part the French intended to relieve it. The king therefore commanded five bridges to be instantly made over the said river, by which himself with Maximilian, (who was now (Aug. 15.) return'd again) and a great part of his army pass'd (Aug. 16). This was scarce done, when our light-horse brought word, that the French were in sight ; our king thereupon march'd towards them. The French at first, came as if they meant to fight ; but after a slight skirmish, fled away in much disorder ; which seem'd the stranger, that the fight was between the horsemen only, and many of the bravest of their nation were among them ; our men pursu'd and took Louis Duc de Longueville, Marquis de Rotelin, Bayard, Fayette, Clermont, and Buisse d'Ambois, and brought them away, together with nine cornets. The Seigneur de la Paliffe, and Monsieur d' Imbre-court were also taken, but agreeing for their ransom upon the place, were presently let free, or as others say, escap'd. This battle hapning the 16th of August, was call'd by the French, La Journee des Esperons, because they made little use of any thing but their spurs : for the good success whereof therefore, both the king, and Maximilian the emperor (wearing still the badge of the red-cross) did upon the place, congratulate with each other, and afterwards assisted at a solemn Te Deum for this easie victory. Neither had the French better fortune, in setting upon a convoy going with provisions for our army, betwixt Guisnes and Theroüene, they being repuls'd (as Bellay hath it) and Monsieur de Plessis slain. While the French held battle with our king, as is aforesaid, part of their cavalry, which had divided itself, that it might the better bring in provision, fell on the quarter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, on the other side of the water ; but they were also soon repuls'd ; though the garrison and townsmen taking this occasion, sallied forth upon the trenches of the Lord Herbert, to make a diversion ; for that lord being prepar'd to receive them, they were quickly beaten in again. Few days after the Seigneur de Pontdormy despairing to keep the place long, yielded (Aug. 22.) both it and the ordnance to the king, upon condition they might depart with their arms, bagg and baggage, and drums beating, in military order. Which being done, our king and the emperor (who, as I find it confirm'd in an ancient manuscript diary extant in our records, still gave our king the precedence) enter'd the town, August 24.

This city being gotten, it was now disputed, whether our king should hold it ; a question which could not but seem strange as well to the authors of the council as complices in the hazard, especially since it cost so much, as Guicciardine doubts not to call it, *Spesa intolerabile, et infinita* ; howbeit, it was at last resolv'd, that because it so confined on Maximilian's territories, and that the garrison infested his subjects by frequent incursions, that at Maximilian's intreaty, the town should be raz'd, save only the church and religious houses ; so much did our king

defer to the Emperor Maximilian for being his soldier, and taking pay under him. Besides, our king consider'd, that to leave any troops behind, would disable his further designs ; for which motives therefore, he (Aug. 24.) gave the town to Maximilian, who levell'd it, which yet I find was not so done, but that the French did shortly after repair, and put it into defence. From hence the king (being perswaded to it by Maximilian) resolves to besiege Tournay : but by the way being diverted by the Princess Marguarites perswasions who desir'd much to see him at Lisle) he pass'd three days in her company, and the many fair ladies that attended her ; when remembring himself, that it was time to visit his army (which lay at some distance from him strongly encamp'd) he takes leave of the ladies. Being now out of the gates a mile or two, some such mist happen'd both to him and all his train, that they had lost themselves ; neither could they resolve which way to turn, until a victualler coming by chance from his army, both inform'd him where it lay, and conducted him thither, to the great rejoicing of them all. The 15 Sept. the army (which Maximilian had now left, upon pretence of I know not what unsatisfaction, which yet was shortly repair'd,) set down before Tournay, which thereupon was summon'd to yield ; but the greater part refusing, the king encamping on the north, the Earl of Shrewsbury on the south, and the Lord Herbert on the west of the town began their batteries. When upon the 21st a messenger from the Earl of Surrey brought the gantlet, or as others say, the coat-armour of James IV., as a token of the victory obtain'd at Flodden. This, as it rejoyc'd the king, so it put him in mind of the vicissitude of all worldly things. Therefore he temper'd his mirth with a serious consideration of the events to which wars are subject. Howsoever, he caus'd *Te Deum* to be sung publickly the day following, and a sermon to be preach'd by the Bishop of Rochester, who laid all the fault on that king's breach of word. Which day (Sept. 22.) also those of Tournay capitulated and yielded to our king, by the name of *Roy Tres-Chrestien* (as I find in the original contract) upon condition of fidelity, and present payment of 50,000 crowns *de soleil*, and a yearly pension of 4000 pounds *Tournois*, for the space of ten years. Whereupon the king, as John Taylor doctor of law, present at the siege, saith in his manuscript Latin diary, gave them leave to enjoy their ancient customs and liberties, upon condition yet they should admit a garrison. Neither as it seems could they do otherwise, the French being so much discourag'd by their late misfortune, that they did not attempt the relieving of it. Thus on the 24 Sept., our king enter'd the town triumphantly. And here, upon consultation what was next to be done, it was resolv'd to surcease the war for this year, winter now beginning to enter. It was thought fit also to leave Sir Ed. Poynings with a strong garrison to keep it. Which cannot but seem strange, to those who consider that Theroüene was raz'd ; since Theroüene was nearer

the English pale, and might be better defended, and would besides, have kept the passage open to this. ' But false councils are like false gemms ; which, how counterfeit soever, have (when they are well set) one good light to be seen by. Therefore Woolsey, (who was so much author of this council, as he got the bishoprick of the place thereby) could gloss his advice, with telling the king he might now have confidence in Maximilian, as having serv'd under him. Besides, that the razing of Theroüene at his request, would put a perpetual obligation on him. But as for Tournay, that it was fit it should be kept as a trophy of his victories, and the rather, that Cæsar (in his Commentaries) confesseth here, more than in any place else, to have found a valourous resistance. But how well the arguments were grounded, the sequel will shew. The first use our king made of this town, was to repay the courtesies receiv'd of the Princess Margaret. Hereupon she being (Sept. 25.) invited, came thithers, a also her nephew Charles Prince of Castile, (afterwards emperor,) between whom and his sister Mary, there had interceded a kind of contract, (as is before related) ever since the time of their father Henry VII. ; which likewise for the present seem'd to be confirm'd betwixt them, insomuch that they came to divers particularities ; among which one was, that the king should bring her with him the next spring. I find also some overture of a match between Charles Brandon, now Lord Lisle, and the said Princess Margaret ; which though it took no effect, was not yet without much demonstration of outward grace and favour on her part. In the mean while, that the ladies and emperor who came with them, might be receiv'd according to their quality and worth, the king taking the said lord for his associate, did (Oct. 2.) hold a solemn joust there against all comers ; which he bravely perform'd. And now having feasted the ladies royally for divers days, he departed from Tournay to Lisle, where he was invited by the Lady Margaret ; who caus'd (Oct. 6-13.) there a joust to be held in an extraordinary manner ; the place being a large room, rais'd high from the ground by many steps, and pav'd with black square stones like marble ; while the horses, to prevent sliding and noise, were shod with felt or flocks, (the Latin words are *feltro sive tomento.*) After which, the lords and ladies danc'd all night.

Yet, as I find by foreign authors, these jollities were not the only cause of his stay. For Ferdinand (the first mover of these troubles) hearing that the war against France was likely to cease for this year, sends Pedro de Orrea, and Juan de la Nuca, and Gabriel de Orti to Henry VIII., with commission to treat for a league, by which both kings, with the emperor, should severally enter France the next spring : and that for this purpose, each of them should from their frontiers begin the war. That Ferdinand therefore from Navarre should invade Guyenne with 15,500 foot, and 1500 horse of his own subjects, and to be paid by him ; and 6000 Germans, to be paid at the rate of 20,000 crowns monthly by



the King of England. In consideration whereof, the war was to be made in the said King of England's name, and for the recovery of his patrimony in Guyenne. On the other side, that the King of England assisted by Maximilian, should with 16,000 foot, and 4000 horse, from his territories, invade Normandy or Picardy; and that they should not relinquish this war without mutual consent. Lastly, there was place left for the pope, the prince, arch-duke, the Duke of Milan, the Swiss, and the Florentines, to enter into this league; which was sign'd at Lisle on Oct. 17. by Richard Bishop of Winchester, and the Marquiss Dorset on our king's part; the Seigneur de Berghes first gentleman of the bed-chamber to the emperor, and Gerard de Pleine president of his council; and Pedro de Orrea, Don Luis Carroz, and Juan de la Nuca, ambassadors of Ferdinand. This being done, and the king for the rest testifying much satisfaction, departed thence, and two days after, in good order of battel, came to Calais, having in this voyage bestowed honour upon divers persons of worth, Sir Thomas Cornwall, Baron of Burford, Sir Thomas Leigton, Sir Tho. Blunt, Sir Henry Sacheverel, etc. being made knights bannerets; and Sir John Maynwaring, Sir John South, Sir John Digby, etc. created knights. And here the king gave order for securing Tournay, as well as the rest of his possessions in those parts, which being done, and the wind proving fair, he (Oct. 24.) came to his queen at Richmond, who had long expected him.

Having now related the king's expedition (which I was unwilling to interrupt by any intervening occasion) I must return to the narration of that battle, which was fought betwixt James IV., and Thomas Earl of Surrey, commonly call'd Flodden-field. This king retaining in his mind some rancour for divers causes formerly related, thought he could not any time more seasonably revenge himself, or for the rest give a more acceptable testimony of his love to Louÿs XII., than now in the king's absence, by invading his realm. Therefore, having first denounc'd war by his herald, he sent Alex. Lord Humes, his chamberlain, to forrage the borders; which Sir Will. Bulmer hearing, used that diligence, that he (Aug. 22.) overtook and fought with him in his retreat, so that he recover'd a rich booty. The king hereupon in person, with an army of 60,000 (some write a 100,000) men, enters the country, and, after a few days siege, takes Norham-castle. Thomas Earl of Surrey hereupon hastens his army, which consisted of 26,000, appointing his son, the lord admiral to come by sea, and meet him at or near Alnewick, in Northumberland. This brave lord fail'd not his time, bringing (Sept. 4.) with him also about 1000 men; of whom when the earl had taken view, and given order in what place every one should fight, he marches towards the king; who had remov'd his army to an hill call'd Flodden (or Fluidon) on the edge of the mountain Cheviot; where he strongly entrench'd himself. The Scotch

writers (Buchanan.) here relate, that many of their country-men (for want of victuals) secretly fled home, leaving the king's troops but thin. Our writers on the other side, make the Scotch-men much superior in number. Howsoever, the Earl of Surrey desir'd nothing more than to fight, as finding the whole country thereabouts so forrag'd and spoil'd, that he could not long subsist. Therefore on Sunday, Sept. 4. he thought fit to send Rouge-Croix herald, with a trumpet, and instructions to James IV., to tell him, 'That in regard he had violated his faith and league, and hostily enter'd the English ground, that on Friday next he would bid him battel, if the said king would stay so long in England, and accept it.' The Lord Thomas his son, also requir'd Rouge-Croix particularly to certify the king of his journey by sea; and that, 'because he could meet no Scotch ships there, he thought fit to land, that he might justify Andrew Breton's death.' And added further, 'as he look'd for no mercy from his enemies, so he would spare none but the king only, if he came in his hands. And to make all this good, that he would be in the vanguard of the battle.' Lastly, Rouge-Croix was charg'd, if any were remanded, he should (for preventing espial) bring him no nearer than two miles unto the camp. James IV. receiv'd (Sept. 6.) this message gladly; and as he was a prince of great courage, by his own herald assures the earl, 'That he did so much desire to encounter him, that though he had been at Edinburgh, he would have left all business for that purpose: and therefore wish'd him to rest assur'd, he would not fail to abide battle the day nam'd, which was Friday.' This being done, the herald delivers a protestation from his king and master, in these very words, being in answer to the former expostulation of the earl's.

'As to the causes alledg'd of our coming into England, against our bond and promise (as is alledg'd,) thereto we answer; our brother was bound as far to us, as we to him; and when we swore last before his ambassador, in presence of our council, we express'd especially in our oath, that we would keep to our brother, if our brother kept to us, and not else. We swear our brother brake first unto us. And since his breach, we have requir'd divers times him to amend. And lately we warn'd our brother, as he did not us ere he brake. And this we take for our quarrel, and with God's grace shall defend the same at your affix'd time, which with God's grace we shall abide.' Hereupon the earl advancing, came within three miles of Flodden; but perceiving that the king still kept upon the hill, which was unapproachable, he (Sept. 7.) sent Rouge-Croix again, with a letter subscribed by himself, his son the lord admiral, and divers other principal noblemen and knights, where, in respectful terms, they provok'd him to descend from his fortifications, and fight in a large plain call'd Milfeild (which lay between them) upon Friday following; alledging for this purpose, the promise they receiv'd from his grace heretofore. But no satisfactory

answer being given to this, and the heralds being return'd on either side, the earl removes with his army to such a place, that if the Scotchmen would not leave the advantage of their site, he might cut off their victuals, and consequently draw them down. James IV. hereupon firing his hutts, dislodges covertly by the benefit of the smoak, and keeping still on the higher ground, at last he commands a stay. Presently after the earl also traversing some boggs and marshes, till he arriv'd to the bottom of this bank, found the ascent not very steep, and thereupon encourageth his men to fight. This done, he marcheth up; the vanguard was led by his two sons, the Lord Thomas and Sir Edmund; the battle by himself, and the rear by Sir Ed. Stanley. The Lord Dacres with his horse, being appointed as a reserve on all occasions. The king observing this well, and judging that it was not without much disadvantage that the English came to fight, exhorts his men to behave themselves like brave soldiers, and thereupon joyns battle. Sir Edmund Howard at first was in some distress, by the singular valour of the Earls of Lenox and Argile; but the Lord Dacres coming to his succour, as also one Heron, the fight was renew'd: the Lord Thomas Howard pursu'd his point better; yet so, as he found a brave opposition from the Earls of Crawford and Montross. The king's battle, and the earl's likewise maintain'd together a long and sharp fight. This while Sir Ed. Stanley by force of archers, constrained the Scots to descend the hill, insomuch that, for avoiding his storm of arrows, they open'd their ranks, and therein seem'd to give one of the first overtures for victory. The king perceiving the disorder, redoubl'd his courage, insomuch that our writers confess, he had almost overthrown the earl's standards. But the Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Ed. Stanley, who had discomfited their opposites coming to succours, and the Lord Dacres also flying in with his horse, the Scots were so hardly put to it, that for their last defence they cast themselves into a ring; in that order of fight doing all that valiant men possibly could to defend themselves. No man yet did in his person more than the king; insomuch, that pressing on still, he was at last kill'd on the place, as our writers have it. The Scotch writers yet say, it was one Elphinstone, who wearing the same arms the king did, was taken for him; affirming further, that the king fled over the river Tweed, and was there (I know not how) slaughter'd. The fight continuing three hours, made the event doubtful, and the execution great. In conclusion, most of the nobler sort, one archbishop, and two bishops, besides four abbots on the Scots side were slain there, and about 10,000 others. On our side (says Polydore) there died about 5000, others say fewer; so that as it was a bloody victory, it might be thought somewhat uncertain till the next morning, when the body, suppos'd for the king's, and so acknowledg'd by divers of both nations (as our historians say) was found among the dead



carkasses, having receiv'd (as our writers have it) a mortal wound with an arrow, and another with a bill. The Scots lay the occasion of their overthrow chiefly on some of their troops that look'd on, and never so much as gave stroak. But that we may leave these things to their relations, I find after this battle the Scots that remain'd, return'd home much griev'd for the unfortunate success of that day, being Sept. 9. The earl took all the ordnance, and particularly seven extraordinary fair culverins, call'd The Seven Sisters. And so after giving God thanks, dismiss'd the greatest part of his army, and retir'd himself home, until news of the king's coming to Richmont brought him thither, taking order in the meantime, that the dead body, being embalm'd, should be carry'd first to Newcastle, and after to Shene in Surrey; though, as that king was excommunicate, it may be doubted, whether it were buried in any consecrate place; since I find by breve dated Nov. 29. 1513, and extant in our records, that our king obtained a breve from the pope, for transferring the body to St. Paul's in London. Upon condition yet, that the Bishop of London should first absolve the said James, and our king *Nomine ipsius aliquam convenientem pœnitentiam adimpleret*; in his name underwent some fitting penance.

Our king now, (Jan. 3. 1513-4.) (the Parliament still sitting) establish'd an order, how the subjects he had in his new acquisitions in France, might recover their debts from those in England, as well as the English from them. Moreover it was enacted, that every person that would sue for the king's pardon, upon certain articles, should have it.

In this Parliament also Margaret, daughter of Geo. Duke of Clarence, late wife of Sir Rich. de la Pole Knight, petitioned, That since, by Act of Parliament, 19 Henrici VII., Ed. Earl of Warwick was declar'd traitor, and so his lands forfeited; it would please the king, that she might inherit (as being sister and next of blood) his state and dignity, and so be stiled Countess of Sarum; which was granted.

I find little else memorable this year among our historians, save only a commotion in London; which hapned on this manner. The villages of Islington, Hockston, and Shoreditch having so inclos'd their grounds, that they debarr'd the citizens from their accustom'd freedom and exercises; the apprentices of London threw down the hedges and ditches after this manner. A turner running in a fool's coat through the streets, and crying 'Shovels and spades,' was presently follow'd in such numbers, as all their inclosures were quickly levell'd. For which therefore the Lord Mayor was well check'd, and command given him to prevent further mischief.

The French king, now finding two principal frontier-towns taken, the flower of his chivalry made prisoners, while the rest ran away, his best confederate James IV. kill'd, and the chief administration of Scottish affairs devolv'd to the hands of Margaret, sister to King

Henry VIII. (at least until she married again,) a league, in opposition to him, sworn by three the most puissant princes of Christendom: the pope animating all this against him, under the odious name of a schismatick; and lastly, himself far stricken in years, begins to think how best he might come off. And, to this, he had but a winter's space; for the war was to begin the next spring. He negotiates therefore with the pope first. To this end he offers satisfaction for his obstinacy; next, he stipulates to give way to the accomplishing the pope's designs in Bononia, and elsewhere; to renounce the Council of Pisan and accept that of Lateran, promising withal to remand the Cardinal Bernardino, (whom as the pope desired to have, so he graciously pardoned.) Lastly, whereas great inconveniences might follow, not only to his holiness, but all Christendom, if, by these intestine wars a passage were made open for Selyme the Turk to invade it, (who had lately taken eighteen strong places near Presburg in Hungary,) he promiseth his assistance against them. All which being taken by the pope into serious consideration, makes him relent; and in sequence therefore, not only recommends peace and unity to all Christian princes, and particularly to our king, but shortly after (Dec.) enters into a league against the Turk; for this purpose using those potent ministers of his the churchmen, who were in favour with their several princes. Louis XII. also draws Maximilian off, partly by representing the danger above mention'd in Hungary, which (next Ladislaus) most concern'd him; and partly by according the demands he made about divers pretences in Burgogne; and lastly, urges some discontents remaining in Maximilian's mind, ever since Henry VIII. and himself met last, (though in effect they were little more than puntiglios, ordinarily hapning on the interview of great princes.) And for Ferdinand, he was easily taken off, so that he might enjoy Navarre, and for the rest keep his authority in Italy. To which therefore Louis XII. condescended, proroguing the last (April, 1513.) year's truce with him for twelve months longer. Lastly, because Henry VIII. was (without all these) able alone to find him work, he offers his friendship, and alliance in matching with his sister the Princess Mary, thought then one of the fairest ladies of her time. To strengthen this proposition also, he advertises our king, that Charles Prince of Castile (afterwards Charles V.) was treating of a marriage with Anne daughter of Ladislaus King of Hungary; and were it in earnest, that he intended to match with his sister the Princess Mary, that yet (being but fourteen years old in Feb. next) he was not ripe enough for her; concealing in the meantime that himself was as much too old. He privately also acquainted the king, how Ferdinand did but deceive him; as one, that would at all times be drawn to his party, when he might enjoy Navarre. Together with which, it is probable he did reveal the aforesaid secret truce made by the Spanish secretary Quintana, betwixt

himself and Ferdinand for one year more. An article whereof was, that, during the said truce, Louis XII. should not molest Milan. He told him, besides, that Maximilian's designs were on the Venetians, and not on France. And that the levies in Flanders for the wars proposed against France the next year, were and should be retarded by the Princess Marguerite, purposely, because her father had other designs : all which was represented to the king by private and confident messengers, who under colour of treating for the delivery of Louis Duc de Longueville, and the rest who were prisoners of war, negotiated this great affair. Our king hereupon disdaining to be twice deceived by his father-in-law Ferdinand, and detesting withal the ingratitude and levity of Maximilian, agreed (Aug. 7.) a league with Louis XII. upon the 7th of August, 1514. for the term of their joint lives and one year after. The effect was, 'That all former offences should be remitted and abolish'd, 'traffick restor'd, and all impositions on strangers since fifty-two years 'last past, extinguish'd. That no letters of merque should be granted, but 'against the principal delinquents, and that only in case justice were 'denied. That no robbers by land, or pirates by sea should be maintain'd on either side. That rebels and fugitives should not be enter-tain'd, but render'd (within twenty days after requisition) to their 'sovereigns. That they should be friends to the friends, and enemies 'to the enemies of each other. That (for mutual defence of their 'present estates) Louis XII. should furnish at the requisition of Henry 'VIII. 1200 lances by land, and 5000 men at sea, with convenient 'shipping. And Henry VIII. 10,000 archers by land, and 5,000 men 'at sea, with shipping, at the requisition of Louis XII. But if either 'of the two kings shall require aid of the other for the recovery of his 'pretensions, then Louis shall lend King Henry 600 lances only, and 'King Henry him but 5000 archers for land service; the sea forces retaining the numbers above-mention'd. All this to be at the cost of the 'demandant. Yet, if either of the said princes shall be invaded, only 'for the cause of this confederacy, then the other shall aid him at his 'own charge. If war be made by common consent, neither prince may 'make peace severally. That the English merchants should have their 'ancient priviledges at Bourdeaux restor'd. That this treaty should be 'publish'd and ratifi'd by the pope, (by whom it was chiefly procur'd) 'with a clause of excommunication on the infractors. Among the 'allies of each prince, the Scots also were comprehended herein, upon 'condition, that after Sept. 15. they should make no incursion on the 'English by publick authority; and if any were otherwise made, that 'satisfaction should be speedily given. Besides this, the French 'writers (Tillet.) confess there was a treaty apart, by which Louis promised to pay Henry VIII. a million of crowns, the said Henry rendering him an obligation, by which Charles Duke of Orleans, father of 'the said Louis, and other princes of France were bound to pay the



'said sum. For, whereas Charles VIII. predecessor to Louis XII. by 'a treaty at Estaples 1492, bound (Orig. Rec. Nov. 3. 1492.) himself 'and his heirs to pay King Henry VII. and his heirs, the sum of '745,000 crowns; and, after the death of the said Charles, Louis XII. 'bound himself and his heirs to pay so much as remain'd thereof, and 'this bond was twice made by the said Louis XII., first to Henry VII. '(July 14.) 1498, and after to Henry VIII. (July 22.) 1510. And 'whereas (besides this bond) the aforesaid Charles had bound himself 'to the Lady Margarite, Duchess of Somerset, anno (Mar. 7.) 1444, to 'pay her a certain sum of money, which was not yet discharged. 'Therefore, as also for confirming the amity betwixt Louis and Henry, 'the said Louis did now bind himself and heirs in a bond of a million 'of crowns to be paid to King Henry VIII. in his town of Calais, at 'several times, (viz.) Nov. 1. next following, 50,000 francs; and May '1. next, so much more, and so till the whole were paid. (Which 'obligation I find in an original thereof, dated Sept. 14. 1514.) All 'which minuted by Louis de Longueville (called by some Louis 'd'Orleans Duc de Longueville) during his restraint, was at last thus 'fully concluded.' The Princess Mary also was to be consigned to him, with convenient speed; notwithstanding (saith Polydore) the king had secretly destin'd her once to another, who though he gave place, when it was so much for her dignity, yet married her not long after. The condition for the marriage, betwixt the said Louis XII. and Mary the king's sister, were these, as we find them in our records.

'That, 1. within ten days following, matrimony shall be contracted 'by both persons by proxies, *per verba de presenti*. 2. After the 'contract above-said, within two months, the king of England shall 'send and convey her, with jewels and household-stuff fitting her 'estate, to Abbeville in France; where, within four days following the 'said Louis XII. shall solemnly marry her. 3. King Henry shall give 'with the Princess Mary 400,000 crowns; of which sum (in regard of 'the traduction of the lady, her apparels, jewels, etc.) Louis will be 'content to accept the one half, *i.e.* 200,000 crowns, and to pay himself 'the rest out of the monies which by the late treaty he is obliged to 'pay King Henry. 4. Louis shall assign to the Princess Mary a 'jointure as great as any queen of France (and namely as Queen Anne 'the last queen) hath had. And this during her life she shall enjoy, 'wheresoever she reside. 5. If Louis die first, then the Princess Mary, 'during her life, shall enjoy her dowry and jointure, and all jewels 'which the queens of France have used to enjoy after the death of 'their husbands. 6. If Louis survive the said princess, then he shall 'have and enjoy her portion, jointure, jewels, and goods, according to 'the custom of France.'

While these things were in agitation, the king (who called to mind many that had serv'd him with much fidelity, courage, and success in

his late occasions and enterprizes) thought he could not do any thing more justly and prudently, than to bestow some condign recompence upon them; it being such a mystery of state as not only gives the greatest lustre of regal authority, but of that consequence, as being used well, there will be little need of punishment. The reward to these brave cavaliers he had selected out for this purpose, the king thought good to invest in honour chiefly. Therefore upon the 2nd of Feb., Thomas Earl of Surrey was by him created Duke of Norfolk; (a title (Feb. 2. 1483.) before conferr'd on John his father by Richard III. and then again extinguish'd.) His eldest son, the Lord Thomas Howard also being substituted Earl of Surrey. Together with which he had an augmentation of arms for his atchievement in Flodden-field. Sir Char. Somerset also, being in Elizabeth his wife's right, (who was daughter and heir to William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon) Lord Herbert of Chepstow, Gower, and Ragland, was created Earl of Worcester. Sir Char. Brandon, Viscount Lisle, was now also created Duke of Suffolk; and Sir Ed. Stanley, not long after, made Lord Mounteagle. Lastly, Thomas Woolsey Bishop of Tournay, was constituted Bishop of Lincoln.

The king being at some rest now from transmarine affairs, begins to look towards Scotland; upon which he had many advantages. For as the two princes, left by King James, were very young; his sister Queen Margaret (their mother) having the administration of all the affairs there; the chief and most active part of their nobility kill'd, there wanted not many occasions to prevail himself of; whereupon also, either by gentle means, or otherwise by force, he resolv'd to procure an interest in the government of that kingdom. To this it conduced not a little, that those nobles which remain'd, betwixt envy and ambition, were distracted among themselves. The queen foreseeing well, that, in this ill condition of affairs, many inconveniences might follow, in a country, whereof (by special clause of a testament made by the king before the last expedition) she was declar'd regent, as long as she continued unmarried, sends to the king her brother, to crave his advice and assistance; beseeching him withal, that he would desist from hostility. The king most generously answer'd that, 'if the Scots 'would have peace, he would keep peace; if they would have war, he 'would likewise have war.' Thus were all things compos'd for the present, and James V. (being not two years old) in Parliament declared king, in Feb. 1513-14. Yet as, not long after she (Aug. 6.) took to husband Archibald Dowglass Earl of Angus (one both for birth and other perfections the eminentest she could choose in that country) some innovations and troubles ensued. For while Dowglass labour'd by his private power to supply that authority, which by marrying him, she seem'd to have lost; the kingdom was broken into factions. The favourers of Dowglass alledg'd, there was no other way to keep

peace, but by submitting all to Queen Margaret; for since the king of England did therefore only desist from pursuing his victory, because the administration of affairs was in his sister's hands, it were best to leave them there; to erect any other form of government, were to draw the English in again; and when all their forces united were not able to resist him absent, what might they attend from him present? Especially, when not only their chief strength was lost in the late battel, but Henry should find a party with his sister, (both in her own name, and in the king her son's) would make for him. The other faction (whereof Alex. Humes was chief) urg'd the ancient custom of Scotland, which in these cases, he said, did always choose some protector or vice-roy. Neither did it hinder, that they had hitherto paid so much deference to the virtues of the queen, that as long as possibly there was pretext for it by the king's testament, they had admitted her for regent: for now, since the marriage of Dowglass, she had voluntarily relinquish'd that power; that the country therefore should resume their wonted right and privileges. For, if in the most quiet and serene times, women had been excluded from government, how much more now? Yet was not this the only reason that mov'd Humes: for, while he doubted lest the ancient followers of his house, should by the power of Dowglass, be now drawn from him, he left nothing unattempted that might diminish and weaken either him or the queen's authority. Therefore he recommended every where John Stewart, Duke of Albany, cousin-german by the father, to James IV.; who, though then in France, was yet of great esteem at home. This again, was seconded by the arts of the French, who could by no means suffer the good affection of that nation to be divided, much less drawn from them. Howbeit, Louis thought not fit openly to discover himself, as fearing to offend our king, with whom he was now contracting a strait league and affinity. Therefore he would not suffer the duke to come into Scotland, though not long before (March 13.) elected governor; by the queen's consent, as was pretended; which yet may be doubted; she protesting (March 15. 16.) to our king afterwards, it was extorted from her.) Howsoever, after the death of Louis, he was sent over (1515.) (as shall be shewed hereafter) well furnish'd both with men and money, to take possession of the chief government of all things, during the minority of the prince.

While businesses were now in preparation for peace and alliance betwixt our king and Louis XII., it was thought fit, for discharge of the king's engagement and honour, to send to Flanders, to discover how in those parts their affection stood towards the match propos'd betwixt Prince Charles and the Princess Mary; and withal to require men for the war intended the next spring. But Charles having already broken two articles of the said treaty of marriage; one whereof was,



that when he came to fourteen years of age, he should send a proxy into England, to contract the princess *per verba de præsenti*; the other, that at a day appointed he should come himself to Calais to espouse her; and our ambassadors finding for the rest nothing but delay and irresolution, the king would no longer omit to give order, that his sister should neither be slighted, nor his affairs otherwise suffer detriment. Therefore, after a short protestation, whereby the fault was laid on them; (without yet, that any intention was disclos'd for disposing the Princess Mary in any other place, or of making a league with Louis XII.) the king proceeds more roundly in his business. Before yet this could be effected, Pregent with his gallies coming to Sussex by night, and landing there, after a short stay, was driven back, and in the retreat, shot in the face with an arrow. Sir John Wallop hereupon being sent into Normandy, burnt divers ships, and one and twenty villages, landing many times in despite of the French, which seem'd the more strange, that his soldiers exceeded not 800 men. The French also appearing in some numbers near the English pale, Sir Thomas Lovell was sent with certain troops to Calais, for the better strengthening of the place; and the rather, that Richard de la Pole was now gathering forces for some great design. But before he could do any thing, the treaty and peace was made; among the articles whereof, though the remanding of Richard de la Pole was propos'd, yet Louis would never consent to it, but sending him out of France, gave him an yearly pension.

Louis de Longueville having now power from his king to contract marriage *par parole de present* with our king's sister, she also sent (Aug. 22.) her procuration to the same effect, the ceremony whereof was solemnly held at the Celestins in Paris, Sept. 14. News whereof was no sooner brought, but our king, together with the queen, conducting her to the sea-side, bid her farewell, and recommended her to the Duke of Norfolk's care. Shortly after which, landing (Oct. 3.) at Boulogne, and being met by some principal persons deputed by the king, she was attended on, and guided towards Abbeville; in the way to which, the old king, on horseback, met and saluted her, and afterwards retir'd himself privately, while she was receiv'd into Abbeville with much pomp. Where, on St. Dennis's day, Oct. 9. she was in person, marry'd to Louis XII.; who, after bestowing many jewels on her, and rich presents to those who came along, dismiss'd all, save a few officers and attendants, amongst whom I find Mrs. Anne Bollen, daughter to Sir Thomas Bollen, as one. Howbeit, occasion was given of bringing over some of our prime nobility and cavaliers to Paris, not long after.

Francois de Valois, Duke of Angoulesme, and next heir male to the crown (having (May 18. 1514.) in May before marry'd Claude, eldest daughter to Louis XII., by Anne, who was inheretrix of Bretagne) desir'd now, in the king's declining age, to give some proof of

his valour. Therefore, before the English departed from Abbeville, he caus'd justs to be proclaim'd; which, for being so extraordinary, (the persons and manner consider'd) I thought worth the relating. The effect thereof was, that in Nov. ensuing, he, with nine aids, would answer all comers that were gentlemen of name and arms, on horse-back, and on foot. The laws on horse-back were, that with sharp spears they should run five courses at tilt, and five more at random, being well arm'd, and cover'd with pieces of advantage, for their best defence. After this, to fight twelve stroaks with sharp swords. This being done, he and his aids offer'd to fight at barriers with the same persons, with a hand-spear and sword. The conditions were, that if any man were unhors'd, or fell'd, fighting on foot, his armour and horse should be render'd to the officer of arms. That for this purpose, an arch triumphant should be set forth at the Tournelles, near Rue Saint Antonie in Paris, on which four shields should be plac'd. That he who would touch any of them, must first enter his name and arms. That he who touch'd the first, which was silver, should run at tilt, according to the articles. Who touch'd the golden shield, should run at random, as above-mention'd. He that touch'd the black shield, should fight on foot with hand-spears and swords for the one hand; six foynes with the hand-spear, and then eight stroaks to the most advantage (if the spear so long held,) and after that twelve stroaks with the sword. He that touch'd the tawny shield, should cast a spear on foot with a target on his arm, and after fight with a two-handed sword. This proclamation being made, the Duke of Suffolk, and Marquiss Dorset, and his four brethren, the Lord Pinton, Sir Ed. Nevile, Sir Giles Capell, Thomas Chenye, and others, obtain'd leave of the king to be at the challenge; which they so hasten'd, that before the end of Oct., they came to St. Denis, where they found the queen; the solemnities for her coronation, as also for her reception at Paris, being not yet in readiness. Francois de Valois, knowing how good men at arms the Duke of Suffolk and Marquiss Dorset were, requested them to be two of his aids; to which they assented. But while these things were in preparing, Mary the French queen, was upon fifth of Nov. crown'd in St. Denis, the Earl of Worcester, and Dr. West (who were appointed for this purpose by our king) attending her in the solemnity thereof, and Francois de Valois (afterwards king) holding the crown (which was very weighty) over her head. The day following she enter'd Paris with great pomp, and the morrow after the justs began, of which the king and queen were spectators; the king being yet so weak that he lay on a couch. These justs continu'd three days, in which 305 men at arms were answer'd by the defendants; among which, some were so hurt, that they dy'd not long after: at randon and tourney, the Duke of Suffolk hurt a gentleman very dangerously, and the Marquiss Dorset did no less to another. Then the duke overthrew a man both horse

and arms, and so did the marquiss. Francis at last being hurt, desires the duke and marquis to fight at barriers; who therefore took the first place against all comers. In the mean while, Francis, intending an affront, (as was thought) to the duke, causeth a German (the strongest person in all the court) to be arm'd secretly, and present himself at barriers; they both did well; yet the Duke at last, with the but-end of his spear, struck the German till he stagger'd, and so the rail was let fall. The Marquiss Dorset also foil'd another Frenchman. Then they took some breath, and return'd to fight again; when the Duke so pommell'd the German about the head, that blood gush'd from his nose; which being done, the German was convey'd away secretly. Divers other brave feats were done likewise, which the reader may find elsewhere. At last our English with singular honour, return'd to their king and master whom they found much comforted for the birth of another prince, though not living long after.

But the contentment of Louis XII. was almost as short; who being aged, and infirm, after some eighty days' possession, rather than enjoying of his queen, dy'd Jan. 1. 1515. leaving behind him no issue male; though otherwise of that esteem among his subjects, for his care not to oppress them with imposition longer than his necessities requir'd; that he was call'd *Pere du Peuple*, father of his people. After him succeeded Francois de Valois, above-mention'd, a prince of great hope. His age was twenty-one, or twenty-two; wherein, as well as in the most part of his manners, there was much conformity betwixt our king and him. Particularly, they might be thought two the goodliest personages, not of their quality only, but of their time. This prince was sacred (to use the French term) at Reymes, 25 of Jan., 1515. taking on him, together with the name of King of France, that of Duke of Milan. To which he seem'd to have a double title, both as he was of the house of Orleans, to which the claim of the said dutchy belong'd; as also being comprehended in the investiture made by the emperor, according to the treaty at Cambray. And because he succeeded as well to the right, as to the means of recovering the said dutchy, he thought on nothing more, than how to vindicate the glory his predecessors had lost in that attempt. His first care was, how to assure himself of our king: this he procures, partly by addressing himself to Woolsey, who then prevail'd most with the king, and partly by giving great conditions. And thus the (Aug. 7. 1514.) last treaty of peace with Louis XII., (being to endure but till the first of Jan. next,) was (as I find both by ours and [the French record) renew'd in the same terms, 5 April following, and prorogu'd for term of their joint lives, and one year after. Only better order was given for depredations than before; it being agreed now, that no merchant of either nation should depart out of their ports, without giving caution to their several admirals, that no wrong or molestation should be done by sea.



Upon 8 May, the French king agreed also to pay, at certain days, a million of crowns to our king ; (for so the French have it,) which, whether it were a new stipulation, or that formerly agreed on by Louis XII., appears not to me ; and Polydore's words are obscure, which import only *pretium pro pace datum*, money paid for obtaining a peace. The 15 May following, the Scots enter'd into this treaty, (for they were comprehended under a condition of keeping the peace.) Neither did our king easily believe, that underhand they would have made any other. Notwithstanding which, the French and they did, upon January second following, privately enter into a league offensive and defensive against England.

Together with the proposing of this treaty, (in which the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Richard Wingfeild Deputy of Calais, and Doctor West, were employ'd,) our king sent (Feb. 3.) a letter to the queen his sister ; wherein he desir'd to know, how she stood affected to her return to England, desiring her withal not to match without his consent. She on the other side, who had privately engag'd her affection to Charles Duke of Suffolk, made no great difficulty to discover her self to both kings ; intreating Francis to mediate this marriage, and our king to approve it. Unto the former Francis easily agreed, (though once intending to propose a match betwixt her and the Duke of Savoy ;) but our king, for the conservation of his dignity, held a little off : however he had long since design'd her to Suffolk. The queen also believing that this formality was the greatest impediment, did not proceed without some scruple, though protesting, (as appears by an original) that if the king would have her married in any place, save where her mind was, she would shut her self up in some religious-house. Thus, without any great pomp, being secretly married, the queen writ letters of excuse to the king her brother, taking the fault (if any were) on her self ; and together, for the more clearing the Duke of Suffolk, profess'd that she prefix'd the space of four days to him, in which she said, unless he could obtain her good will, he should be out of all hope of enjoying her. Whereby, as also through the good office of Francis, who (fearing lest our king by her means, should contract some greater alliance) did further this marriage ; our king, did by degrees restore them to his favour ; Woolsey also not a little contributing thereunto, while he told our king, how much better she was bestow'd on him, than on some person of quality in France.

Thus having prepared all things for their departure, they took their leave of the French court ; the queen carrying with her, of the jewels, plate, and tapestry of Louis XII. to the value of 200,000 crowns, as the French have it. Among which a great diamond, call'd le Miroir de Naples (as I find by our records) was one ; though not without much reluctance of Francis, who would fain have redeem'd it at a great price. Order also was taken for the payment of her jointure, being

60,000 crowns yearly. Whereupon the queen and duke with all her train (save Mrs. Anne Bolen, who staid in the French court) began (April 19.) their journey; to the satisfaction of Francis, as hoping by their means to confirm his so much desir'd peace and treaty with our king. Thus arriving at Calais 25 April, and from thence coming to Dover, and after to Greenwich, they were publickly married 13 of May. Thus our king's two sisters, after their being join'd with great princes, did not disdain to accept inferiour persons for their husbands.

But that I may return to my proposed method in this history, I shall set down the laws enacted in the parliament (sexto of this king) beginning Feb. quinto; where I find one of their chief cares was, to put into better order the former laws concerning apparel; which yet was not so well digested, but that the year following, even the law it self chang'd fashion. Howsoever, that of archery, made before, was not only firm'd, but made perpetual; so that, notwithstanding the use of caleevers or hand-guns (for muskets were not yet known) it was thought fit to continue the bow. Wherein I cannot but commend the constancy, if not wisdom of those times; it being certain, that, when he that carries the caleever goes unarm'd, the arrow will have the same effect within its distance that the bullet, and can, again, for one shot return two. Besides, as they used their halberts, with their bow, they could fall to execution on the enemy with great advantage. I cannot deny yet but against the pike they were of less force than the caleevers: therefore I believe the meaning of these times was, to command it as an exercise to the common people, and for the rest reserve it for those occasions, where they might be of use. Howsoever, hand-guns and cross-bows were forbidden under certain penalties, to all men that had less than five hundred marks per annum. The wages for artificers also was settled, and the price of watermen. A penalty also was impos'd on those who changed tillage into pasture. And very good order taken concerning deceit in cloth, as being the only cause they had not so good vent abroad. The commission of sewers extending to the making up of the sea-walls, etc. in England, the marches of Calais, Guisnes, and Hames, (begun sexto Henrici sexti, and continued quarto Henrici septimi, for 25 years) being now upon expiration, was continued also for ten years more. It was commanded also, that the river of Canterbury should be deepned. It was provided also, that wooll should not be carried beyond sea; which was to the benefit of clothiers. No second letters patents also might be taken, without mentioning the first: which was very equal, both for the king and subject. And because divers now, being weary with sitting so long in parliament, did depart home without license, (they only remaining who factiously combined themselves, with intention to gain the major part of voices, in any thing they desired to obtain) it was order'd, they should lose their wages, if they went without the leave of the speaker,

and common house, to be entred in the book of the clerk of the parliament.

During the stay of the French dowager and her husband, a treaty also past concerning the restitution of Tournay, upon a sum of money offer'd. Howbeit, as our king demanded in exchange thereof, the county of Guisnes, or Ardres, Francis, who desir'd not any enlarging of the English pale, fell off, so that our king provided for defence. For which purpose, as well as diminishing his charge in keeping an excessive garrison, he rais'd a citadel there ; without that Francis thought fit either to interrupt the design, or otherwise to offend our king ; as hoping, by the means of Woolsey, (to whom, together with the unusefulness of Tournay, he represented a cardinal's hat) to obtain his desire. And it was the true bait to take him ; he being extreemly ambitious of that dignity, both as he thought it would secure his greatness, and as it enabled him to serve his king and master's turn. Therefore he had many ways attempted it, and particularly by the intervention of Cardinal Hadrian de Castello an Italian, (bishop of Bath, and the pope's collector in England) not omitting together to use the help of Sylvester (Italian likewise) bishoprick of Worcester ; and the rather, that they were both at Rome, where Cardinal Bambridge also on our king's part resided : but this cardinal dying July 14. 1514. not without suspicion of poyson, our king having lately (March 4. 1514.) given Woolsey the bishoprick of Lincoln, he surrender'd it now, and (Nov. 6. 1514.) took the arch-bishoprick of York ; and, not satisfied herewith, aspir'd also to be successor in the cardinalship ; wherein, because it seems, he conceiv'd that Adrian Bishop of Bath had not served him faithfully, he oppos'd him in the collectorship, and put Polydore Virgil (his sub-collector) in the Tower (from whence he came not (1515.) suddainly, nor without the pope's mediation.) He used therefore, besides his ordinary means and friends in Rome, the help of Francis ; who, for the more obliging of him, sent first news, that, in (Sept. 7.) this year, his suit was granted, and the title of Sanctæ Cæcilie trans Tiberim conferr'd on him ; for the maintaining of the charges whereof, he had at this time in farm, at very easie rates, the bishopricks of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, in regard the bishops of these places liv'd beyond sea ; he got also successively the bishopricks of (1518.) Bath, (1522.) Durham, and (1528.) Winchester, which he so exchang'd, as he held ever one of them with his arch-bishoprick ; he held also in commendum the (1521.) Abby of St. Alban's, and many other ecclesiastical perferments, and had the disposing of most of the benefices that fell void. Also, shortly after his being constituted arch-bishop of York, William Warham, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, resigning to the king voluntarily the place of Lord Chancellor, and retiring himself from court, by reason of his age, (or perchance some discontent) to a private life, that place was conferr'd on him. Thus



were dignities and wealth heaped so fast on Woolsey, that, being in his nature insolent, he grew at length intolerable. Neither could those excellent parts, wherewith he was endowed, exempt him ; insomuch, that not only much arrogance, but extream vanity was observed in him, whereas yet nothing commends church-men so much as a pious modesty : all degrees of persons, but especially theirs, being like coins or medals ; to which, howsoever vertue give the stamp and impression, humility must give the weight. Yet this cardinal, contrary to all example, is noted by Polydore to have used silk and gold in his outward vestments, and even saddles : he caused also the cardinal's hat to be born by some principal person before him, on a great height, as it were an idol to be worshipped, (*Loco cujusdem idoli sacri*,) and, when he came to the king's chapel, would admit no place to rest it on but the very altar ; he had besides, his serjeant at arms and mace, and two gentlemen carrying two pillars of silver, besides his cross-bearer ; concerning which it is observed, that he did bear the cross of York, somewhat to the prejudice of that of Canterbury, which perchance might be some cause of discontentment to the Arch-bishop Warham. In conclusion, all his actions were such as argued a haughtier spirit than could become his place (as Polydore will have it.)

The pope, being intentive now, (Aug.) to a war against the Turk, requires aid from the English clergy, desiring our king to give his assistance therein ; which they yet (in their (Nov. 12.) synod) deprecated, alledging (by letter to the pope, dated Nov. 25. 1515.) that they were exhausted through their contribution to the war of France, at the instigation of Julius II. remonstrating further, that by a decree of the Council of Constance, the pope could impose no tributes on the Church, but in case of necessity, and by a general council.

The twelfth of Nov. the parliament sate again ; wherein, among other acts, further order was given, for preventing tillage to be turned into pasture. A repeal of licenses also to strangers for carrying in of Gascoigne and Guyenne wines, or Thoulouse woad was enacted. Which was much to the increase of our shipping. A time was also prefixt, without which all motions, suits, bills, indictments, or informations popular shall be sued, either for the king or party ; and this settled a great deal of quietness. The act concerning labourers wages, made the year preceding, was also repealed, forasmuch as concern'd certain labourers in London.

Towards the end of this parliament, Sir Ed. Poynings desiring to be discharg'd from his government in Tournay, and the adjoining places of Mortaigne and St. Amand, Sir Will. Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, was substituted ; who appointing Sir Sampson Norton to be his marshal, so offended the people, that they rose in arms : neither would they be quieted, till the said Sir Sampson was banish'd for ever. But, if Poynings return'd to his counsellor's place, divers others went away

from it. For, besides the Arch-bishop Warham, Bishop Fox, offended with the cardinal, retir'd himself; desiring this only of the king, 'That he would not suffer the servant to be greater than his master.' To which the king answer'd presently, 'That it should be his care, that those who were his subjects should obey and not command.' Then Thomas Duke of Norfolk craved leave to go to his country-house. For, as the king's coffers were much exhausted by his late wars and triumphs, so not finding it easie to supply those vast expences, which (in pageants and devices) increased daily, he wisely withdrew himself: Charles Duke of Suffolk also, not long after, following them: for, having borrowed money of the king for his journey into France, and being unable (through the cardinal's opposition) to obtain remission thereof, or otherwise to pay it presently, he retir'd into the country; so that the cardinal had his free scope and liberty to sway all things, under colour of doing the king service. For, whatsoever he went about, that was his pretence; though (for the most part) in labouring to reform, he did nothing but innovate. Hence many clamours arose among the people, who being capable of almost nothing but their own ancient customs, seldom endure a change, though for their bettering and advantage. Hence was it, that they thought none so true among them, as those who traduced the present government; nor so wise, as those who suspected most, though beyond all probability. There was yet occasion enough to fear Woolsey, being observed to have that ascendent over the king's disposition, as he knew not how to be serious, or almost merry without him: in either of which ways he still introduced something for his own ends; for no man studied them more. One example whereof I will here insert. The cardinal, having for his first bishoprick, that of Tournay, was not yet without an ancient competitor, one Louis Guillart a French-man, to whom it formerly appertained: this man, grudging to be thus dispossess'd, obtains (1513.) from the pope a bull, whereby he was restor'd to that place, (as far as words could carry it,) with a clause of *Usque ad invocationem brachii secularis*, if denied admission, to call in the assistance of the civil magistrate, both in the city and without. So that the French and Flemmings seem'd equally interested thereby to procure his conservation. Our king understanding hereof, and knowing well the dangerous consequences, (1517.) writes to the Bishops of Bath and Worcester, his agents then at Rome, to protest against this strange and inordinate bull, (as he terms it in his letter;) commanding them withal (not without some threats) to labour that it might be recal'd, as tending not only to the raising of sedition in that city, and quarrels betwixt him and the confining princes, but to the wrongful displacing of the cardinal, who, being subrogated to the other as well in conformity to the right of his king, as upon the contumacy or negligence of the other (who had not as then done his homage and fealty for his tem-

poralities) could not now be remov'd without much scandal. Before this, the cardinal had desired Francis to bestow on Guillart some other bishoprick: but Francis delaying to give satisfaction herein, so incensed the cardinal, that he became his secret enemy afterward. Hereupon he intimates to Maximilian, that, notwithstanding the late (April 5. 1515.) league betwixt England and France, there was probability, the king would not suffer France to grow greater by the acquisition of Milan (1516.) (Maximilian therefore sent, in the name of Sforza Duke of Milan, one Anchistes Vis-Conte, a Milanese, to implore our king's assistance against Francis, in men or money: of which also there was some hope secretly given by Woolsey.) However, our king (in so great a cause) would resolve nothing, without communicating the business first to the ancientest and wisest of his counsellors. Therefore recalling Warham, Fox, the Duke of Norfolk, Lovell, and divers others, he demanded their opinion in full counsel; where Woolsey speaking first, alledged, 'that Francis had already broken 'the treaty, by favouring Richard de la Pole, a fugitive and traytor; in 'assisting those Scots, which oppos'd his sister Queen Margaret; and 'in contriving a secret league with that nation, to the prejudice of that 'into which they lately entred with England. Besides, that Francis 'with-held some goods and jewels of Queen Mary. That when all this 'were otherwise, yet it stood not with reason of state to suffer France 'to grow any greater. Lastly, he said all this might be done warily, 'and without effusion of English blood, only when he would but 'privately assist Maximilian.' This was no sooner uttered, but Thomas Bishop of Duresme riseth up, and not only confirms the cardinal's, speech, but extols it with some palpable flatteries. Neither must it seem strange, that the churchmen concurr'd in this vote; it being likely that (besides Cardinal Woolsey's particular animosity against Francis I.) Leo X. had a hand herein, as knowing how much safer it was for Italy, that a single duke should govern Milan, than such a potent prince as Francis I.; all the others at the table yet were of another opinion. Among whom therefore a reply was made to this effect.

'That to break a treaty or league (solemnly sworn) did seem a 'strange council in any, but especially in a divine. That, for their 'parts, they conceiv'd the violating of publick faith, was to call God 'and man in judgment against them. They would not deny yet, but 'just cause of dissolving leagues might be given. But then that the 'wrong'd party ought both to protest the fault and denounce war. 'That, if any other course should be allow'd among princes, and estates, there were no ground for upholding truth and justice; without 'which yet the law of nations, and even mankind it self could not subsist. That therefore it were good to examine the grounds of the proceedings mention'd. In which though it could not be deny'd but



'Richard de la Pole was admitted still in France; yet, whether as  
 'traytor to his country, or a person that came thither only for safety of  
 'his life, might be question'd. That if the spies, they had on Richard,  
 'said true, his design was only to go into Italy with Francis I., and then  
 'there could be no danger on his part. And for the other point, which  
 'was assisting the Scottish faction against Queen Margaret, or con-  
 'triving a secret league which might be a prejudice to the former,  
 'much might be said; yet if businesses were well examin'd, both the  
 'treaties of Francis might consist; this latter with Scotland being  
 'provisionally only, in case we should come to a rupture with France.  
 'They would not deny yet, but herein an advantage was taken by the  
 'French, somewhat against the laws of honour. But that we might  
 'make a benefit thereof: for, while Francis was in Italy, and far re-  
 'mote from Scotland, it was easie for his majesty, under colour of  
 'resisting the new faction set up by the French in Scotland, to be  
 'more than reveng'd. For, whether in his sister's name or his own, it  
 'was not hard to reduce a divided country to his devotion. And that  
 'this might be thought a greater addition to him, than Milan to the  
 'French, when yet they could obtain it; that to take any other course,  
 'was to seek causes of quarrel, without colour, either of reason or jus-  
 'tice; to draw the French on himself; to interrupt his way to Scot-  
 'land, which now lay open; and lastly, to make him loose credit both  
 'at home and abroad.' The king, who knew the opposition among his  
 counsellors, seem'd to temper the diversity of opinions in a middle  
 way; yet so, as in effect, he inclin'd to the cardinal. Therefore he  
 said, 'he would hinder the designs of Francis, without coming yet to a  
 'manifest rupture;' whereof also occasion was given. For as Francis  
 being (April.) confederate with Charles, (now sixteen years old, and  
 taking on him the government of the Low-Countries) as also with the  
 Venetians, had renew'd a war in Italy, and after a bloody battel (Sept.  
 13.) at Marignan, had compell'd Maximilian Sforza to resign his right  
 to Milan, and accept a pension in France; so our king, who suspected  
 this great addition to Francis might be damageable to him, resolv'd  
 secretly to assist the emperor, with whom also the pope and Ferdinand  
 joyn'd, for the defence of Italy, and opposition of the invaders. Re-  
 turning (Nov.) for this purpose by Richard Pace (late servant to Car-  
 dinal Bambridge, and for the present secretary of state) not only a  
 huge sum of money; but giving him commission to treat both with the  
 emperor and Francisco Sforza, brother to the late Duke of Milan, con-  
 cerning the loan thereof, and a strict league upon certain conditions.  
 Among which it was agreed, 'That, if Milan were recover'd, such a  
 'yearly tribute or pension should be paid our king, as this supply of  
 'money did deserve; Woolsey not forgetting also, (after his usual man-  
 'ner) to capitulate for an annual payment of 10,000 ducats to himself.'  
 Hereupon, Pace levying for the emperor's service certain regiments of

Swiss, (who willingly entred this war, both as they were oblig'd to the conservation of Sforza's interest, and as they desir'd to revenge their loss at Marignan,) the emperor in person marcheth towards Milan. Neither did it hinder him, that the pope was fallen away to Francis, and had appointed an interview (Dec. 11.) at Bononia, for the accommodating of their mutual affairs; the pope promising Parma and Piacenza to Francis; and he, on the other side, stipulating to recover Urbin for the pope (as indeed follow'd the next year.) Where also an agreement call'd the Concordat was made, which the French writers observe as derogatory to the pragmatick sanction, and the liberties of the Gallican Church. Being thus (1516.) upon his way, Charles Duke of Bourbon, who was appointed by Francis to defend his acquisitions in Italy, sends to his king for relief, preparing in the mean time to defend himself the best he could. But Maximilian being now in a fair way of obtaining his desires, retires (May) suddenly into Germany; neither could he alledge other cause of it, than a simple diffidence of the Swiss, (as Polydore hath it;) tho' Guicciardine tells another reason; which was, that Maximilian receiving no supply of money from England, and being not provided himself to pay them, was forc'd to desist. This encourag'd the French and Venetian to proceed in their designs of besieging Brescia, which they got; but being repuls'd at Verona, Maximilian (Oct.) takes heart again, and sends Matteo Cardinal of Sedun (or Sitten) into England, to negotiate for a supply of money, and withal to excuse his late retreat, both for his distrust of the Swiss, as also because they openly refus'd to fight against some of their countrymen, who were under Bourbon. Besides, as he had long entertain'd our king with a hope that he would resign the empire to him, so on this occasion (as I find by an original from Sir Robert Wingfeild, dated 17 May, 1516.) he renews the propositions; offering, besides, to give him the dutchy of Milan; for the more assurance whereof, desiring our king to pass the seas to Calais, and so to take his way through the Low-Countries, till he came to the city of Triers; where he, together with the electors would meet, for performance of the aforesaid resignation of the empire; which also being done, he propos'd, that an army from thence should invade France, while our king with 1000 horse, and 1000 archers should pass through Germany to Coyre, and so over the lake of Como to the state and city of Milan; where having repos'd a while, Maximilian promis'd to go along with him to Rome, to see him receive the imperial crown; which being done, he said, our king might choose whether he would make an honourable peace with France, or war, for recovering his right; which, he said, the pope and all Christian princes, could not but like well of. And thus far Wingfeild; to whose relation though our king gave as much credit, as a profession often made by Maximilian could merit; yet, as he consider'd withal, that there was much improbability in the

offer, and the action it self in a manner without precedent ; and, howsoever, that he should engage his kingdom for the affair of the empire, (it being then so scant of moneys, as Maximilian was nick-nam'd Pochi-Dinari.) So by his answer in June following, he wish'd Wingfield to tell Maximilian, that though he thankfully accepted those offers, yet that he desir'd they might be kept secret until the French were driven out of Italy. For which purpose, (as well as the reasons before set down) I find he promis'd Maximilian some more money, excusing together the former defect of payment, with laying the fault on some Genoëa merchants. Besides, at the Cardinal of Sedun's intreaty in the emperor's name, he (Nov. 2.) enter'd into a strict league with Maximilian ; which yet, because it lasted not, I shall not particularly mention. For Maximilian, considering how little trust he could repose in our cardinal for the obtaining of money, and (for the rest) being wearied with the wars, first makes a truce with his adversaries, and particularly the Venetians ; after which, for a sum of money, being 200,000 ducats, he restores Verona unto them, and then makes a peace. To which purpose the death of Ferdinand did serve ; who departing this life Jan. 23. 1515-16, did free himself rather than the world, from not a few troubles, whereof he was the first procurer and author. This prince (leaving to his successors the stile of Catholico) was thought the most active and politick of his time. Insomuch that he hardly took rest, or suffer'd it in others. No man knew better how to serve his turn on every body, or to make their ends conduce to his. But while he escap'd not the opinion and the name of (*Curita*) false, (which yet his country writers palliate, no otherwise than with calling it *Saber-raynar*) he neither comply'd with his dignity, nor indeed the rules of wisdom ; true reason of state consisting of such solid maxims, that it hath as little need of deceit, as a sure game at chess of a false draught ; there is no use of it, therefore, among the wiser sort ; as being only a supply of ignorance among the ruder and worse kind of statesmen. Besides, it appears so much worse in publick affairs than private, as it is never almost hid or unreveng'd. Reputation again is still lost thereby ; which yet how much it concerns princes, none can better tell than such as imagine them without it. This is strange of him, that being of vast possessions, enrich'd much from the Indies, prosperous in almost all his attempts, of a frugal disposition, and long life ; (for he attain'd sixty-three) there was hardly yet found in his coffers, enough to discharge his interring, though not very sumptuous ; that I may say nothing of his debts. His will and testament declar'd his daughter Juana of Castile to be his heir. Only, because of her defect of wisdom, and her son's young age, he appointed the Cardinal Ximenes Archbishop of Toledo to govern, till the said Charles came to Castilla. He left also to Fernando, brother to Charles, great possessions and legacies, as loving him inwardly best ; both that being



born at Alcalá 1503, he was a native of Spain, (which his brother was not,) and that he gave much hope of towardliness, and besides bore his name. Insomuch that, could he have contriv'd it handsomly, it is thought he would have made him his heir in Spain : sundry particularities whereof, concurring much with the Spanish history, being advertis'd to our king by Sir John Stile his ambassador there ; our king and queen (as they had before done for Louis XII.) caus'd a solemn obsequy for him to be kept in the cathedral church of St. Paul in London. But they mourn'd not long ; the birth of our Princess Mary following shortly after, upon Feb. 18, 1515-16.

Ferdinand thus dead, Charles, who thought himself as capable of governing Castilla, as he was of the Low-Countries (which Maximilian the last year put into his hands) sends immediately to Spain, to claim the right and title ; which also was acknowledg'd ; yet so, as it was thought fit to publish it together with his mothers ; so that it ran thus, Donna Juana, and Don Carlos, Queen and King of Castilla, Leon, and Arragon, etc. Navarre (which now was incorporated to them) being not forgotten : he determin'd also in person to go thither. For which purpose, as well as the better securing the Low-Countries in his absence, he past several treaties with Francis and our king ; the former was concluded at Noyon, Aug. 15. where it was agreed, That within six months following Henry d'Albret (Jean d'Albret, and Catherine his wife being newly dead) should be restor'd to the kingdom of Navarre, or at least sufficient content given him otherwise ; and if not, that it should be lawful for Francis to assist him. That Charles should marry Louise daughter of Francis, (then not a year old) who in consideration thereof should renounce his claim to Naples, and accept a pension of 10,000 crowns yearly. That the Venetians giving the emperor 200,000 ducats, he should deliver them Verona. Besides which, their orders of chevalry were sent to each other, and an interview appointed, which yet took no more effect than the treaty it self. The latter league was form'd at London, Oct. 29. betwixt Joan and Charles of Castile, the Emperor Maximilian, and our king, to this effect.

That the confederates should defend one another, and bring aid by land at their own costs, (being requir'd) within a month after complaint, against the enemy. If the enemy have port-towns, etc. then the war shall be also made by sea, by them both, and the fleet supply'd if it be diminish'd, etc. That no peace shall be made with the enemy, or truce, but by mutual consent. Place also was left for other princes whatsoever, to come into this league within eight months, by the consent of all the confederates. That Leo X. shall be comprehended in this league, if he will excommunicate the persons and states that shall molest the confederates, and that he enter within six months. That the Swiss shall be admitted, if they will ; so that they bind themselves

to serve under the confederates, and not under any other prince ; and on those conditions to have pensions.

I must now return to the business of Scotland, (intermitted a while, that I might not break the context of my history,) and therein call to mind, how John Stewart Duke of Albany, having been recall'd home, was presently upon his arrival (May 20. 1515.) declar'd vice-roy, till the king came to full age. Neither did it hinder, that he was born in the time of his father's banishment ; and, for the rest, such a stranger, that he could not speak the country language. For as a singular opinion of his worth went before, and the recommendation of the French accompany'd him, so was he saluted with that universal applause, wherewith new comers that have given hope of themselves, are usually welcom'd. The businesses of the country were yet so strange to him, that he was inforc'd to use the directions of others. In this number, one John Hepburne did much appear. His first advice was, that he should not punish the delinquents, both as they were many, and well ally'd ; and as it would gain him strong enemies. That he had more use of the peoples affections, than to alter them at his first entrance. That therefore his chief endeavour should be, to make good his authority, neither should he oppress any, but those who were in estate to oppose him ; amongst which three were most considerable, Archibald Douglass was one, who, besides that he had marry'd the queen, was a person much in favour with the people. Secondly, Alexander Humes, a busie, potent, and able lord. Thirdly, Andrew Forman, whose riches were such, as alone would suffice for a great design. The vice-roy taking this advice into consideration, though not fit yet to begin with Douglass, lest the queen, for protecting him, should draw the English into Scotland, which he most doubted. Besides he was so gracious with the greatest part of the kingdom, that he was to be undermin'd rather than assaulted. And for Forman, he thought it was nothing but his wealth that made him envy'd. Only Humes, he thought it not amiss to question ; as having between vehement suspicions, and some proofs, not a little matter against him. Humes having some notice thereof, changes his party, and now strives to combine with Douglass and the queen. Therefore he laments to them the fortune of the king, who was fallen into the hands of one, who besides that he was a stranger to his country, might be suspected for attempting on his person, as being next heir to the crown, after the king and his brother. That this was the more probable, because his father Alexander (as Buchanan has it) had taken the like course with his eldest brother, James III., whom he would have dispossess of the kingdom. That there was no way to avoid these dangers, but to fly with her son into England, (to which also our king had perswaded her privately,) and recommended the rest to his care. This advice (whether spoken by Humes to discover the queen's designs, and thereupon to make his advantage with the vice-

roy, or that he did indeed think this to be the best way for the king's safety,) was brought beforehand to the vice-roy, who believing it easily, thought fit (Aug. 10, 1515.) to seize on Sterling Castle, in which the young king and his mother were, and to put a guard on them ; yet admits some, who were of great credit, to give by turns their directions for the young king's education, and useth briefly some such providences as might argue all was done with a good intention ; among which the taking (July 12.) an oath of fidelity to the young king, was most remarkable. This while Humes, with his brother William, refusing to obey a citation to the parliament, and being thereupon proscrib'd, fled to England ; Douglass also, taking the queen with him, follow'd shortly after, staying yet at Harbottle Castle in Northumberland, by our king's command, till further order was given. It appear'd not yet, whether this were an escape in them, or that the vice-roy were under-hand consenting to their departure, only to be freer for his designs. Howsoever, he sent instantly to our king, to clear himself from all sinister practices against the queen. He also labours with the friends of Douglass and Humes to draw them home, promising for this purpose all the good conditions that could be requir'd. Humes takes the invitation, and returns ; Douglass also (considering the queen was with child, and near her time, and therefore unable to remove any way far) makes use of this occasion to settle his affairs at home. The queen, in the mean while, being (Oct. 7.) brought to bed of a daughter, (whom she call'd Margaret) by easie journeys comes to the English court in the next spring 1516. Yet were not businesses in Scotland so quieted ; for Alexander Humes having submitted himself (as aforesaid) to the vice-roy, who gave him to the custody of his brother-in-law, James Hamilton Earl of Arran, upon pain of death if he suffer'd him to depart ; shortly after by representing to Hamilton some nearness of blood on his part, which might enable him to be vice-roy, perswaded the earl to escape (Oct. 12.) away together with him ; while the vice-roy being not griev'd (perchance) thus to be quit of those he suspected most, seems now to be at rest. Only he would not omit to take this advantage against Hamilton ; therefore he batter'd and took his castle ; Humes in the mean time ravaging the country about Dunbar. The vice-roy hearing this, returns to his wonted invitations of both him and Hamilton to come back. Hamilton accepts it first, and Humes after ; but Humes being summon'd again to come to the parliament (Sept. 24.) thinks fit (for redeeming his former fault when he last absented himself) to appear. He perswades his brother William also to go with them, though many of their friends oppos'd it ; for as his brother was equal with him in power and authority, so the keeping him back would have conduc'd perchance to the securing of both. But he, confident of good usage, neglects the advice, and comes with his brother to court ; where being seiz'd on, they were committed to divers prisons, for crimes



objected against them ; and particularly against Alexander, who was thought to have used some treachery in Flodden-battle, if not to have kill'd the king. All which though he conceiv'd either suggested maliciously against him, or at least by a long intermission to have been antiquated and forgiven, yet prevail'd not ; his head and his brother's being struck off in Oct. 1516. Shortly after which (as Lesleus hath it) the king's younger brother dying, (Nov.) the Duke of Albany obtain'd in parliament to be declar'd next heir. Which being done, he enters (Jan. following) into a league with Francis, and so return'd (June 1517.) to that country ; only that he might manifest his pretences were without any ambition which might derogate from his loyalty.

The Queen of Scots coming to London, May 3. 1516. was much welcom'd by the king, the queen, and her sister queen Mary, who all enjoy'd therein a happiness rare for princes in that kind, which was to see one another after they had been once dispos'd of abroad ; the king, for the more honour of her coming, commanded justs to be held, in which (May 19.) Sir William Kingstone was, both himself and horse, overthrown by him.

This year also those who manag'd any money for the king in the wars, or otherwise, were by the cardinal's command call'd in question. Among whom, some by bribery, and some by cunning escap'd ; others being condemn'd in great sums ; so that the cardinal might be said to have in him so much of a good servant, as he willingly suffer'd none other to deceive his master. To accompany this severity also, he caus'd perjury to be rigorously punish'd ; wherein I can never enough commend him ; all other treacheries extending for the most part, but to the depriving of life, possessions, or good name ; but this such a one, as without much labour may take away all together. Some courts also were erected in the favour of poor people, against the oppression of the great ; which at the beginning were much frequented ; but at last, the people receiving many delays and unsatisfactions in their suits, every one left them, and went to the common law : as fearing, under this pretence, an innovation. I must not deny unto the cardinal yet, the attribute of just, in all affairs of publick judicature ; whereof, (if we may believe authors) he was ever apparently studious. Therefore, where disorders were committed, he severely punish'd, unless the parties found means to make their private peace.

I will conclude this year with a passage out of our records. Leo, continuing still the Council of Lateran, among other reformati-  
 ons, propos'd that of the calendar, inviting (for this purpose) our king, to send some of our most learn'd divines and astronomers thither ; but as it appears not what answer our king return'd to this breve, dated July 10. 1516, so neither should I have inserted any thing hereof, but that it seems they were not sufficiently satisfy'd concerning the principles from which the calculation should be deduc'd.

About this time a riot and sedition in England hapned in this manner. Some citizens and apprentices of London of the poorer sort, being offended that all their chief customers were won from them by the diligence and industry of strangers, and (for the rest) pretending to have receiv'd from them divers contempts, affronts, and injuries, found some occasions, and took others, to make an insurrection against them; and the rather, that the seditious sermons of one Doctor Bele, by the instigation of John Lincolne, a broker, had not a little incited them: who taking texts (as near as he could find in the Scriptures) to this purpose, traduced the sense thereof even to encouraging the people to a commotion. The beginning of this yet was not so witty as the last, neither ended it so well. For two apprentices playing only at bucklers in the street, late on May-eve, contrary to the lord-mayor's command, (who upon notice taken of the citizens intent, was charg'd by the king's council to require, under great penalties, all housholders to keep themselves and their servants within doors from nine over-night, till seven of the clock the next morning) an alderman came to arrest one of them; but the said apprentice thinking therein that an ancient custom for taking liberty at that time more than any other, was infrin'g'd, cry'd 'Clubs.' Herepon, they came forth in such great numbers, that the alderman fled. The apprentices being encouraged herewith, and for the rest finding themselves in a greater multitude than to do nothing, break open some prisons, and took out divers persons, committed thither for abusing and hurting of strangers. Neither could the mayor or sheriffs then present hinder this, nor Sir Thomas Moore, (late judge of the sheriffs court in London, but now of the king's council,) though much respected by them, as being a native of that city. The prisoners being now set loose, advise the multitude to run to the house of one Meutas a Picard, much hated by them: where they kill'd some, chas'd the rest, and rifled his goods. Hence they went again to other strangers houses, which they spoil'd in like manner. The cardinal hearing this, and being not much more in the peoples favour than the strangers, fortifies his house with men and ordnance. But the lieutenant of the Tower proceeding otherwise, discharg'd some of the great pieces among them. Howbeit, this made them not so much desist, as that having reveng'd themselves as far as the offence taken seem'd to require, they thought good about three in the morning to scatter and go home. But in their way, they were apprehended by the city-officers first, and afterwards by some followers of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey, who hearing of this disorder, and taking the inns-of-court men with them, clear'd the streets of this unruly company. The beginning of the riot was hereupon examin'd, and Doctor Bele and John Lincolne sent to the Tower. About three days after, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey his son, and divers others, with about 1300 arm'd men came into the city, and joyning with the

lord-mayor, proceeded legally against the chief offenders ; to the terror of the citizens, who were the more afraid, that the Duke of Norfolk, upon the killing of a priest of his in Cheape, was reported to have said (as our historians have it) in some passion, ‘ I pray God I may ‘once have the citizens in my danger.’ This (though perchance a calumny forg’d against the duke) wrought so, that they thought themselves over-rigorously dealt with, in that the statute secundo Henry the 5. chap. 6. (which makes breakers of truce, and safe-conducts, guilty of high-treason) was extended against them, tho’ repeal’d afterward, 20 Henrici Sexti. Howsoever, much mercy was shew’d ; for, of 278 persons which were prisoners, Lincolne only, who was thought the most seditious, and three or four more, were (May 7.) hang’d, drawn, and quarter’d ; the rest, who were about ten, suffer’d nothing extraordinary in their death, but that for the more example, they were hang’d on gibbets erected in the streets. All the others were thus pardon’d ; the recorder of London, and divers aldermen coming (May 11.) in black to court, and desiring most humbly to be heard, the king, after some admonition and check, as if the better sort had conniv’d at this riot, refers the rest to the cardinal, then lord chancellor. In conclusion, the king, sitting (May 22.) in Westminster, and being attended with his principal nobility and officers, and the lord mayor ; all the prisoners in white shirts, and halters about their necks (into which habit divers also, (not yet discover’d) put themselves, to be capable of the king’s pardon) did, upon their knees, crave mercy. Which the king graciously accorded, permitting also the gibbets, which much scandaliz’d the citizens, to be taken down.

Shortly after, (July.) the sweating sickness (call’d for the propriety, by which it seiz’d on the English nation chiefly, *Sudor Anglicus*,) did much infest the kingdom, being of that malignity, as within the space of three hours it kill’d. This caus’d the king to leave London, and adjourning three terms 1517, to remove Trinity Term, 1518. to Oxford, where yet it continu’d but one day, and was adjourn’d again to Westminster. Nevertheless divers knights, gentlemen, and officers in the king’s court dy’d thereof ; as the Lord Clinton, Lord Grey of Wilton, and others of quality, the vulgar sort so commonly perishing, as in some towns it took away half the people, in others a third part.

Let us look now a while on foreign business. Maximilian continuing the foremention’d treaties with our king, concerning divers publick affairs, and particularly that of rendring the empire, was desired by King Henry, to give him a meeting in the Low-Countries. But Maximilian returning answer, that to excuse that labour he would come over into England, King Henry sent the Earl of Worcester, and Doctor Cuthbert Tonstall to him, (Jan.) lately then come into Flanders. But as Maximilian was a prince of great dissimulation, they observ’d in him, that while on the one side he entertain’d our king with the offer



of the empire, etc. on the other he continu'd his treaty (began in Dec. last) with the French. Besides, his grand-child Charles refus'd (Oct. 29. 1516.) to confirm the late league with our king. So that our agents thought fit to represent to his grace, how little was to be expected; because the emperor vary'd so much in his offers; sometimes saying, he would resign the empire to Henry VIII. and himself remain king of the Romans; which honour his posterity should inherit. Sometimes, that he would resign the empire to Charles of Castile, and make Henry king of the Romans, and his grand-child Ferdinand king of Austria, and himself marshal of the empire, that so he may be equal to the electors. But as Doctor Tonsal advertis'd the king, that the emperor must be elect out of the German nation: that King Henry in accepting the empire, must confess England to be under the empire; lastly, that he must be first king of the Romans, when yet the emperor had declar'd he meant to hold that title still: so our king rejected these propositions, as vain, and artificial, only to draw money from him; and our agents return'd having only obtain'd, at last, an oath from Charles and Queen Joane, his mother, for performance of the late treaty at London, with some small alterations. Maximilian also, about the same time (May.) departed out of Flanders, having (March 11.) first concluded a league at Cambray betwixt himself, Francis, and his grand-child Charles, by which they confirm'd the league at (Aug.) Noyon, and (Dec. 1516) Bruxelles, resolv'd on a war against the Turk; (as it was now projected in the Council of Lateran,) and (Mar. 26. 1517.) appointed an interview for all three in April or May following. Place also was left for the pope to enter as protector thereof, and for King Henry. This being advertis'd to our king, made him think how to defend Tournay, and therefore caus'd a citadel to be built there; not neglecting together to prevail himself of the pope's mediation for a general peace. Which, as it was willingly embraced, so our king was intreated to send him 200,000 ducats (on security) for that war, which yet it was thought the pope would employ for some affairs in Italy. Who also sent a croisade and indulgences into Germany, England, and many other places: the conditions of which were, that, 'whosoever perform'd certain religious 'rites, and paid certain sums of money, should have their sins forgiven.' Neither was there, in the use of these indulgences, that distinction of persons or sins made, which from so grave a pastor might be expected, so that (promiscuously) all men, who would come to the price, (as some authors have it) were not only promis'd everlasting bliss, but made capable of delivering the souls of others out of purgatory. When those indulgences first came forth, no Divine worship in the west parts of Europe, but what the Church of Rome prescrib'd, was publickly known. For though some opposers of the papal authority had appear'd long since, yet wanting those supporters

who might establish and uphold their doctrine, it quickly fail'd. Some of their impressions yet were deriv'd to posterity ; though in so obscure and perplex'd a manner, that they serv'd rather to shew errors, than rectifie them ; forming (for the rest) no eminent and visible body, or at least no other than such as quickly disappear'd. So that all those, who for the present dissented inwardly from any opinion commonly taught, kept yet the unity of the Church. Of which kind though (I doubt not) there were many, yet by distinguishing in private only the good doctrines from the ill, they both conserv'd their consciences, avoided schism, and maintain'd towards God, and among themselves, an uniformity ; being therein not unaptly compar'd to sheep, and other creatures, who in pastures, where both wholesom and hurtful herbs grow, choose yet only the better sort. While thus, they might not only reach to antiquity in all times, but universality in all places ; since not the men (who may err) but the doctrine giveth the true denomination unto the Church. It will be enough therefore, that there was always a Catholick, and a visible doctrine in the more important parts thereof. And thus were all controversies (save those which the subtilties of the schoolmen brought forth) declin'd. Neither did men think themselves bound to study the intricacies and sophisms of authors, in matters impertinent to salvation ; but were contented with a single faith in God, the comfort of a good life, and hope of a better upon true repentance ; taking the rest for the most part upon the faith of the Church. By which means as peace was generally conserv'd, so it was not doubted by those who search'd into the primitive times, but that together divers new doctrines (if not errors) were crept into the Church discipline. Among which some, yet, might have been more excusable, had not they not been so severely commanded, that the common sort understood them for little less than necessary articles of faith. While thus they were held in much subjection, as being not able sufficiently to distinguish the true and essential parts from those that were added only for conveniency or ornament. But as learning now (the benefit of printing) became publick, so almost all men, either through reading or conversation, were literate. Insomuch, that they durst look into the principles of religion, and take upon them to discuss the parts thereof. Among these, none was more famous than one Martin Luther, an hermit fryer about thirty-two years old, living about this time at Wittenberg upon the Elbe, within the dominions of Frederick Duke of Saxony. This man, having observ'd divers things, not mention'd in the belief, call'd *Symbolum Apostolorum*, to be introduc'd lately, examines all ; beginning first with the indulgences that came out this year ; though so modestly, as he advertis'd only his superior the Arch-bishop of Mayentz of some abuse therein, and pray'd reformation ; not omitting together, as he was of an acute, but vehement wit, to set forth ninety-five conclusions, and preach publickly against them ;

(which yet he submitted to the pope, by letter dated in June 1518.) Maximilian also, foreseeing whither these divisions might tend, (and the rather, that he found them favour'd not only by Frederick Duke of Saxony, but divers other great personages) wrote (Aug. 18. 1518) to the pope, desiring him to moderate things so, as all cause might be taken away, not only of disputations, but concerning impertinent points of religion. But as the pope, about those times, had, (betwixt publick affairs and private liberties) so exhausted the ecclesiastical revenue, as it was necessary to supply the wants thereof by extraordinary means, he pursu'd his design, using therein much the help of Lorenzo Pucci Cardinal Sanctorum the Fourth; who, finding the schism of the Council of Pisa so far extinguish'd, as the Roman Church needed not fear to reassume her former authority, confirm'd the pope therein. So that, though for not above four hundred years, they had taken on them this and divers authorities, not known before, he perswaded their continuance, lest any thing of that kind should seem invalid, or usurp'd; especially, where the pretence was, if not the same, yet of a like condition. Whereupon looking further into records, and finding that Urban II., had not only given indulgences to those, who went personally to the war of the Holy Land; but that his successors had bestowed them on such, who being not able to go, would maintain a soldier there; and lastly, having discover'd, that they were granted even against those that were disobedient to the Roman Church, and also to those who gave money for building or repairing churches in Rome, etc. He neither question'd their right, nor Leo contradicted it; both as he had many needy kinsmen and favourites, and as it maintain'd his authority. Whereupon, a war against the Turks being projected, he sent forth these indulgences, granting besides, the liberty of eating eggs and white-meats on fasting-days, of choosing their confessor, and some such habilities. Had this yet been all, less scandal had follow'd. But without regard to the end for which they were given, he, by way of anticipation, bestow'd on several persons the money to be levy'd; assigning, among others, to Magdalen his sister, and wife to Francesco Cibo (natural son to Pope Innocent VIII.) all that quarter from Saxony to the seaside. And the rather, that in contemplation of this marriage, himself had been made cardinal at fourteen years old, 1489, and therein given a beginning to the ecclesiastical greatness of the house of Medici. Besides, he was indebted to Cibo for his entertainment at Genoa, at what time he was forc'd to fly the persecution of Alexander VI. They again committing this business to Arembaldo a bishop, but a covetous person, much rapine was us'd: the indulgences (as is said) being generally granted to such as gave most for them. And as this caus'd much offence, so again the fryars hermits, (by whom they were ordinarily dispenc'd) were not a little troubl'd, that the Dominicans had now charge thereof. All which, together with the



sinful and inordinate life of certain commissioners deputed under Arembaldo, for those levies, together with the so notorious a sale of twenty cardinalships (as Sandoval himself dissembles it not) anno 1517. being notified, occasion'd these following revolutions, which take up a great part of this history. For, as these indulgences (upon further examination,) were found to be no elder than is above-mention'd, nor much confirm'd but by a bull of Clement VI. 1350. (who abridg'd jubilees from every hundredth year to the fiftieth) nor anciently practis'd at all, but for relaxation of pennances, or ecclesiastical discipline (without that they were said to deliver from any thing towards God) many exceptions were taken against them ; so that, though to the merits of such saints as did works of supererogation (being a treasure which might be consumed) they added the merits of Christ, by way of supply ; yet Luther and others after him, vexed all this again, with that success which shall be told hereafter. Neither did there want such as opposed them in England, amongst whom, one who was zealous of God's honour and the publick good, observing that not only sins towards God, were pardoned for money, but offences towards the law compounded for at no great rates (as shall be told more particularly in its place, where it will appear to what excess this abuse grew) spake after this manner to some of the principal clergy. 'That punishments might have been left to God, but that they serve to deter others. But who would be afraid now, when he knows at what he may put away his crimes? Of what use would our threatnings for sins be, if they grow so contemptible as a little sum of money would discharge them ; is not this to make heaven venal, doth not this reflect so much on Christian faith, that it makes a new price for sin? Believe me, my lords, to make our faults cheap, is to multiply them, and to take away not only that reverence is due to vertue, but to dissolve those bonds which knit and hold together both civil and religious worship. For when men see what they are to pay for their faults, what will they care for other redemption? I would I could say we were not already fallen under some disesteem, when by our enjoying of easie fasting, prayer, and some little alms, men find they suffer no more than what they would gladly endure to sin again ; for who is the leaner or poorer for our penances : let us not then make the mysteries of salvation mercenary, or propose everlasting happiness on those terms, that it may be obtain'd for money, which we find so seldom yet without deceit or mischief. Let mens sins rather lie against them still than open such easie ways to remit them : and take this advice in good part, since it so much concerns us all.' What effect yet this advice took will appear hereafter.

The dissentions of Italy being for the present compos'd, Francis first thought himself at leisure, now to resent our king's assisting of Maximilian. But (saith Polydore) because he consider'd as well, that

he should get nothing that way, and that withal he was inform'd this business cost our king so much, that the loss thereof might be taken for a reasonable revenge ; (for I find in our records, that in one year it cost our king 500,000 or 600,000 ducats,) he dissembled the matter. Therefore converting malice into guile, his only labour was how to corrupt the cardinal ; whom at length, between bribes and flatteries, he so dexterously won, that he durst commit his designs to him. These yet were such, as the cardinal would not abruptly disclose to the king. Therefore he said not much at a time of them, nor without making the king first some present ; which yet (saith Polydore) was but part of that which Francis gave him ; so that while the king consider'd the workmanship or rarity of the gift, he would convey his meaning, and give those impressions he most desir'd should remain in the king's mind. At these opportunities, he made no difficulty to say, 'That Francis sought to him by letters earnestly (concealing in the mean while his large bribes) and that all this did reflect on his majesty, whom that king did address himself to, by his mediation. That others perchance would suppress and hide these things, as being enough to breed suspicion, but that he would ever proceed clearly and openly with his majesty. According to which liberty he would take the boldness to advise, that, since the French king did sue to his majesty in so submissive a way, as to begin at his servants, that he could not but think he was in earnest : and for Maximilian (as being often disoblig'd) little help, or indeed trust could be expected.' Our king also considering that so much hereof was true, that if he could not make friendship with Francis, it were not amiss yet to avoid war, embraces the motion. Of which Woolsey makes his advantage, and brings again another message from Francis, to such effect, that our king said openly, 'that he saw well now Woolsey would govern them both.' The French king, having obtain'd this interest in the cardinal, besides new gifts, sends him divers letters, terming him therein dominus and pater, and his advices oracles, till at last he thought he might open unto him his design of having Tournay redeliver'd for a certain sum of money. Woolsey promiseth his assistance, and hereupon brings the business to the king, and from thence, by his command, to the council : where he openly declares, 'what vast sums it had cost the king to win Therouëne and Tournay ; in the former of which yet he had got nothing but the gratifying of an unthankful person, which was Maximilian ; in the other little else but a number of useless and suspected subjects ; who, that they might be kept in order and obedience, would cost more than they were worth. The charge of the garrison alone being above 12,000*l.* yearly ; besides that of convoies and ammunition. That after all this expence, yet we could hold it no longer than it pleased either of the two princes, between whose dominions it stood ; since being so remote from the English pale, it was

‘improbable that from thence we could succour it : so that it were better  
 ‘to let it go fairly, as for a sum of money, or the like, than to strive to hold  
 ‘it under so weak and dangerous a title, as the sufferance of his enemies ;  
 ‘one of which, being Francis, he thought by the restitution thereof  
 ‘might be oblig’d to be his friend, and the affront he might receive  
 ‘through the taking it by force, avoided. Neither could Maximilian  
 ‘take it ill in point of justice, if we restor’d to Francis a town formerly  
 ‘in his possession. This being done, that it were most expedient for  
 ‘all christendom to join in league with one another, and against the  
 ‘Turk, who lately had made himself formidable.’ These reasons were  
 valid enough, had they not come from so false a ground as the corruption  
 of the cardinal ; (which Polydore continually inculcates :) therefore  
 they were embrac’d by all, but especially the Bishop of Durham,  
 now lord privy-seal ; only it was requir’d, how much that money was,  
 and of what kind those conditions were ? Whereupon it was declar’d,  
 that if it pleas’d the king to hear the ambassadors of Francis, he had  
 already demanded leave for them to come over, which also he had  
 reason to endeavour ; for as I find by our records, he and Nicholas de  
 Villeroy the French resident, had in a manner concluded the business  
 in private already. This being granted, (July 9.) Guillaume Gouffier  
 Seigneur de Bonivet and admiral of France, and Estienne de Poncher  
 Bishop of Paris came (Sept. 30.) with an unruly number for an ambas-  
 sade, (their train being 1200) unto Greenwich ; the French yet, betwixt  
 pride and dissimulation, thought fit not to begin at the business they  
 most desir’d to effect. Therefore their first overture (Mar. 16.) was a  
 proposition for a league in general betwixt all Christian princes against  
 the Turk, projected by the pope the year before. That the authors  
 hereof should be both their majesties. That the pope, emperor, and  
 king of Spain should be admitted hereunto, as principal contractors  
 (if they desired it) within a certain time, and their allies and confederates  
 as comprehended only. This being taken into consideration,  
 upon October the second, 1518. a league was concluded ; which,  
 for being singular in its kind, and an excellent precedent for peace to  
 the future ages, I shall more at large recite, both out of our own and  
 the French records ; and the rather that it seems to have been the rule  
 by which our king framed his actions many years after, as will appear  
 in this history.

‘That perfect friendship and amity should continue for ever betwixt  
 ‘them, and their successors, by land and sea ; (wherein likewise all  
 ‘their subjects and allies were to be comprised.) That they should be  
 ‘the friends of the friends, and the enemies of the enemies of each  
 ‘other ; insomuch, that, if any of the said confederates, or other being  
 ‘a stranger to them, should invade any of the said confederates present  
 ‘dominions, they should give the said assailant an admonition to desist  
 ‘and make reparation ; which if he did not, within the space of a



'month accept, they should declare themselves his enemies, and two months after, both by sea and land, make war against him, at an equal charge; allowing for this purpose free passage through each others dominions, paying only for what was taken. That if civil wars did arise in any of their said countries, none of the confederates should meddle, unless the said civil wars were kindled and maintain'd by some foreign prince. That no one of the confederates should suffer their subjects to bear arms against the other, or should levy any forces of strangers, to be employ'd against the said confederates, upon pain of being held a violater of the said league; which notwithstanding should hold firm among the rest. That none of the said confederates should take the vassal or subject of the other into protection, without the consent of the king, to whom formerly he owed obedience: that all rebels, traytors, or suspected of high-treason, and fugitives should not be receiv'd, entertain'd or favour'd, in any of the dominions of the said confederates; but that, after twenty days warning and requisition, they should be remanded. That the pope should have notice of this league; upon condition yet, that if he accepted these articles within four months after, he should be a principal contractor in this league, and name his allies also. That all the princes before-named should, within the space of four months, be received as principal contractors, if they desire it, otherwise not, without declaration and request to the said two kings. That any other king, potentate, or chief lord, might upon his suit be admitted to have the benefit of this confederation, but not as a principal contractor. Lastly, that, howsoever other princes should observe or accept the said treaty, that yet it should remain inviolable betwixt them two.'

Leo. X. hereupon, though more desirous of a general confederacy against the Turk, accepted this league, as an introduction thereunto, upon Dec. 31. following, naming together some lesser allies whom he desired might be compris'd; the Venetians having been nominated already both by Henry and Francis; upon mature deliberation also, Charles King of Spain enter'd (Jan. 12. 1519.) into it, and the rather that Maximilian the emperor, conceiv'd that all Christian princes might the sooner be dispos'd thereby to war against the Turk. Though as he died shortly after, the league seem'd restrain'd chiefly to Henry, Francis, and Charles, and particularly to the first contractors, though not with such constancy and fervency as it first began. To reinforce this treaty also, (which was but an introduction to another) Francis did propose a match betwixt the Dauphin his son, and the Princess Mary, which accordingly was (Oct. 4.) concluded upon these conditions.

'That our king should give with his daughter 333,000 crowns, and Francis as great a joynture as any king of that country ever gave. That within four months the spousals should be made by the two kings in the children's names. That if the Dauphin died before this

'marriage, the next son of Francis should take the princess on the  
 'same conditions. And if the princess died first, the king's next  
 'daughter (if he had any) should be given. For further testimony of  
 'this desired alliance, our king condescended also to restore Tournay,  
 'Mortaigne, and St. Amand, and the territories adjacent, upon the  
 'payment of 600,000 crowns, at certain terms. For which payment, as  
 'also performing of the marriage, sufficient hostages should be deliver'd  
 'to the said Francis. That yet out of this sum the said Francis might  
 'detain 333,000 crowns, for the aforesaid dowry of the said princess  
 'Mary, in case she did not inherit the crown of England. That the  
 'said French king should pardon, and take into his favour all the  
 'inhabitants of the said city of Tournay, and places adjacent, reserving  
 'to them all ancient privileges ; and that King Henry should thereupon  
 'release the oath of obedience they had made him. That whereas the  
 'citizens of Tournay did yet owe to King Henry 23,000 livres, which  
 'now the French king had stipulated to pay, he should substitute the  
 'French king to receive it of them again. That King Henry might  
 'carry from Tournay all the artillery, munition, and instruments of war,  
 'either offensive, or defensive, victuals, etc. That in case the marriage  
 'intended should take no effect by the default of Francis, that then  
 'Tournay should be deliver'd back again to King Henry or his heirs,  
 'together with the profits receiv'd in the mean while, without any deduc-  
 'tion for reparation of the said place. And that the inhabitants there-  
 'of should be discharg'd from all superiority or oath of obedience made  
 'or acknowledg'd to the said French king : upon condition that the  
 'said King Henry should restore the said French king the sum of  
 '600,000 crowns, or so much as he should receive thereof. But if the  
 'impediment for marriage should happen on the part of King Henry,  
 'that then, upon payment of the intire sum of 600,000 crowns, Tour-  
 'nay should remain to the French king.' And herein our records and  
 Du Gillet do so concur, as the chief difference seems to be only about  
 the sum of 500,000 crowns, which our records say, was the penalty on  
 either side, for non-performance of the marriage. There was also at  
 the same time a treaty concerning the admiralties in both kingdoms,  
 having relation to one made the year precedent July 16. and that of  
 April 5. 1515. By which it was agreed, 'That all suits, upon occasion  
 'of depredation by sea, might from the ordinary judge be removed to  
 'London before the admiral and vice-admiral, or their deputies, and  
 'the master of the rolls of England ; and at Rouen before the admiral  
 'and vice-admiral of France, their lieutenants, and the first president  
 'of the parliament in Normandy ; who, upon appeal of the parties on  
 'either side, were bound to give a definitive sentence within the space of  
 'one year ; which, in case of necessity, might be executed with strong  
 'hand, or main force. The said appeals yet might be brought before  
 'the king's council on either side, there to be determin'd definitively

'within the space of six months,' etc. All things being thus settled for future quietness, the Princess Mary was promis'd, and (Oct. 11.) betrothed to the Dauphin in St. Paul's in London. And the Earl of Worcester, with Nicholas West now Bishop of Ely, and a train equal to that of Bonivet, were sent to require performance from Francis, who thereupon (Dec. 14.) took his oath, gave eight hostages for payment on the rendition of Tournay, and contracted the spousals in the name of his son. In sequence whereof, Feb. 8. following, the Earl of Worcester delivered Tournay, though not unwillingly, since it was the king's pleasure, yet with so much scruple (having been by the name of Lord Herbert at the taking thereof) as he would not suffer the Mareschal de Chastillon to enter it with banner display'd, but rolled up, it being (as he said) voluntarily yielded, and not gotten by conquest. Our writers add, that by Francis 400,000 crowns were allowed our king, for the building of the citadel ; but because neither the French nor our records (from whom I have taken the effect of these treaties) mention it, I leave it to the discretion of the reader. Only I must not forget what I find concerning the cardinal's satisfaction in this particular, who had 12,000 livres Tournois yearly, for relinquishing the bishoprick of Tournay. As for the other chief counsellors, Polydore saith, a certain sum of money should be distributed among them by the French king, *'ita ut consuevissent facere olim ejus majores;'* as had been customary amongst his ancestors.

Thus was Tournay restor'd again to the French, however divers concurrent articles were not perform'd afterwards, as it will appear.

Howbeit, it was agreed betwixt them, that John Duke of Albany should not be permitted to return to Scotland any more ; it being not thought fit by our king, that one who was next in succession to James his nephew, should have charge over him. Moreover, it was agreed, that this young king should be comprehended in the league. This particular being resolved a good while since, though not fully signed till now, was the cause that Queen Margaret (May 18. 1517.) return'd to Scotland, where her husband met her at Barwick ; yet so, as there was not thenceforth that intire love formerly observ'd betwixt them. Our ambassadors being still in France, the Bishop of Ely went to see the queen at Amboise, from whence he certified our king, that he saw the Dauphin (now almost a year old) and imbraced and kissed him. Four days after the above-mention'd treaty, being Oct. 8. 1518. another was concluded, for an interview betwixt the kings, accompanied with their queens, and Madam Louise the mother of Francis, and their household officers. The time appointed was the last of July 1519, at Sandinfield in Picardy, or some other neutral place, according as their deputies on either side should advise ; which upon the first of April following were to meet together for this purpose.

While affairs past thus with France and Scotland, the pope sent



Laurentius Campejus cardinal, as legate, hither ; to procure a general league among Christian princes (or at least a quinquennial truce) for a war against the Turk. Besides, he gave him authority to demand a tenth from our clergy, as also a commission (specified in a bull) wherein Cardinal Woolsey and himself had legantine power to visit monasteries. This legate (called by Polydore, *Inter juris-consultos juro-consultissimus*; the most a lawyer of all the lawyers) coming (June 29.) to Calais was desir'd by our cardinal to stay there, as our historians write, till he had procured from Rome that Woolsey might be joyn'd in the aforesaid commission with him ; but, as I find in our records and Polydore, until he had obtain'd from the pope, that Hadrian de Castello, the cardinal, (now in prison for a conspiracy against the pope) might be devested from the bishoprick of Bath, and the dignity conferred on him ; of which also he had the greater hope, that the pope (as I find by our records) had condemn'd him for the said conspiracy. Besides, it was the care of our cardinal, to suffer none to have access to our king, whom he had not first obliged. Therefore our cardinal presented him, together with a promise to assist him for the bishoprick of Salisbury when it should fall, some red cloth to apparel his train, which otherwise were but poorly cloath'd. To suit this also the night before his coming to London, he (July 28.) sent him twelve mules, with empty coffers fairly covered ; some of which yet were overturned and broken in his passage through the city, to the great shame of Campejus ; who, finding at last his demand for a tenth rejected by our clergy, advertises the pope, and proceeds to the other point of visiting monasteries. But our cunning cardinal thinking himself able enough to discharge this office alone (while Campejus staid in England) dispatches John Clarke, doctor of law, to the pope, both to give account of this business, and to obtain the whole power for himself. This Clarke, coming to Rome, negotiated, by our king's commandment, so well on the cardinal's behalf, that (Dat. June 10. 1519.) he obtained from the pope a bull, whereby (Campejus being now revok'd) he was made *leget à latere*, and enabled to visit not only monasteries, but all the clergy of England, and dispense with Church laws for one year next ensuing the date thereof : which though it gave him great power, ministered much offence ; as abridging the bishops power, and scandalizing the whole clergy, who were so defam'd by the cardinal's information, that they were termed *dati in reprobum sensum*, given up to a reprobate sense, and the like, in the original bull among our records, which I should have inserted in *toto contextu intire*, but that it is too long and infamous to the hierarchy, and all religious persons. And now (saith Polydore) the cardinal's pride did so prodigiously increase, that on solemn feast-days, he would say mass after the manner of the pope himself, not only bishops and abbots serving him therein, but even dukes and earls giving him water and the towel. Besides, not contented with the cross of

York to be carried before him, he added another of his legacy, which two of the tallest priests that could be found, carried on great horses before him. Insomuch (as Polydore saith) it grew to a jest, as if one cross did not suffice for the expiation of his sins. All this yet was but a kind of prelude to that which follow'd. For, erecting a particular court of jurisdiction, which he called the Legates Court, and placing in it as judge one John Allen doctor of law, thought to be a perjurd wicked person, all manner of rapines and extortions were committed there. For making enquiry into the life of every body, no offence escap'd censure and punishment, unless privately they gave money; of which they found two commodities: one that it did cost less, the other that it exempted them from shame. Thus as the rules of conscience are in many cases of a greater extent, than those of the law, so he found means to search even into their secretest corners. Besides, under this colour he arrogated power to call in question the executors of wills, and the like. He summon'd also all religious persons of what sort soever before him; who, casting themselves at his feet, were grievously chidden, and terrify'd with expulsion, till they had compounded. Besides, all spiritual livings that fell were conferr'd on his creatures. The Archbishop of Canterbury understanding how all orders were thus ransack'd by the cardinal, goes to the king, and acquaints him with it. The king replies, 'That he should not have heard hereof but by him; 'adding, that no man is so blind anywhere, as in his own house; 'therefore, I pray you, said he, father, go to Woolsey, and tell him, if 'any thing be amiss, that he mend it.' This grave person hereupon admonishes him, and afterwards particularly told him, that in meddling with the last wills and testaments of the dead, he assum'd a power, not so much as claim'd by the pope himself; and for disposing some benefices in the gift of the nobility, and other great persons, he thought he usurp'd too much upon them. All the use Woolsey made thereof, was to hate the archbishop, with whom he was formerly offended; only because (as Polydore hath it) he stil'd himself in the superscription of his letter, *Gulielmus Frater Cantuariensis*, your brother William Cant. Yet, lest the archbishop should do him ill offices, he temper'd his speech for the time. But shortly after his agent John Allen being accus'd by one John London a priest, it appear'd sufficiently that all the former allegations against Woolsey were true; which made our king rebuke the cardinal so sharply, that after that time, he became, if not better, yet more wary than before: at this time also certain abuses about sanctuaries were taken away by the king's authority, in sequence of a bull granted to that purpose by Julius II., 1504. June 19. to Henry VII.

Let us turn our eyes on foreign businesses, now somewhat intermitted. Charles intending a journey into Spain, the French king (Aug. 1517.) offer'd him the convenience of passing through France,

and hostages for security, together with the keys of the cities he should go thorough; but Charles (as our ambassadors write) refus'd, (Sept. 7. 1517.) saying, if he landed anywhere it should be in England. According to which resolution, taking ship, he came to Spain, Aug. 25. 1517. as Sandoval hath it, (our records say, he set not to sea till Sept. 8.) where he found things much discompos'd, through the severity of the Cardinal Ximenes. Besides, there wanted not suspicion, that many would have set up his brother Ferdinand against him, whom therefore he shortly after sent to Flanders. Howsoever Ximenes dy'd, not without probability that he was poyson'd, though by whom is uncertain. Charles his first art was calling a cortes or parliament in Castilla and Leon, which pass'd not without trouble; there being no little contention, whether the people should first swear obedience to Charles, or he the observance of their ancient laws, liberties, and priviledges, which yet at last was so temper'd, as they came near in time together; though, for conserving the royal dignity, some particular persons were induc'd to swear first. He also caus'd justs and tourneys to be held (Jan. 1518.) according to the manner of that age: into which Sandoval saith, sixty cavaliers enter'd, their lances pointed with diamonds, who also encountred so roughly, that most of them were overthrown and sore hurt, and twelve horses kill'd; though yet this was little in regard of a justs that (Mar. 4.) follow'd, at which seven of the actors were kill'd outright; wherein nevertheless Charles, though very young, appear'd, breaking three lances in four cariers. After this, establishing some laws, and obtaining some money from his people, he went to Aragon, where he called a cortes likewise; and shortly after, (hearing, that since the death of Horruc Barbarossa (who from a low fortune and birth, made himself first a formidable pirate, then King of Argier) Hariadin Barbarossa his brother, succeeded in that kingdom; and in the exercise of piracy,) sent Don Hugo de Moncada Vice-roy of Sicily to Argier, with as ill success as their expeditions thither have commonly prov'd. Not long after which, news was brought him of the death of Louise of France, whom by the treaty of Noyon he should have marry'd, and of the sickness of Maximilian; who, now growing old and infirm, determin'd to make one of his grand-children emperor: assembling for this purpose a diet at Augs-burgh, and (Aug. 1518.) proposing particularly Ferdinand; as believing the electors would sooner choose him, than greaten any other prince with that accession. But as he alone could not dispose this business, so both Francis and Charles were earnest in it. Our king also not omitting to discover how Germany stood affected to him; and the rather, that the pope, as I find by our records, did encourage him thereunto. Maximilian's death upon a dissentry Jan. 12. 1519. ensuing this while Richard Pace was (May 20.) sent to Germany by our king; who (June 20.) in his dispatches certify'd with what ambition Francis



and Charles aspir'd to this dignity; saying nevertheless, that the electors of Mayentz, Colen, and Tryers stood so affected, that if our king had put in sooner, and before they were engag'd, he thought his majesty might have carry'd it, since the pope's nuncio there affirm'd still he had commission from his holiness to assist him; as being desirous it were bestow'd on any rather than either Charles or Francis, but especially on Charles. Though at last, finding that betwixt money given, and forces rais'd by Charles, he would prevail, his holiness thought fit to comply, and give his assent: and the rather, that the Duke of Saxony, whom the electors once nominated, refus'd it. Whereupon June 28. 1519. Charles was publickly chosen at Francfort; news whereof being brought to Barcelona, at first rejoic'd, but afterwards troubled him; as considering what a burden he had undertaken, especially in a time when the Turk made his approaches against Christendom. Yet, were not these all his cares; for, as his clergy in Spain was so offended at the demand of a tenth of their revenue towards a war against infidels, that there was *cessatio à Divinis*, no Divine service (as Sandoval hath it) for above four months in all the kingdom; and as the people again began a dangerous insurrection for the conservation of their liberties (which endur'd some years following, with more method than in such popular commotions are ordinarily found) so he had much to do at home. Besides the people in Austria began another no less dangerous in those parts, and of little less continuance. Again, Francis, who was now in good correspondence with our king, press'd the restitution of Navarre, according to the treaty of Noyon, and rais'd him troubles in Naples and Sicily. All which important affairs yet were pretermitted, only to comply with the ceremony (for it was no more) of receiving the imperial crown, so secure was he of all things but his title; only in the midst of these afflictions, the happy news of the discovery, and begun conquest of Mexico, and Nueva Espanna arriv'd; which, though worthy a particular relation, I shall not insert, lest I should too much increase the bulk of this history, though for giving a taste thereunto, I shall not omit to tell my reader, that Hernando Cortes, undertaker thereof, going with about 400 Spanish foot, and 15 horse, and 7 little field-pieces, into many populous, but diversly affected kingdoms, did so dexterously behave himself, that, playing the part sometimes of an ambassador, and sometimes of a soldier, he prevail'd himself of all. And, in conclusion, notwithstanding the opposition both of his countrymen and enemies, laid a foundation of a greater dominion than any man before him did. Before yet I come to the actions of the new emperor, I shall exhibit the description of Maximilian I have collected out of several authors.

This Maximilian, being king of the Romans, and call'd emperor, though never crown'd by that title, gave much occasion of discourse concerning the reason thereof: some saying, he declin'd the charge and

hazard of going into Italy for receiving the imperial crown at the pope's hands, others believing, that according to his often profession, he meant first to be Emperor of Constantinople, which he said was his most lawful title. As for his education, he was a prince brought up in much ignorance, yet studious to repair that defect by conversation with the more learned sort. His bounty was observ'd such, that it extended even to the disabling him in the pursuit of his designs; wherein he made a royal virtue criminal. He had treated with the princes of his time with so ill success, that he knew not in what posture to keep himself; being in the same danger for the most part, whether his faith were broken or theirs. This made him devout even to superstition. For his enterprises in the war, as they were many, so they ended differently, he getting sometimes more by a bad peace, than a just war. His spare time he employ'd in poetry, writing the history of his life in Dutch verse, which book by Pedro Mexia is call'd 'Teur danct;' and another call'd 'Puerto de la Honra.' One of his chiefest happinesses was, that his posterity came to enjoy some of the greatest and best parts of Europe. He was of the Order of the Garter, and his obsequy was solemnly kept in St. Paul's, by our king and the knights of that fellowship.

I must remember now, that at the conclusion of the treaty with France, Oct. 8, 1518. it was agreed betwixt both princes, that there should be an interview in July 1519, which yet took not effect, because of the death of Maximilian, and the occasions ensuing, formerly mentioned; therefore it was put off till 1520, both kings in the mean while agreeing not to cut off their beards, till they saw each other. Francis having also now a second son, desir'd our king to give him his name; which our king accepted kindly, calling him Henry, (afterwards king, and second of that name.) Neither did he omit any thing, which might argue his respect. Therefore he sollicitates our cardinal (whom he call'd his father and cousin) still with gifts, sends presents to the Princess Mary, and leaves nothing unattempted which might secure him on that side, knowing well how puissant an enemy he had provok'd. Charles, on the other side, considering how much it concern'd him to keep the cardinal at his devotion, countermines Francis in his own way. On which occasion I shall observe, that, as since the discoveries of the Indies, coin hath been much more plentiful, so greater matters have been done in these later times by bribes, than by the sword; those who have money (that is to say, a seed which will spring anything in corrupt minds) finding means, either in the authors or the actors in businesses, to dispose them to their ends, or at least to make advantage of the intelligence they receive from them. Francis suspecting what might follow hereupon, provides betimes to keep the Scots his friends; therefore though it was his motion formerly to comprise the young king and that nation in general within his league with England, yet

now he strives as much to withdraw them: therefore when our king sent to require their oath thereunto, they refus'd; so that all that business ended in a truce only for one year. And here I must not omit to relate the cardinal's extream ambition; who having a design to make himself pope, did ever comply with those, who he thought might be his best assistants. Therefore now that Charles was grown the more potent, and that, besides it was manifest, that, to which party soever our king inclin'd, he would turn the ballance, he hop'd by favouring Charles to obtain his desire. Neither wanted he continual presents on his part equal to, if not exceeding the others; so that now he rejected the assistance of Francis, though offering him the voices of fourteen cardinals (as I find by our records) and applies himself to Charles; nevertheless the design for the interview with Francis continu'd; which being minuted by our ambassador Sir Thomas Bolen, was continu'd by his successor in France Sir Richard Wingfield; among whose dispatches (extant in our records) I find this passage in a letter to the king, Mar. 16. 'I have presented to the French king the sword, for the nimble handling whereof, he hath nor knoweth no feat, but thought it not maniable: and call'd the admiral to him, and caus'd him to feel the weight thereof, who shew'd him, that he had seen your grace weild one more weighty. But for such promise as he had made your highness, he might not discover it; saving that it was by means of a gantlet. The French king desires one of those gantlets, and he will send your grace such a pair of cuirasses, as your grace hath not seen, the secret whereof is for the easybearing of such weight, as rests upon the cuirasses, which is commonly born by the shoulders, and in this cuirass the shoulder bears no burden.' All which I have set down, to awaken the industry of these times in such inventions. I will come now to the order of the interview, remitted both by our king and Francis unto the cardinal's direction. Who accordingly, upon the 12th of March, 1520, declar'd this order. 'That, in regard his king was to pass the seas, to his danger and cost, and should leave his kingdom, only to do Francis honour: therefore that the interview should not be in a neutral place, but that King Henry, his queen, and the Queen Dowager of France should come to Guisnes, and the French king, his queen, and Madame Louise his mother, to Ardres, before the end of May next; and then that, before 4th of June following, King Henry should go half a league towards Ardres, without passing yet the limits of Guisnes or the English pale, and there, in some open place, near the confines of the French, (which should be declar'd by deputies on either side) the said French king parting from Ardres the same day, and hour, and coming to the said place (where no tent was to be pitch'd) should meet the said King Henry within his own territories, and there should salute one another, and speak together on horseback, as long as they pleas'd.



'This being done, that the French king should return to Ardres, and King Henry to Guisnes. The next day that the said kings should meet in some neutral place, to be nominated by their deputies; where, after salutations on both sides, King Henry should go to Ardres to see and dine with the Queen of France, and his mother, and the French king to Guisnes, to see and dine with the Queen of England, and Dowager of France. That the said interview should be celebrated with tourneys and justs, and exercises of arms, as well on foot, as on horseback, in some place chosen by the said deputies, betwixt Guisnes and Ardres; which should be ditch'd, fortified, and guarded by an equal number of persons to be appointed by the said kings. And that, during the said exercises of arms, the queens and their train might familiarly converse together, in the evening still returning to their several lodgings of Ardres and Guisnes. That the honour and precedence, should be given to them still, who came to see the other. That the number of the persons and horses permitted to be at this interview, should be sign'd in certain rolls by the said kings, and should not be increas'd without mutual consent. That two gentlemen with an equal number of followers should watch continually upon the highways, as well for surety of the said king's persons, as for the safer conducting the victuals. And that these every night should give account, to their several kings and councellors, of their charge. That the soldiers of the garrisons of Boulogne and Calais should not come near without express license of both kings.' I find also that it was agreed, 'that the number of strokes at tourney should be determin'd by the ladies; who therefore were requir'd to come thither from all places, that could furnish beauty, and worth enough to deserve so much honour.' This being concluded, the Earl of Worcester, on our king's part, and Monsieur de Castillon, on the part of Francis, laid out the ground for these triumphs, between Guisnes and Ardres, but within the English pale. While these magnificences were preparing, much discourse pass'd betwixt both princes, and the ambassadors resident in either court, concerning the ancient forms us'd at great solemnities. Among which it appears, in a dispatch of Wingfield's, that Francis told him, how he had heard that our Edward, (I think he meant Edward III.) was us'd at such times to have his meat carry'd up by cavaliers on horse-back. But to let these things pass, and come to our history, I find Francis pursu'd still his point, and is so confident now of the cardinal's favour, that he durst make an overture to him, for restoring Calais, and all the other towns in the English pale for a certain sum of money. Neither was it ill entertain'd by the cardinal; though the difficulty of effecting it did somewhat deter him. For as the narrow seas have been (time out of mind) under the jurisdiction of the English, and that our ships, in making and keeping the passage over, were a kind of bridge, so it could not

but seem strange, to every man well affected to his country, that any motion should be made, whereby we might loose the further end thereof, and therein deprive our selves of a landing-place. Therefore the cardinal did not think fit to propose the business at once, nor without discovering first, how it could take with the general sort. For this purpose, then, he would cast out these words in his ordinary speech, and at his table ; whensoever there was question of foreign 'business, 'What have we to do with this Calais, that lies in the continent, and costs us more than it is worth ? I would we were honestly 'rid of it.'

The time now drew near, when, according to the agreement, the two kings were to meet betwixt Guisnes and Ardres. This also was seconded much by the cardinal, who between pride and vanity, desir'd to see these two together ; whom he was generally thought to govern. He knew also his presents would not be little ; therefore he perswaded our king to build some such house near Guisnes, as might be worthy the reception of two so great princes. To perform this, two thousand artificers were appointed. The model whereof is still extant in Greenwich, among those many rare pictures, which the most vertuous prince, King Charles, my good king and master hath. The cardinal also summons the prime nobility to attend the king this journey, with that splendor which might become persons of their dignity. Some of the more thrifty sort yet, and especially the Duke of Buckingham repin'd hereat, laying the fault of this expence on the cardinal chiefly, who hearing thereof, for this as well as some other causes, hereafter mention'd, resolv'd his ruine.

Charles the emperor hearing now of these preparations for the interview, thought fit personally to treat with our king, concerning the breaking it off, as well as all other friendship with Francis. For those ambassadors whom he had sent before to the English court for this purpose, had fail'd, our king alleging to them for all other reasons, his promise given. Neither could they deny, but the engagement was deep ; for a king of arms had been in the English court on the part of Francis, with a proclamation, declaring that, in June next, the two kings, Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would, in a camp betwixt Ardres and Guisnes, answer all comers that were gentlemen, at tilt, tourney, and barriers. The like proclamation was made by Clarenceaux in the French court. And yet these defies stopt not there, for they were sent by our king to the Low-Countries, Burgundy, Germany, and by Francis into Spain, and Italy. And now our principal noblemen had made themselves ready to attend the king. Among whom, none was so gorgeous as the Duke of Buckingham ; who, finding the king yet not ready to set forth, went before to see some lands he had in Kent. But his tenants exclaiming there against one Charles Knevet, his steward or surveyor, for exacting on them, the duke discharg'd

him. This piece of justice yet prov'd afterwards the cause of his overthrow, as shall be declar'd in his place, so fatal was it to that house of the Staffords to suffer by their servants. Our king finding now the time of meeting to grow near, comes to Canterbury, May 25, intending there to pass his Whitsontide. This while Charles the emperor had so laid his journey from Spain, that the day following, himself accompany'd with divers, not only lords but fair ladies, comes unexpectedly to Dover. Our cardinal hearing this, (May 26.) posted away presently, to assure him of his welcome. Our king also the next day after, very early, came to Dover Castle, where the emperor was lodg'd, who met him on the stairs, where being saluted by our king, and afterwards conducted to his chamber, Charles continues his design to break this interview, as well, as all other correspondence with Francis : for both Charles and Francis had great designs at that time ; Francis desir'd to hold the territory of Milan, and to recover Naples, (which the French having (1494) once got under Charles VIII., did again so suddenly loose, (1495) that it seem'd no place there was strong enough either to hold them out or keep them in) besides, he purpos'd to re-establish Henry d'Albret in the kingdom of Navarre, according to the Treaty of Noyon. Again, the Duke of Gueldres, being taken under his protection, he could do no less that defend him against Charles, who labour'd to bring that province into subjection : but especially, the right he conceiv'd to have in the dutchy of Burgundy, he desir'd to conserve, against the pretences of Charles ; who, on the other side, endeavour'd to oppose him in all these places ; and was, besides, offended that Francis, declining an accord made (1515) before in Paris, had (1516.) extorted from him new conditions in the treaty at Noyon. Therefore, knowing no prince could so much help or hinder him in these affairs, as our king, he offers more advantageous conditions than Francis did. And to make this the more acceptable yet, he had largely both presented the cardinal, and promis'd (if ever occasion happen'd) to make him pope. And that he might the better in gifts exceed his competitor Francis, a great part of the spoils of Mexico had been brought him. In the first part our king excus'd himself, as being far engag'd in honour to meet Francis ; but for the latter, he bid him be confident, as soon as this interview was past. From thence then, our king invited him to Canterbury, where (May 27.) he gladly saw his aunt Queen Katherine ; the Queen Dowager of France also (once proposed for his wife) seem'd very considerable, as being for her beauty much celebrated by the English and French writers. And, if we may believe Polydore, his passion in seeing of her was sad, as he could not be persuaded to dance, and not that Spanish gravity, which, in his age, and amongst such company, might well have been laid aside. Therefore, having pass'd over the Whitsontide holydays in those sports and entertainments, which our king



gave him ; he (May 29.) departs to Sandwich, whence (May 30.) taking ship he arriv'd in his native country of Flanders, while our king the same day past to Dover ; and thence (May 31.) with all his train and company to Calais. The fourth of June, the king, two queens, and all the rest, who were assign'd in his roll or list, remov'd to his princely lodging near Guisnes, being a square of timber, whereof every side contain'd 328 foot, with a savage before it, carrying a bow and arrows, and the words '*Cui adhæreo præest*;' he governs with whom I side : the parts of which great building, having been artificially framed in England, were now put together, and afterwards taken asunder, and brought home. This, again, was most sumptuously furnish'd, especially the chapel ; from which a private gallery reached to the strong castle of Guisnes. The house for Francis (near Ardres) was a building rather great than costly, as being erected with such materials, as could be gotten in haste ; his first intention being to lodge in a rich pavilion of cloth of gold, until the wind threw it down. Before yet these kings met together, the cardinal went to see Francis, and treat with him concerning some particulars, about the marriage betwixt the Dauphin and Princess Mary : the substance whereof was, (as I find by the French records) that after the million of crowns (agreed on in May 1515.) were satisfied, Francis should pay at Calais 100,000 livres Tournois yearly to our king, until the marriage were solemnized in the face of the Church ; and so, during the life of the said Henry ; after which, if the Dauphin should in right of his wife, be king of England, to her and her heirs. But if the marriage were not accomplished, then the said payment should cease. As for the differences betwixt England and Scotland, that madam, the king's mother, and the cardinal of York should determine them : all which were concluded June 6. 1520. The day following the interview began. The signal of departing was a warning piece, to be shot, when either of the kings were ready. This being given, they both issued forth royally attended. There was some stay yet, upon a report, that the numbers exceeded the lists agreed on. Francis stopp'd first, and our king afterwards ; it being told him by the Lord Abergavenny, the French were twice as many. But the Earl of Shrewsbury affirming, that the French were more afraid of the English, than the English of them, they went on, our king (being thought the goodliest prince of his time) appearing somewhat before the rest. The French king beholding the demeanour of the English a while, rode himself also before his train, the Duke of Bourbon bearing a naked sword before him, and his admiral and master of the horse following him. Our king observing this, caus'd the Marquiss Dorset, who bare the sword of estate, to draw it, and go on likewise. At last coming near, and the trumpets sounding on both sides, they both alighted in the valley of Andren, and saluted each other, passing from thence arm in arm to a tent of cloth of gold erected there (the

first agreement concerning these points, being it seems so much alter'd.) Where, compliments being pass'd on both sides, they took leave, and return'd to their several lodgings. Upon the 9th, both kings came to view the camp, or place of exercise, being 300 yards long and 106 broad, well ditch'd and fenc'd, save at the entries; having on the side scaffolds erected for the beholders. There were also set up two artificial trees (the one a hawthorne for Henry our king, the other a frambousier or raspis-bush for Francis) with the arms of the two kings and their several aids, on which also the articles of justs, tourney and barriers were fastned. The aiders on the English side were the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquiss Dorset, Sir William Kingston, Sir Richard Jertingham, Sir Giles Capel, Mr. Nicholas Carewe, and Mr. Anthony Knevet. On the French party were Monsieur le Duc de Vendosme, Mr. de Saint Pol, Mr. de Montmorancy, Mr. de Bryon, Mr. de Saint Mesme, Maister de Brucall, and Maister Tabanes. To encounter these again, divers noble persons, and good cavaliers, came from foreign countries; who, presenting their arms to the heralds, were thereupon admitted to the exercise, being appointed upon Monday the 11th, when the queens on both sides and ladies coming to the place, the kings armed themselves, with their aids, who did wear suitable liveries on either side. I will not here particularly set down the courses of these champions, since Hall, who seems to have been an eye-witness, relates them at large. And less shall I recount their devices, approaching much to the Rebus of Picardie; according (perchance) to the manner of that time. Let it suffice that, among all, none did better (if so well) as the two kings, and especially ours; who disabled Monsieur de Grandeville at the second course to run any more that day. Monsieur de Montmorancy held him yet better to it, yet so, as to get no advantage. This exercise continued four days together: the next day the French king came early to Guisnes, with a small train; our king also (after giving him his *bien-venu*) departing with the like equipage to Ardres; so that they pass'd that day with feasting and dancing with the queens and other ladies on either side. Only I observe our king's manner was more genteel than that of Francis: for, coming disguis'd in masking clothes, he not only prevented treachery against his person, when any was intended, but avoided contestation for precedence in his return home, that night, when he met Francis by the way. On Sunday (June. 17) they repos'd, for the honour of that day; and on Monday for foul weather. On Tuesday they continued their courses with a like honour: on Wednesday, being the twentieth, the tourney began; where with swords was a rude chammaillis; yet the kings and their aids beat the counter-party to a disarming: where our king, particularly, got that honour, that a brave French nobleman, with whom he fought, presented him his horse as a gage of his being overcome. The next day our king in tourney

likewise broke the poldron of Mons. de Fluranges, and made him depart the camp. But this sport was so rough, that four of the aids being hurt, others were substituted in their places. The 22nd, the barriers began ; and, after it, the casting of hand-spears or darts, with the target, and fighting with the two-handed sword. At which exercise likewise much commendation was given to either king. For celebrating these magnificences also, the cardinal solemnly sung an high mass, being attended in the most pontifical manner. At the close whereof, he dispensed the treasure of the Roman Church (being the indulgences granted by Leo X.) unto the two kings, who that day din'd together by themselves, their queens eating together also in another room : this being done, they both turn'd to barriers, where our king, with a few stroaks, disarm'd his adversary. The next day our king, with his sister Queen Mary, went in masking apparel to see the French queen at Ardres, Francis likewise going to the English queen. At the return they alighted, and after many compliments, embraces, and rich presents to each other, bid adieu the 24th of June. Polydore observes yet, that there was some abruptness in the farewell ; and saith, Francis told our king, 'that our nation did not well comply with 'the French in their mutual visits.' But our king putting this off discreetly, their discourse passed no further. And perchance the occasion of this *mal entendu*, was, that the French gave forth, Calais should be delivered up for money. The next day the king and all his train departed to Calais, giving license unto many there to return unto England. Upon the 10th of July, the emperor being at Graveling, (with his aunt the Lady Margaret) our king (at their request) admits another interview. To this purpose going towards Graveling, the emperor met him on the way, and conducted him thither, giving for the rest to the English all that good entertainment so little a place could afford. The next day, the emperor and his aunt, the Lady Margaret, went with our king to Calais, where much maskings, and magnificences passing, businesses yet were not forgot. For our king (together with Monsieur de-la-Roche, employ'd for Francis) read and offer'd to Charles (now emperor) the tripartite league, sign'd betwixt them formerly ; requiring him to enter thereunto by the name of emperor (as I conceive it.) But the emperor having formerly sign'd the league by the name of Charles, and besides desiring more the accomplishing of his designs in Italy, and elsewhere, than to confirm that agreement, so deferr'd or avoided this proposition, that I find not what effect it presently took. But it is probable he was not willing to engage our king any further in the affairs, betwixt himself and Francis, as thinking that he was alone too strong for his adversary. He would also have gone out of town that night ; being, the third after his coming ; but our king using a courteous kind of violence to make him stay, the rumour went among the emperor's servants, that he was



detain'd ; but the next day clear'd this : for the emperor, being conducted some part of his way towards Graveling, was courteously bid farewell, and presented with a brave courser richly trapped. The French king hearing of these kind passages, and remembering particularly that Charles, by his first agreement, had constituted our king arbiter of all emergent differences, took this interview extremely ill ; and the rather, that he heard some muttering of a match proposed by the Lady Margaret, betwixt the emperor and the Princess Mary, though a child. Which yet was a mistake, it being not treated of seriously (as the Spanish writers have it) till near two years after ; and not before the French had both broken the common league, and given new provocations by their practices in Scotland. Our king having now no more to do at Calais, took the first fair wind, and, with all his train, came safely into England.

I shall return now to the business of Luther, whom Leo cited to Rome, 1518, giving (August 23.) order also to Cardinal Cajetan his legat in Germany, to oppose his doctrine, not omitting letters to this purpose, both to Frederick Duke of Saxony, and to the superior of the Augustines in Germany : whereupon Cajetan, in divers conferences at the Diet of Augsburg, labours to convert him, but in vain. At last Luther, being threatened by Cajetan in the pope's name, he (October 19.) appeals to him, in the form usual in these cases, '*Tanquam à pontifice minus edocto ad eundem rectius edocendum ;*' from the pope under misinformation, to the same pope better informed ; but desires, withal, he might answer for himself in Germany, and that caution might be given for his safety ; since what was controverted by him, did not appear as yet to be positively defin'd any way by the Church. Leo, this while, to make good his authority, grants (Nov. 11. 1518.) new indulgences, which no man should reject unless he would be excommunicate, etc. Luther, finding, thus, no hope of alteration, and besides that he was branded with the name of heretick, (Nov. 28. 1518, March 30. 1519.) appeals from Leo to a general council ; yet writes to the pope, (1519.) a very submissive letter, wherein he protests, 'That he 'was never intended to fall away from the Church. That all he said, 'was chiefly intended against those who abused the power of indulgences ; concerning which therefore he would speak no more, so that 'his adversaries were likewise silenced ; briefly, that he would omit 'nothing, which might concern peace in religion.'

Maximilian dying about this time, Luther had some respite. Men's eyes being turned more on him, who was to succeed Maximilian, than any other argument. Besides, he seemed now unwilling any longer to dispute the pope's authority, to which his adversaries enviously reduced all the controverted point. Yet as Ulricus Zuinglius appeared about this time at Zurich, to consent with Luther in many things, and that a letter of Erasmus also, dated 1519, did much encourage him, so he

began to recover force. That of Erasmus (extant l. 6. Epistol.) telling him, 'He had some favourers in the Low-Countries, but many in England, and among them divers principal persons; that yet he should do well to use modesty and discretion; Christ having thereby both instituted His doctrine, and His Apostle Paul destroyed the Jewish law, only by referring the doctrine and precepts contained therein unto allegorie. That he should do well to speak against those rather who abused the papal authority, than against the pope himself. In conclusion, that he should take heed of doing anything out of anger, hate, or vain-glory.' Philip Melancthon also, a learned, pious, and charitable man, did many ways second Luther. Concerning all whom, and many more famous scholars, who liv'd at that time, it may be observ'd, that had they agreed among themselves, and not ambitiously affected singularity in some one point or other, they might have found more followers of their doctrine, and consequently have oblig'd the pope either to cut off some points as superfluous, or to have recommended them with more indifferency to the people. Howsoever, all these persons concurring with Luther in great part, gave him that courage, that whereas at first he disputed chiefly concerning purgatory, true penitency, (or penance) the office or duty of charity, and indulgences and pardons, he began now to question the pope's authority, images in churches, the ccelibate of priests, and some other points tending hereunto. As this yet got him great fame, so it procur'd him many enemies; before whom, that he might give an account of his doctrine, he comes to conference at Lipsick, 1519, accompany'd with Philip Melancthon, where (July. 4.) John Eccius oppos'd him, desiring to begin his disputation at the pope's authority; but Luther, conceiving this was to make him odious, labours to decline the question; for the rest, thinking fit only to send unto the pope; to whom, about the beginning of 1520, he (April 6.) writes to this effect. 'That, though he appeal'd from him heretofore to a general council, it was not with an ill mind, as having in his continual prayers solicited the Almighty for him. That he could not deny himself to be sharp and censorious enough, when offence was given; yet that he ever thought well of his holiness in particular, only it griev'd him that he liv'd in so wicked a court as that of his at Rome, which he said was now become another Babylon or Sodom; that he being amidst such people, as a lamb amongst wolves, it were pity he should any longer reside there. That it were better for him therefore to leave all, and descend to some simple parsonage or living, or otherwise to maintain himself with what he had gotten already, than to hazard himself to such pestilencies and infections; that, in this advice, he did but imitate Bernard, who did deplore the estate of Eugenius, when Rome was far purer than at this day.' In conclusion, 'he recommends to him his late book entituled, "*De libertate Christiana*."

But whatsoever Luther's advice was, I cannot believe him so simple, as to suppose his words had either the power or spells to call the pope from his seat ; or that tenderness of conscience to live among wicked persons, was enough to make him forsake, together with his charge, all his dignities and honours ; therefore I believe he meant this, as the pope himself understood it, only for a pasquil, or satyr ; which made him also assemble the cardinals, and consult with them herein, who all condemn'd Luther ; yet not so, but it was wish'd by some, a reformation of divers abuses had either preceded Luther's admonition, or at least accompany'd it at that time, when in humble and modest terms he submitted himself to the Church. That their arrogating supream power in temporal things, had made divers princes disaffect their government, who yet embrac'd their doctrine. That, therefore, it was not safe to suffer them to have an author for deserting the Church, who had already sought occasions for it, in the late Council of Pisa, (1512.) and elsewhere ; neither was it a good argument, to say, that Luther was a dangerous person ; since, the more hurt he could do, the less he was to be forc'd to extremities ; as having betwixt his wit and favourers, enough to trouble all things : briefly, that, to avoid his venomous doctrine, the best way was, not to urge him to cast it forth, but rather (if it could be done handsomly) to quiet him by bestowing some ecclesiastical preferment. But so haughty were the major part of the spirits in this assembly, that rejecting this politick advice, they (June 15.) condemn'd Luther's books to the fire ; but Luther growing hereupon but more fierce, was at length excommunicated, and his books burnt. He, on the other side, striving to revenge this, at Wittenburg, in a full assembly of scholars, burns (Dec. 10.) the book call'd '*Jus Pontificum* ;' warning men besides to take heed of the papal government, and doctrines, appealing again to a council. Charles, understanding these passages, was much troubled, as foreseeing the following dissensions. Nevertheless, he temper'd businesses so, as he held the pope thereby in some suspence ; therefore he would not precipitate his sentence against Luther, or so much as censure him, till he were publicly heard. For which purpose, (after his being (Oct. 23.) crown'd solemnly at Aix) he assembled a dyet (Jan. 6. 1521.) at Worms, whether he call'd Luther, giving him a safe conduct also, to go and return. Whereupon Luther came in his fryers habit, but refusing to retract his opinions, he and his favourers were (April 16.) proscrib'd by decree or edict. Howbeit, as this did rather punish than convince him ; our king (being at leisure now from wars, and for the rest delighting much in learning) thought he could not give better proof either of his zeal or education, than to write against Luther. To this also he was exasperated, that Luther had oftentimes spoken contemptuously of the learned Thomas of Aquine, who yet was so much in request with the king, and especially the cardinal, that (as Polydore hath it) he was therefore call'd Thomis-



ticus. Our king hereupon compiles a book, wherein he strenuously opposes Luther in the point of indulgences, number of sacraments, the papal authority, and other particulars, to be seen in that his work, entituled, 'De sept. Sacramentis;' a principal copy whereof, richly bound, being sent to Leo, I remember myself to have seen in the Vatican library. The manner of delivery (Oct. 10.) whereof (as I find it in our record) was thus; Doctor John Clarke Dean of Windsor, our king's ambassador, appearing in full consistory, the pope, knowing the glorious present he brought, first gave him his foot, and then his cheeks to kiss; then receiving the book, he promis'd to do as much for approbation thereof to all Christian princes (which our king much desir'd) as ever was done for Saint Augustin's or Saint Hierom's works; assuring him withal, that the next consistory he would bestow a publick title on our king: which having been (1515-16.) heretofore privately debated among the cardinals, and those of Protector or Defender of the Roman Church, or of the Apostolical Chair; or Apostolical, or Orthodox King. Protector, or *Defensor Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, or *Sedis Apostolicæ*, or *Rex Apostolicus*, or *Orthodoxus*, produc'd, they at last agreed on DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. *Defensor Fidei*. A transcript of which bull (out of an original *sub plumbo* in our records) I have here inserted.

'Leo Episcopus servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio, 'Henrico Angliæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, salutem et amplissimam ben. 'Ex supernæ dispositionis arbitrio, licet imparibus meritis, universalis 'ecclesia regimini præsidentes, ad hoc cordis nostri longe lateque 'diffundimus cogitatus, ut fides Catholica, sine qua nemo proficit ad 'salutem; continuum suscipiat incrementum; et ut ea, quæ pro 'cohibendis conatibus illam deprimere, aut pravis mendacibusque 'commentis pervertere et denigrare molientium, sanâ Christi fidelium 'præsertim dignitate regali fulgentium doctrinâ sunt disposita, continuis 'proficiant incrementis, partes nostri ministerii et operam impendimus 'efficaces. Et sicut alii Romani pontifices prædecessores nostri Catho- 'licos principes, prout rerum et temporum qualitas exigebat, speci- 'alibus favoribus prosequi consueverunt, illos præsertim qui, procellosis 'temporibus, et rabida schismaticorum et hereticorum fervente perfidia, 'non solum in fidei serenitate et devotione illibata, sacrosanctæ Romanæ 'ecclesiæ immobiles perstiterunt, verum etiam tanquam ipsius ecclesiæ 'legitimi filii, ac fortissimi athletæ schismaticorum et hæreticorum 'insanis furoribus spiritualiter et temporaliter se opposuerunt: ita 'etiam nos majestatem tuam propter excelsa et immortalia ejus erga 'nos et hanc sanctam sedem, in qua permissione divinâ sedemus, 'opera et gesta condignis et immortalibus præconiis et laudibus efferre 'desideramus, ac ea sibi considerare, propter quæ invigilare debeat, 'à grege Dominico lupos arcere, et putrida membra, quæ mysticum

'Christi corpus inficiunt, ferro et materiali gladio abscindere, et nutan-  
 'tium corda fidelium in fidei soliditate confirmare. Sane cum nuper  
 'dilectus filius Johannes Clarke, majestatis tuæ apud nos orator, in  
 'consistorio nostro coram venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctæ  
 'Romanæ Ecclesiæ cardinalibus, et compluribus aliis Romanæ curiæ  
 'prælatiis, librum, quem majestas tua charitate, quæ omnia sedulo et  
 'nihil perperam agit, fideique Catholicæ zelo accensa et devotionis erga  
 'nos et hanc sanctam sedem fervore inflammata contra erroris diver-  
 'sorum hæreticorum sæpius ab hac sancta sede damnatos, nuperque  
 'per Martinum Lutherum suscitatos et innovatos tanquam nobile, et  
 'salutare quoddam antidotum composuit, nobis examinandum, et  
 'deinde autoritate nostra approbandum obtulisset, ac luculenta ora-  
 'tione sua exposuisset majestatem tuam paratam ac dispositam esse,  
 'ut, quemadmodum veris rationibus et irrefragabilibus sacræ Scripturæ  
 'ac sanctorum patrum autoritatibus, notorios errores ejusdem Martini  
 'Lutheri confutaverit, ita etiam omnes eos sepi et defensare præsum-  
 'mentes totius regni viribus et armis persequatur; nosque ejus libri  
 'admirabilem quandam et cœlestis gratiæ rore conspersam doctrinam  
 'diligenter accurateque introspexissemus; Omnipotenti Deo, a quo  
 'omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum est, immensas  
 'gratias egimus, quî optimam et ad omne bonum inclinatam mentem  
 'tuam inspirare, eique tantam gratiam supernè infundere dignatus  
 'fuit, ut ea scriberes, quibus sanctam ejus fidem contra novum errorum  
 'damnatorum hujusmodi suscitatore defenderes, ac reliquos reges et  
 'principes Christianos tuo exemplo invitares, ut ipsi etiam orthodoxæ  
 'fidei et evangelicæ veritati in periculum et discrimen adductæ, omni  
 'ope sua addesse opportuneque favere vellent. Æquum autem esse  
 'censentes, eos, qui pro fidei Christi hujusmodi defensione pios labores  
 'susceperunt, omni laude et honore officere; volentesque non solùm  
 'ea quæ majestas tua contra eundem Martinum Lutherum absolutissima  
 'doctrina nec minori eloquentia scripsit, condignis laudibus extollere  
 'ac magnificare, autoritateque nostra approbare et confirmare, sed  
 'etiam majestatem ipsam tuam tali honore ac titulo decorare, ut nostris  
 'ac perpetuis futuris temporibus Christi fideles omnes intelligant, quàm  
 'gratum acceptumque nobis fuerit majestatis tuæ munus, hoc præsertim  
 'tempore, nobis oblatum; nos, qui, Petri, quem Christus in cœlum  
 'ascensurus vicarium suum in terris reliquit, et cui curam gregis sui  
 'commissit, veri successores sumus, et in hac sancta sede, qua omnes  
 'dignitates ac tituli emanant, sedemus, habita super his cum eisdem  
 'fratribus nostris matura deliberatione, de eorum unamini consilio et  
 'assensu, majestati tuæ titulum hunc, (viz.) Fidei Defensorem donare  
 'decrevimus, prout te tali titulo per præsentis insignimus; mandantes  
 'omnibus Christi fidelibus, ut majestatem tuam hoc titulo nominent, et  
 'cum ad eam scribingent, post dictionem, regi, adjungant, Fidei Defensori  
 'Et profectò, hujus tituli excellentia et dignitate ac singularibus meritis

'tuis diligenter perpensis et consideratis, nullum neque dignius neque  
'majestati tuæ convenientius nomen excogitare potuissemus : quod  
'quoties audes et leges, toties propriæ virtutis optimique meriti tui  
'recordaberis ; nec hujusmodi titulo intumesces vel in superbiam ele-  
'vaberis, sed solita tua prudentia humilior, et in fide Christi, ac devotione  
'hujus sanctæ sedis à quâ exaltatus fueris, fortior et constantior evades,  
'ac in Domino honorum omnium largitore lætaberis, perpetuum hoc et  
'immortale gloriæ tuæ monumentum posteris tuis, relinquere, illisque  
'viam ostendere, ut, si tali titulo ipsi quoque insigniri optabunt, talia  
'etiam opera efficere præclaraque majestatis tuæ vestigia sequi stu-  
'deant ; quam, prout de nobis et dominica sede optimè merita est,  
'unâ cum uxore ac filiis, ac omnibus qui à te et ab illis nascentur,  
'nostra benedictione, in nomine illius à quo illam concedendi potestas  
'nobis data est, largâ et liberali manu benedicentes, Altissimum illum,  
'qui dixit, per me reges regnant, et principes imperant, et in cujus  
'manu corda sunt regum, rogamus et obsecramus, ut eam in suo sancto  
'proposito confirmet, ejusque devotionem multiplicet, ac præclaris pro  
'sancta fide gestis ita illustret, ac toti orbi terrarum conspicuam  
'reddat, ut judicium quod de ipsa fecimus, eam tam insigni titulo deco-  
'rantes, à nemine falsum aut vanum judicari possit ; demùm, mortalis  
'hujus vitæ finito curriculo, sempiternæ illius gloriæ consortem atque  
'participem reddat.

'Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, anno incarnationis Dominicæ  
'millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo primo. quinto id. Octoboris, pon-  
'tificatus nostri anno nono.

- + 'Ego Leo X. Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus ss. Ego P. tt. S.  
'Eusebii Presb. Cardinalis ss. Ego A. tt. Sanctæ Mariæ in  
'Transtiberim Presb. Cardinalis Bonon. ss.  
'Ego laus. Scop. quatuor Coronatorum Presb. Cardinalis ma.  
'propr. ss. etc. (24. alii Cardinales.)

'Leo Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our most dearly be-  
'loved son in Christ, Henry King of England, Defender of the Faith,  
'health and apostolical benediction. We, by Divine permission, the  
'chief overseer for the government of the universal Church, though un-  
'sufficient for so great a work, do pour forth the cogitations of our  
'heart, that the Catholic faith, without which no man can attain to  
'salvation, may receive continual increase, and that those good laws  
'and constitutions decreed, by the wisdom and learning of such as are  
'in authority, especially the faithful in Christ, for restraining the  
'attempts of all that labour to oppress the same, or by wicked lies and  
'fictions seek to pervert and obscure it, may prosper with perpetual in-  
'crease, we do bestow our pains and utmost endeavour in our office  
'and ministry. And like as the Roman bishops our predecessors were



'wont to shew especial favour to the Catholic princes (according  
 'as the quality of matters and times requir'd) especially to them  
 'that in troublesome times, when the madness and perfidious deal-  
 'ings of schismaticks and hereticks most of all abound, did abide  
 'constant and immoveable not only in the soundness of faith, and  
 'pure devotion to the holy Roman Church, but also as the most  
 'legitimate sons and valiant champions of the same, oppos'd them-  
 'selves both with mind and body against the furious madness of  
 'schismaticks and hereticks. So also do we desire to extol your  
 'majesty with worthy and immortal praises, for your high and im-  
 'mortal deserts and labour toward us and this holy see, wherein by  
 'God's permission we sit, to grant unto it those things for which it  
 'ought to watch, and drive away the wolves from the Lord's flock, and  
 'to cut off with the material sword, rotten members which infect the  
 'mystical body of Christ, and to confirm the hearts of the faithful in  
 'soundness of belief. Now whereas of late our beloved son John  
 'Clerk, your majesty's orator with us, being in our consistory before  
 'our venerable brethren of the holy Roman Church, the cardinals and  
 'many other prelates of the same, exhibited a book unto us to be  
 'examined and allowed of us, which book your majesty, (who doth all  
 'things with diligence, and nothing amiss) enflamed with charity and  
 'zeal to the Catholic faith, and with ardent devotion towards us and  
 'this holy see, hath composed, as a most worthy and sovereign anti-  
 'dote against the errors of divers hereticks, often condemned by this  
 'holy see, and of late stirr'd up and brought in by Martin Luther :  
 'and your said orator hath also largely declared unto us, that your  
 'majesty is ready and purposeth, like as you have confuted the notorious  
 'errors of the said Martin, by true reason and invincible authority of  
 'sacred Scripture and ancient fathers ; so you will punish to the utter-  
 'most of your power all those of your whole kingdom, that shall presume  
 'to follow or defend them : and we have diligently and exactly perused  
 'and viewed the admirable doctrine of your said book, watered with  
 'the dew of heavenly grace, and do heartily thank Almighty God, from  
 'whom every good and perfect gift doth come, who hath vouchsafed to  
 'inspire your noble mind, inclined to every good thing, and to endure  
 'you with so great grace from heaven, as to write those things, whereby  
 'you are able to defend His holy faith, against such a new innovator of  
 'damned errors : and also incite by your example all other Christian  
 'kings and princes to be willing to favour and to further, with all their  
 'best aids, the orthodox faith, and evangelical truth, whensoever it be  
 'brought into danger or doubt. And we think it also meet, that they  
 'who have undertaken such godly labours for us, should meet their due  
 'and just commendations : and we are desirous that not only the  
 'things themselves which your majesty hath written, being both of  
 'most sound doctrine, and no less eloquence, should be extolled and

'magnified with condign commendations, and allowed and confirmed  
 'by our authority ; but also that your majesty should be graced with  
 'such an honour, and such a title, as that both for our time and ever  
 'hereafter, all men may perceive how grateful and acceptable this gift  
 'of your majesty's hath been unto us, especially offered unto us at this  
 'time. We who be the true successors of Peter, whom Christ at His  
 'ascension into heaven left His vicar on earth, and to whom He com-  
 'mitted the care of His flock : we, I say, who sit in this holy see, from  
 'which all dignities and titles do flow, upon mature deliberation had  
 'with our said brethren about these things, have by the general agree-  
 'ment and consent of them decreed to bestow upon your majesty this  
 'title, namely, the Defender of the Faith. And accordingly by these  
 'presents do instile you with such a title ; commanding all faithful  
 'Christians that they name your majesty with this title ; and when  
 'they write to you, that after the word king, they adjoyn Defender of  
 'the Faith. And truly, we diligently considering and weighing your  
 'singular merits, were not able to bethink us of a name wore worthy  
 'and convenient for your majesty, than the excellency and dignity of  
 'this title ; which so often as you shall hear and read, so often you  
 'may call to mind this your singular vertue and great desert : nor may  
 'you by this title puff up yourself with pride ; but according to your  
 'wonted prudence become more humble, and be more valiant and con-  
 'stant in the faith of Christ, and in devotion to this holy see, by which  
 'you have been exalted, rejoicing in the Lord the giver of all good  
 'things, leaving this as a perpetual and immortal monument of your  
 'glory to your children, shewing them the way unto the like ; that if  
 'they shall desire to be graced also with such a title, they must labour  
 'to do such works, and to follow the excellent steps of your majesty,  
 'whom, accordingly as you have well deserved of us, and of this said  
 'see, together with your wife and all your children that shall be born  
 'of you or of them, we bestow on you our benediction with a large and  
 'liberal hand, in the name of Him from whom the power of granting  
 'this blessing is given unto us, praying and beseeching that Almighty  
 'One, who saith, by me kings reign and princes rule, and in whose  
 'hand are the hearts of kings, that He will confirm your majesty in  
 'your holy purpose, and encrease your devotion, and by your worthy  
 'endeavours for the sacred faith, so to illustrate your renown, and make  
 'you glorious through all the world ; that this our testimony which we  
 'have given of you, adorning you with so excellent a title, may never be  
 'judged by any to be false or vain. Lastly, we desire God, that after  
 'this life ended he would make you partakers of His eternal glory.

'Given at Rome at St. Peter's, in the year of the incarnation of  
 'our Lord God, 1521. the fifth of the Ides of October, the  
 'ninth year of our papacy.

'Ego Leo X. Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus ss. etc.'

Such was the covetousness of the richer sort at this time in England that they converted many large corn-fields into pasture; hereof ensued a general decay not only of houses, but of persons, which should do their king and country service. Besides sheep, cattel, and clothes being thus within the hands of a few, the price was much inhaused. To remedy this mischief, the king caused the ancient statutes, provided on that behalf, to be looked into. And accordingly directed his commission to the justices of peace, to restore all the tillage ground that had been enclosed any time within fifty years last past, and to cause the houses anciently upon them to be re-edified; yet (as Polydore hath it) divers by compounding secretly with the cardinal, exempted themselves.

About this time Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, eminent for his high blood, and large revenue, drew on himself a dangerous suspicion; which though it was again fomented by the cardinal, who disaffected him for some speeches he had cast forth, yet, could not have overthrown him, but that some indiscretion of his own concurred. Besides, he suffered much through the ill offices of Charles Knevet, formerly mentioned; who yet durst not appear, till he saw the duke not only discountenanced, but weakned in his friends and allies. And of these I find two principally; one, Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, whose daughter the duke had married; the other, Thomas Earl of Surrey, who had married the duke's daughter. Against Northumberland, cause was taken for claiming certain wards; which, after close commitment, yet, he was forced to relinquish. Against Surrey the cardinal proceeded otherwise: for, though he hated him for drawing his dagger at him on some occasion; yet as the earl was more wary than to give new offence, he thought fit to send him away upon some honourable employment for which he found this overture.

Gerald Fitz-gerald, Earl of Kildare, made deputy in Ireland to Henry Duke of York, (now king, who at four year old was (1495.) by his father made lieutenant of that country) having done divers good services against the rebels, was (1504.) made Knight of the Garter, and enjoy'd that place till his death (1513.); when his son Gerald being substitute therein, so behaved himself, as he likewise got much credit: though, as he had the house of Ormond his enemy, and particularly Sir Pierce Butler Earl of Ossory, secret ill offices were done him; nor did it avail, that he had given his sister in marriage to the said Butler, and help'd him to recover the earldom of Ormond, detained wrongfully, since the death of James, by a bastard of that family: for it was impossible to oblige him; especially, where he found so advantageous an occasion to dissent. For as he watch'd over the Earl of Desmond, his perpetual adversary, since the division of Lancaster and York, (in which his ancestors were on the side of Lancaster, and the Kildares and Desmonds on that of York,) he discovered more



favours done the present Earl of Desmond, (whom he called a traytor) than he thought due to him ; insomuch that he complain'd to the cardinal, who thereupon sent for Kildare. Though Polydore saith, he came voluntarily into England to match with some English lady, and there behaved himself so unrespectfully to the cardinal, that he was cast into prison. But whatsoever the cause was, his charge was bestowed on the Earl of Surrey, who going to Ireland in April 1520, reduced the Earl of Desmond and others to obedience.

The Duke of Buckingham being thus exposed and unfriended, the cardinal treats secretly with Knevet, concerning him ; who thereupon discovers his late master's life ; confessing, that the duke, by way of discourse, was accustomed to say, how he meant so to use the matter, that, if King Henry died without issue, he would attain the crown, and that he would punish the cardinal. Besides, that he had spoken hereof unto George Nevill Lord Abergavenny, who married the said duke's daughter. By what means yet the duke intended particularly to effect these designs, I do not find exactly set down by Charles Knevet. Neither do the authors, who write hereof, relate his pedigree ; only our heralds say, he was descended from Anne Plantagenet, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, son to King Edward III. How far this yet might entitle him to the crown, in case King Henry should have no issue, I have neither leisure nor disposition to examine. I shall only therefore, for satisfaction of the reader select some principal points out of his indictment ; leaving the reader, for the rest, unto the search of the record : in which, the points that in my opinion made most against the duke, were ; first, 'that at (April 24. 1512. and July 22. and 1513. April 26. and 1517. July 20.) several times he had sent 'to one Hopkins, a monk in the priory of Henton, to be informed by 'him, concerning the matters he imagined ; and that the monk should 'return answer, the duke should have all ; and therefore should labour 'to procure the love of the people. 2. That the duke (April 16. 1515.) 'afterwards should go in person to the said Hopkins, who confirmed 'the said prediction, adding, that he knew it by revelation. Whereupon 'the said duke should give him several rewards. 3. That he should '(March 20. 1513. and Feb. 20. 1514.) speak to Ralph Nevill Earl of 'Westmorland (his son-in-law,) that, if ought but good come to the 'king, the Duke of Buckingham should be next in blood to the crown, 'the king having as yet no issue. That, to comply herewith, he did 'many things which argued ambition, and desire to make himself 'popular. That he (Feb. 20. 1514.) said to one Gilbert, his chancellor, 'that whatsoever was done by the king's father, was done by wrong ; 'murmuring withal against the present government. 4. And to the said 'Charles Knevet, that if he had been committed to the Tower, (whereof 'he was in danger, upon occasion of one Sir William Bulmer) he would 'have so wrought, that the principal doers thereof should not have

'cause of great rejoicing ; for he would have plaid the part which his father intended to have put in practice against King Richard III. at Salisbury, who made earnest suit to come into the presence of the said king, which suit, if he might have obtained, he having a knife secretly about him, would have thrust it into the body of King Richard, as he had made semblance to kneel down before him. And that, in speaking these words, he maliciously laid hands on his dagger, swearing, that, if he were so evil us'd, he would do his best to accomplish his intended purpose. 5. That (Sept. 10. 1519.) being in speech with Sir George Nevill, Knight, Lord Abergavenny, he said, that if the king died, he would have the rule of the realm, in spite of whosoever said the contrary ; swearing, that if the Lord Abergavenny reveal'd this, he would fight with him.' This I conceive to be the substance of the most special articles in the evidence ; which the courteous reader yet may do well to consider more at large, as they are extant on record. How far yet these particulars were proved, and in what sort, my authors deliver not. Only I find (out of our records) that the Duke of Buckingham being committed to the Tower, April 16. did, under his own hand, declare to Sir Thomas Lovell, constable of the Tower, the passages betwixt him and Hopkins, in this manner ; that is to say, 'That (1512.) the summer before our king made war in France, Hopkins sent for him ; but, not being able to go, he commanded one Delacour, his chaplain, to repair thither ; howbeit, that Hopkins said nought to him ; yet that himself came the next Lent ; where, in shrift the said monk told him, that our king should win great honour in his journey to France ; and that if the King of Scots came to England then, he should never go home again. And that, when (1513.) he asked Hopkins how he knew this, he said, *Ex Deo habeo* ; it is reveal'd to me of God. And that Hopkins demanding afterward what children the king had had, he told the number ; and that Hopkins should say thereupon, I pray God his issue continue ; for that he feared God was not contented, because he made no restitution according to his father's will, charging the duke further to advise the king's council to make restitution. Further, that he told his chancellor those words, and at his return out of France, came to Hopkins again, and said, he had told him true : also, that (another time) he came to Hopkins, together with his son Stafford, and the Earl of Westmorland ; and that Hopkins asked who he was ? and thereupon should say, that some of his blood or name should prove great men. And that, after this, Hopkins should send to the duke, to pray him, according to his promise, to help their house (being at Henton in Somersetshire) to make their conduit ; the ten pounds, formerly given by him, being spent.' And more than this he confess'd not. Notwithstanding which, when the indictment was openly read, the duke said, it was false, untrue, conspir'd, and forg'd ; to bring him to his death ; alledging (as he was

an eloquent person) many reasons to falsify the indictment. The king's attorney, on the other side, producing the examinations, confessions, and proofs of witnesses. The duke hereupon desired the witnesses, which were Knevet, Gilbert, Delacour, and Hopkins, to be brought forth. These confirming their depositions, the duke was (May 13.) tried by his peers, (being a duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons) before the Duke of Norfolk, who was for the time made lord high steward of England. They condemning him, the Duke of Norfolk deliver'd his sentence, not without tears. To which he reply'd; 'My lord of Norfolk, you have said as a traytor should 'be said unto, but I was never one. But, my lords, I nothing malign 'for what you have done to me; but the eternal God forgive you my 'death, and I do. I shall never sue to the king for life: howbeit, he is 'a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him, than I desire. 'And so I desire you, my lords, and all my fellows, to pray for me.' Whereupon he was brought back to the Tower; where all the favour he received was a message from the king, declaring his sentence was mitigated so far, that, instead of receiving the death of a traytor, he should have only his head cut off. Thus ended (May 17.) the Duke of Buckingham, much lamented by the people, (who libell'd the cardinal for it, calling him *carnificis filium*, son of a butcher,) as being thought rather criminal through folly and rash words, than any intention declar'd by overt-act against the king's person; and therefore not uncapable of his mercy; which also it was thought would not have been deny'd, had he su'd for it in fitting terms. But since at his arraignment, he did, as it were disclaim his life, he would not obtrude it; and therefore only caus'd a letter of comfort to be written to the dutchess, and Lord Stafford. Yet the tragedy ended not so; for though George Lord Abergavenny, after a few months imprisonment, was, through the king's favour, deliver'd; yet Hopkins, after a serious repentance that he had been an author of so much mischief, dy'd of grief. And here I must observe, that together with this duke, that great place of high-constable of England remains extinguish'd, unless some extraordinary occasion revive it.

I shall return here to speak of Charles V., who having, as is said, kept a diet at Wormes, did now levy forces. And the rather, that he heard war was intended against him by Solyman; who, being a martial prince, and crown'd the very same day at Constantinople, that Charles was at Aix, seem'd to have somewhat of the same ascendant; however they differ'd in their interests. Besides, it was observ'd, that as Charles V. was the eleventh emperor from Albertus, in whose time the house of the Ottomans began; so Sueliman (or Solyman) was the eleventh prince of his race. However, on their occasion, much of their subjects blood was spilt, and more would have been, had not Francis turn'd the arms of Charles upon himself. The causes of dis-



sention betwixt Charles and Francis, were, first, that Claude eldest daughter of Louis XII., and Anne of Bretagne, having by a solemn (1501.) treaty been accorded to Charles, Francis yet (May 18. 1514. 1519.) obtain'd her, and thereby eluded his hopes of Bretagne. Secondly, their mutual ambition for the empire. Thirdly, ill offices done by their courtiers betwixt them. Fourthly, but chiefly, the incompatibility of their demands for their ancient right ; whereof I find these most urg'd. Homage for Flanders and Artois requir'd by Francis, as being held anciently of the Crown of France ; which Charles yet refus'd, saying, that, since that estate was devolv'd to an emperor, it was in a higher dignity, than could be submitted to any inferior. But to this again Francis reply'd, that it derogated from no body to give what was due. Besides, that the title of a king was greater and more august than that of an emperor ; both as the power is more absolute in it self, and that it depends not on the election of others ; for which purpose a passage was alledg'd out of Matth. Paris, when the empire having been offer'd to Robert, brother of Saint Louis, the council of state refus'd it, for this reason ; saying further, it was enough that Robert was brother to so great a king. For which cause also, the French observe, that none ever aspir'd to it of the line of the Capet's, but Francis. Again, they differ'd about Milan, of which Louis XII. having gotten the (1500.) investiture, Francis did in pursuit of his right, expel Maximilian Sforza ; whose brother and successor yet was protected by Charles, and reimplac'd. Moreover, the dutchy of Burgundy was question'd by Charles. For though Louis XI. had united it to his crown, and that, for title thereunto, it was alledg'd, that John King of France had given it to his younger son Philip, to hold to him and his heirs males only ; and that Charles last Duke of Burgundy, having but one only daughter, it therefore reverted ; yet Charles understanding the business otherwise, claim'd it by a long succession of his ancestors in Burgundy. These so many pretences on either side engag'd the two princes into perpetual wars, which began this year. For Francis, (1516.) insisting still upon the treaty of Noyon, prepar'd to recover Navarre ; and to this he thought the communidadoes or insurrections in Spain (begun 1519, and continued still) would conduce. For as the people held their junto or assembly for redress of their grievances, he conceiv'd some might be drawn to his party. But he was deceiv'd ; for they mutiny'd not for his sake, but their own, as appear'd ; pretending for their chief grievances only, that their king liv'd in foreign parts, and transported their money for his occasions there, and bestow'd divers great places in Spain on strangers. So that, though they continu'd their demands with much insolency and boldness, they persisted nevertheless in their love to their prince and country, without admitting a treaty with Francis. All which yet could not preserve them. For, though they proceeded

with more sobriety and correspondence, than hath been observ'd in any popular insurrections, (as Sandoval relates it at large) they were divided at last, and overthrown by the name of rebels ; their actions being so bad and dangerous, as their intentions could not excuse them. However, Francis thought fit to make use of this occasion, and therefore, before their defeat, he levy'd forces ; and, not long after, sent Andre de Foix, Seigneur d'Asperant, and brother of the famous Lautrech, to Navarre ; where a war began, (March.) that, in divers places, lasted 38 years following (as Sandoval observes it,) and cost the lives of above 500,000 men ; the French speak of a far greater number. Their first progress was happy ; for, in less than 15 days, they took Navarre. But as they would go farther to Catalonia, and besiege Logronno (or Groyne,) the Spanish commanders, attended now with many of the comunidadoes, gave battel and overthrew them, taking De Foix prisoner ; whereupon also Navarre was regain'd in less time than it was lost, and Pamplona thenceforth better fortify'd. But not on this part only did the French shew their mal-talent, but discover'd it on this occasion also towards another coast. The Prince of Chimay contesting in law with the Seigneur d'Aymeries concerning a castle or town in the forest of Ardennes, and county of Luxemburg, call'd Hierge, gain'd his cause, by the judgment of the peers, of the dutchy of Bouillon, who determin'd business in chief ; and accordingly enjoy'd possession thereof, for many years. Howbeit Aymeries (being not contented herewith) appeal'd to the chancellor of Brabant, and prevail'd so far, that the heirs of Chimay were summon'd to give account of their title unto the emperor. But, because the sovereignty of Robert de la Mark, Duc de Bouillon, was most concern'd herein, they, for their best refuge, made complaint to him ; he again addresseth himself to the emperor, and remonstrates his right : yet, finding the cause of Aymeries likely to prevail, secretly treats with Francis, for assistance and protection. Being assur'd hereof, he (though a small prince) sends a publick defiance to Charles, being then at the diet in Wormes. The emperor, judging quickly from whence this audaciousness proceeded, prepares for war. Neither wanted he a seeming occasion. For though he ever suspected that Robert de la Mark, (as one who had serv'd heretofore the French in Italy, had his chief dependance on Francis) yet now being inform'd that Fleuranges (son unto the said Robert de la Mark) having rais'd in France about 3000 foot and 400 horse, (all voluntiers) had besieg'd Vireton, a little place in Luxemburg, appertaining to the emperor ; he nothing doubted but that the French had assisted him herein. Howbeit, Francis, considering it was not convenient to begin a war so near home, and besides, being advis'd by our king to keep the peace, signifies his dislike to Fleuranges, who thereupon (Mar. 22.) dismiss'd his forces. Notwithstanding which, Charles commands Henry, Count of Nassaw,

to go with an army against Robert de la Mark, not omitting withal to dispatch an ambassador to Francis, with intructions to protest, that Francis had first broken the treaty of 1518, by aiding Robert de la Mark. He sent word to our king also of this proceeding. Who taking the matter into consideration, pronounc'd (Oct. 2. 1518.) sentence against Francis, as the first infractor of their tripartite league; which being maturely ponder'd by Francis, (who knew well how much it concern'd him not to provoke our king, who (by an express article of the said treaty) was to fall on the first that contraven'd) made him afterwards excuse the matter, and undertake that Robert should desist from hostility. This was not so accepted by Charles, as to delay the sending of his army under Henry of Nassaw, (and not Francisco Sichino, as Jovius hath it) to seize on the dominions of Robert; who accordingly took divers places. But Robert going to the emperor hereupon, obtain'd a truce for six weeks; Henry of Nassaw in the mean time putting garrisons in the places he had won. The emperor yet not dismissing his forces, but proceeding hostilely, our king takes notice hereof, and offers Woolsey, as his lieutenant, to compose their differences. For Francis had now arm'd; as finding that, under colour of private quarrels, Tournaisis was invaded; howbeit, Woolsey was not thought by Francis a competent judge; both as some jealousies had past formerly betwixt our king and him, (as is above related) and that he knew Woolsey, depended wholly upon Charles for the papacy. Therefore he not only declin'd (as much as he could) the arbitrement of Woolsey, but shortly after dispatch'd the Duke of Albany into Scotland. However, Woolsey came 2. Aug. 1521. to Calais, and treated of an accommodation; not neglecting together to write of Charles, to make no peace with Francis during the treaty. And I doubt not but our king did gladly arbitrate this business; both as it argued his authority, and gave him means to choose his friend, when otherwise he could not reconcile them. Upon the part of Francis came the chancellor of France (Antoine du Prat) John de Selve, and Monsieur de Palisse, mareschal of France, with 400 horse. The emperor not failing on his part likewise to send proper agents, being Mercurinus Conde de Gattinara, his chancellor, and Monsieur de Berghes, and others. The pope had likewise a particular and conceal'd nuncio there, being Hieronymo de Ghinnuciis, Bishop of Ascoli; though, as he pretended, to be without authority; his business, it seem'd, was for the present, rather to espy and observe the proceedings there, than to advance the peace, as did appear afterwards. Many things were represented to the cardinal on both sides. The emperor demanded, among other things, restitution of the dutchy of Burgundy, and abolition of the homage he ow'd to the crown of France for the Low-Countries. Francis again not only refus'd this, but requir'd that Navarre might be restor'd to Henry, son of King John; and a pension



of 100,000 ducats paid him for the kingdom of Naples, according to the former contract at Noyon. But to this again Charles his minority was alledg'd as an excuse, though a weak one in princes ; they being not consider'd under the notion of their age, but dignity. Furthermore, Charles grounded his title to Naples by his mother Queen Joan, daughter and heir of Ferdinand ; so that to have paid this money, would have weaken'd his claim ; and for Navarre, it was too commodious for him to leave it ; especially when he thought Francis did no less in with-holding Burgundy. Howsoever, that Francis himself had first broken the said treaty of Noyon, by protecting the Duke of Gueldres, an ancient enemy of the house of Flanders. And for the abolition of homage, the French chancellor on the other side, particularly said, it was not the work of a treaty, but a petition, and therefore not to be handled at this time, when there was question of right only. Besides this, the dutchy of Milan bred no little contest among them. In conclusion, their demands were so obstinate, and minds so averse from peace on either side, that the cardinal could or would do no good. Hereunto, also, did concur a close and private convention betwixt Leo and Charles, mediated by the nuncio ; and a confidence that Charles had, (by the cardinal's means) that, in case of rupture, our king would incline to him, as having more pretence to his ancient dominions of France, than to any thing in the Low-Countries. Again, Charles renew'd his promise, to give him his best assistance to be elected pope, when Leo should die ; which prevail'd more than any other gift. Although (to use Polydore's words) speaking of both princes, at this time, '*Uterque ejus favorem certatim largitionibus quæritabat*,' both sought to obtain his favour by presents. This hope of the papacy therefore comforted our cardinal, now it was likely he should loose one of his customers.

The King of Hungary at this time, finding that Solyman (who inherited his father's malice) did much gain upon christendom (as having lately gotten Belgrade in Hungary) and knowing there was no way to defend himself, without an union betwixt Christian princes, sends an ambassador so opportunely, as to find our cardinal at Calais, treating of this universal peace. But such was the animosity of these two great princes, that the pious consideration of repelling the Turk, could not prevail with them. So that the cardinal, by this time, finding small hope of reconciliation, advertis'd our king thereof, and crav'd his resolution ; unto which he much prepar'd him, by giving intelligence of what had pass'd. To gain this space also, he told the French, he would go in person to Bruges, and negotiate by word of mouth with the emperor. Our cardinal departing (Aug.) hereupon, the emperor met him by the way, (a mile out of town,) accompanying this honour with all other demonstrations of affection to him and our nation. After thirteen days treaty, and agreement what was to be

done in case of rupture, (which our cardinal perceiv'd now could not be avoided,) he returns to Calais, where the French ambassadors impatiently attended him: he doth not yet discover his despair of success to them, and much less discloseth his private treaty with the emperor; but mediates still a peace, yet so, as to promise less hope of it than before, since matters were come to such extremities on both sides. For not only le Seigneur de Liques; a subject of the emperor's, upon private quarrel with the Cardinal of Bourbon, had now (Sept.) surpris'd Amand and Mortagne in Picardy, and the Bourgonians Ardres, (which they raz'd,) but the Count of Nassaw taken Mouzon, and (Oct.) besieg'd Meziertes; which yet Anne de Montmorency, and Pierce de Terrail, commonly call'd Le Chevalier Bayard, defended until Francis coming with a great army, the imperialists retir'd, and Mouzon was retaken, while the emperor, who was at Valenciennes, kept himself more covert than was expected; since Francis proceeded still: though as he discontented Charles Duke of Bourbon, who in the quality of Constable de France, thought to have the leading of the avantguard (rather than the Duke de Alanzon, brother-in-law to the king) an error was committed which cost him dear, as shall be told in its place. Notwithstanding which, Woolsey, that he might leave nothing unattempted, sends to the emperor the Lord of Saint John's, and Sir Tho. Bolen; and to the French king (lying then with a great army near Cambray) the Earl of Worcester, and Bishop of Ely; by whom he obtain'd, that the emperor should raise the siege of Tournay, before which his forces now were, and that he should recall his army in the Milanese, and that Francis should likewise retire his, and the rest should be referr'd to our king. But the taking of Feuentarabie by Bonivet intervening, Francis refus'd to render it, and so the treaty brake off. Whereupon our cardinal (who now had heard from our king) gives a kind of sentence in the business. The effect thereof was, that the French king being guilty of the first breach, our king was bound by the common treaty to assist the emperor; to which also he was the more dispos'd that the secret practices of the French in Scotland had disoblig'd him; some hopes of accommodation yet were represented, in case the emperor and Francis might be reconcil'd; but small appearance hereof being given, the cardinal concluded (Nov. 24.) a treaty with the emperor and pope against the French, the pope entring it on condition, that the emperor should restore to him Parma and Piacenza, and aid him, afterwards, against the Duke of Ferrara. The effect of the treaty was this.

Because the expedition against the Turk cannot be undertaken, until the pride and injury of the French be suppress'd; therefore between the pope, emperor, and King of England, by their several ambassadors, these following articles are concluded.

I. This treaty shall not derogate from any former, and it shall ex-

tend not only to the present possessions of the contrahents, but their future acquisitions.

II. That, when the emperor shall pass over into Spain, to provide himself of men and money, and quiet his people (which shall be the next spring) the King of England, (upon a months' warning) shall give him a convoy of ships through the channel, with at least 3000 fighting-men, with artillery, etc. together with leave to land at Dover, or Sandwich; and after honourable entertainment, shall conduct him himself to Falmouth, or some other such place. In regard whereof, if the King of England have occasion to pass over to France, the emperor shall do the like for him, till the charge be equal on both sides.

III. The contrahents shall declare themselves enemies to the French, in March 1523, and by May shall be in arms, (viz.) the pope in Italy, with a strong army; without Italy, *censuris ecclesiasticis*. Secondly, the emperor with 10,000 horse, and 30,000 foot or more, on the confines of Spain; at which time the Low-Countries and other dominions of the emperor, shall declare themselves enemies to the French, and commerce cease. Thirdly, the King of England shall pass the sea with 10,000 horse, and 30,000 foot or more, to invade France on the coasts next to him. And he hath liberty given to hire horse-men out of Germany, and foot (if he will) of the emperor's subjects. And if the King of England, upon a battle to be fought, shall stand in need of aid, the emperor's lieutenant, being inform'd of it, shall (if it be possible) help him.

IV. That, before the month of March abovesaid, the King of England, and the emperor, shall by sea, infest the French, each with 3000 fighting-men, and other provisions proportionable; joining their forces upon occasion, and not recalling their fleets, but by common consent; which if they chance to be impair'd by fight, or foul weather, they are to repair within a month. Neither shall one make any appointment, or treaty, or truce, with the common enemy, but by the consent of the other.

V. That, if, by the end of this present November, there be no peace made, between the pope, emperor, and King of France, or that the French king shall a-fresh begin the war: then the King of England, shall, at the coming of the emperor into England, declare himself enemy to the French, and within a month after certifie it to the French king. In which case, the fleet prepar'd by the King of England, for the convoy of the emperor, after his landing in Spain, shall, together with the emperor's fleet, turn themselves against the French, so infesting him by sea. Also by land each prince shall have forces against all invasion both of the French, and other princes; wherein they shall aid one another.

VI. To facilitate these designs, as soon as ever the war shall be begun against the French, the pope shall send out his censures against



him, subjecting all his dominions to the interdict ; and calling the secular arm against him ; shall warn the emperor, (as the protector and advocate of the Church) and also the King of England, to war against him, as enemy of the Church.

VII. That the emperor and King of England take on them the protection of the pope, and family of Medicis, against all whatsoever. And, on the other side, that the pope undertake the protection of them with their confederates. So that it be not permitted that one of them shall name for his confederates the enemy of the other.

VIII. The Swiss are nam'd confederates on all sides, and are to be dispos'd either to enter this league, or hold themselves neutral.

IX. That the emperor and King of England, shall in their dominions, as they have begun, proceed against those, *qui de fide Catholica male sentire videntur*, who differ in their opinions from the Catholick faith ; or that seek to wrong the authority of the apostolick see. And that in the lands and possessions which the emperor and King of England shall gain from the French, the pope shall enjoy all privileges, rights, and authority, due to the see apostolick.

X. That after the war with the French, they shall invade the Turk.

XI. They shall not treat from this time apart with any prince in prejudice of this league.

XII. That notwithstanding the emperor hath agreed marriage with the King of France's daughter, and the dauphin with the King of England's, yet, for the publick good of christendom, the emperor Charles may marry the Princess Mary ; to which end the pope shall dispense ; seeing they are cousin-germans, their mothers being two sisters.

XIII. That this convention shall be kept most secret, until it be publish'd by common consent.

XIV. That the contractors are to give their letters patents in confirmation of this treaty, within three months.

XV. That this agreement shall not derogate from any treaty that hath been between the King of England and the emperor ; so they be not contrary to this treaty.

Thus was war resolv'd against France, to begin at the appointed time. In the mean while, fishing in the narrow seas, and use of English ports, was allow'd the French till February following. While these great affairs were in agitation, our chroniclers observe, that the great seal of England being with the cardinal at Calais, many English repair'd to him to receive their dispatches, and at home the constituting of sheriffs was suspended, etc. which I remember the rather, that it was afterwards urg'd against him. And now all foreign businesses being done, the cardinal (Nov. 27.) returns to England. Where, to magnifie his negotiation, he presents our king with the bull of his title of *Defensor Fidei*, which the pope had (Aug.) put into his hands, together with a

continuation of his legantine power, only to gratifie him for his assistance against Francis ; the king on the other side (Nov. 13.) bestowing on him the abbacy of St. Albans, towards his charges in this journey. The war thus continu'd, the emperor (Dec. 19.) took Tournay, to the no little scandal of Francis, who was yet oblig'd to continue his payments for it to our king. On the other side, Francis prepares an army for Italy ; for though the mareschal Thomas de Foix (Seigneur de Lescun, and brother to Odet de Foix, Seigneur de Lautrech) had now for some time commanded Milan ; yet as he grew odious, through his manifold oppressions, the people sought occasion to revolt. Which the imperialists under Ferdinand d'Avalos, Marquiss of Pescara, understanding, requir'd the pope's assistance ; who, in conformity to his league, sent forces, whereof Prospero Colonna was chief. His first action was the besieging of Parma, which Lescun defended, until his brother Lautrech coming with an army of 20,000 Swiss, 7000 or 8000 Venetians, besides French, to relieve him ; the army of the league rose, and retir'd. But Lautrech afterwards remaining idle for some few days, 1600 of the Swiss being not well paid ; and for the rest gain'd by the Cardinal de Medicis to the contrary party, (Oct.) forsook him, and serv'd Colonna, (who thereupon marching to Milan (whether Lautrech had retir'd himself) (Nov. 23.) took it easily, the castle yet holding out ;) howbeit, Lautrech escaping to Como with 4000 Swiss, and some Venetians, and from thence to the territories of the republick ; whereupon Pavia and Parma yielded, and Cremona ; all save the castle. When the Venetians fearing the storm might fall on themselves, desir'd Lautrech to depart ; who being also forsaken of his 4000 Swiss, got into the castle of Cremona, and sent his king word of the ill success. Which the pope also hearing, and being assur'd together, that Sforza should be restor'd to Milan, was so overjoy'd, that he (Dec. 1.) dy'd thereof : (so can every passion in his turn kill) though some suspected he might die of poison.

I will conclude this year with the invention of muskets ; which Bellay saith, were first us'd in this war.

The Cardinal of York finding occasion now fair, sends (1522.) Dr. Richard Pace, Dean of St. Paul's, to Rome, to essay if by any means it were possible to make him pope. He writes also to Charles, remembring him first of his promise ; next it was represented, how unjust it would be in him, openly to have a pope of his own nominating ; there being so many businesses of his to be determined in the consistory ; that the particular utility which would redound to him thereby, ought not to be laid in ballance against the universal dishonour that both he and the whole Christian Church would suffer in such a factious and scandalous election ; especially when his business might be done in a more decent and safe way. For if the papacy were conferr'd on him, his imperial majesty might be confident he should find the same faith-

fulness he had experience of in the last treaty. Since therefore this was the best expedient for giving himself reputation; and securing his affairs, that he should not fail herein. For, as it was the place of Henry VIII. to be arbiter of christendom, it would be his to be the chief instrument thereof. For which purpose also, he should be ready ever to dispose King Henry to hold good correspondence with his imperial majesty. Neither must he think that being pope, he would alter this language; it being manifest, that the keeping up of the authority of Charles in Italy, was the only way to conserve peace in it, which our king desir'd. Some of these reasons also Pace was desir'd to scatter amongst the cardinals at Rome, to whom he was charg'd to represent how much occasion of calumny the Lutherans and other enemies of their religion would find, if an unfitting choice were made at this time. That this must follow, if any belonging either to Charles or Francis, were elected; besides that, it would make their differences irreconcilable. Or, when otherwise the papacy fell into the hands of one who could not uphold and maintain the authority of the see; as an Italian, or some other not strongly supported person: that then it must become a prey to the strongest. That the sole way to remedy these inconveniencies, was to choose him who had a king able and well affected to maintain religion and peace in these dangerous times. Our cardinal also did not forget Francis; to whom, if not favour, yet at least indifferency was promis'd, in case he were pope; and that this was more than he could hope for any other way. But before Pace could come to Rome, Adrian, Cardinal of Tortosa, heretofore tutor to Charles, and for the present residing in Spain, (where he had the quality of Governador de Castilla) was (Jan. 9.) chosen pope, though not with such an universal consent; but that (as I find by our records) our cardinal had sometimes nine, and sometimes twelve, and sometimes nineteen voices. Guicciardine seems much to wonder at this election, scurrilously terming him not only *Pontifice barbaro*, because he was a Fleming, but alledging divers other incapacities in him for that place. But the wiser sort did not think so; Charles having given those testimonies of his good affection to the peace of Italy (especially by his generous restoring of Milan to Francisco Sforza) that they nothing doubted but that he would prove their best patron and help for the expulsion of all strangers. Howsoever, that Adrian, being of a moderate and calm disposition, would prove no incendiary. Pace, though he heard by the way that Adrian was chosen, yet holds on his journey, as having second instructions to countenance his employment, when the first succeeded not; therefore, departing from Rome to Venice about July this year, he mediated a peace betwixt Charles and the Venetians, (who had hitherto held with the French, remonstrating to them the many reasons which they had to join with the emperor and King of England against Francis, who had first broken the common peace, made 1518, wherein the said



state of Venice was compriz'd, and thereby bound to fall on the infractor thereof, etc. But the Venetians being engag'd to Francis, took time only to advise thereof.

Adrian being thus chosen, Julio, Cardinal de Medicis, who aspir'd to the papacy, was highly discontented; insomuch, that forsaking the imperial party, he join'd himself with 3000 foot, and 200 horse, to the French. Francisco Matia also, who (upon Leo's death) had recover'd Urbino, adhering to them; so that, with the addition of 16,000 Swiss newly levy'd, and some troops Lautrech, the Mareschal de Foix, brought, the French had a considerable army, with which he besieg'd Pavia. But Prospero Colonna coming with the imperial forces to relieve it, Lautrech, raising the siege, offer'd battel; which yet the imperialists would not accept. This while Montmorency having taken Novara, return'd; so that the French now pursuing their point, the imperialists were forc'd to get themselves within a strong retrenchment at Bicocca. And here either side attended their advantage, the French hoping to drive the imperialists away by famine, and they again, that the Swiss for want of pay, would desert the French. That of the Swiss succeeded first; for demanding either to have their pay, or leave to depart, or at least order to fight; the French, who wanted money, chose this latter, as the less inconvenience, and (April 27.) so gave on. But being repuls'd with great loss, the next day the Swiss return'd, and the rest of the army retir'd towards Lodi and Cremona, and lastly, to the Venetian territories; while the imperialists, making use of their victory, got both these places, the castle of Cremona only excepted, which held out for the space of one whole year, though the castle of Milan yielded presently. Lautrech thus finding all things desperate, retires to France, laying the fault upon his not receiving pay for his soldiers; which yet the French say, was not for want of order from the king, but through the covetousness of his mother Louise, or the default of some officers. And now the imperialists losing no time, march'd to Genoua; in which were two factions, those of the family of the Fieschi, Adorni, and Spinola, being imperialists, and those of the Fregosi and Doria, French. That of the Fregosi govern'd now. Howsoever the imperialists enter'd (May 30.) and sack'd that rich city; which yet they quitted, when they had depos'd the Fregosi, and set up the Adorni. Francisco Sforza was restor'd also to that of Milan, the emperor not reserving to himself so much as one place in that country. And so Prospero Colonna concluded the war for this year of 1522. Nevertheless the treaties with the Venetians proceeded, which at last took effect, as shall be more particularly related.

The proceedings betwixt our king and Charles, were not kept so secret, but that they became sufficiently known to Francis, who would not yet instantly take notice of them, as being more unprovided than suddenly to bring matters to extremity. Therefore he continu'd a

while his smooth letters to the cardinal. At last, betwixt impatience, and the order he hop'd to give in Scotland and Ireland, to find our king enough to do, he began to declare himself. Therefore, his subjects having made some depredations on the English merchants, and satisfaction thereupon being requir'd, he delay'd, if not deny'd reparation. These particular offences were accompany'd with a main breach of treaty, as our king conceiv'd. For the Duke of Albany, who should have continu'd in France, was now after five year's absence, return'd to his charge of Scotland, as shall be told more largely hereafter. Our English foreseeing thus a storm likely to ensue, retire themselves betimes from France ; the merchants withdrawing their goods from the port-towns, and the scholars their persons and studies from Paris. Anne Bolen also (who is said by the French writers, to have liv'd in that court ever since she (1514.) came over with our king's sister until this time) quitted it now, and return'd to England ; where she did partake afterwards more good and ill fortune than she could reasonably imagine. Our king also writ to Francis sharply, telling him, that howsoever he excus'd himself for sending over the Duke of Albany ; yet that he knew well, nothing was done therein without his direction ; and that it was the manner of his country, *aliud clam moliri, aliud specie simulationis ostentare*, to look one way and row another, (as Polydore hath it,) reproaching him also with breach of his oath. Francis much mov'd with this rough expostulation, objecteth to King Henry the secret treaty at Bruges with the emperor 1521, requiring King Henry to declare himself. Besides, he caused all the English mens goods that remain'd, to be seiz'd on, through his kingdom, and especially those at Bourdeaux ; which seem'd so much the unjust, that divers of our merchants had not only bought wines there with ready money, but paid custom for it. Our king (March 6.) hearing this, confined the French ambassador to his house, seizeth on all other French and Scots here, and commits the better persons for a time, or until they had paid a pecuniary mulct, the poorer sort being exempt, yet upon ten days imprisonment. The vice-admiral, Sir William Fitz-Williams (being in January last, recall'd from his ambassage in France, and Sir Thomas Cheney sent in his place) also was commanded (April.) to sea with a strong fleet, to secure our merchants, and take what French he could. Moreover, because the French denied the rest of the money due, and detain'd the French queen's dower, our king caused the French hostages to be kept under an honourable, yet somewhat stricter guard, than before, without using further rigour. And whereas, Francis had desir'd him to declare himself, King Henry sent over Clarenceaux his herald, in the end of March, with his declaration ; whereby it was shew'd that because Francis was the infractor of the common peace, the King of England must take the emperor's part against him. Upon this, ambassadors were recall'd (May.) on both sides, and war expected. Howbeit, as the

Lord Brook, Sir Edward Poynings, Sir John Peachy, and Sir Edward Belknap, all brave captains, died about this time (1520.) (not of poison given at Ardres (when the interview was) as some would have it ; but of a pestilential air, as Hall relates ;) so our king lost those whose service he now most needed.

And because King Henry meant to put to sea a royal fleet, the Earl of Surrey (as being admiral of England) was recall'd from his charge in Ireland ; where having among other services, repressed the irruptions of the O-Neale's and O-Carrol's, he so govern'd the land that he both did his prince an acceptable service, and gain'd the love of the civil people of that country ; leaving (after a parliament he held there from June, 1521, to the end of March 1522,) Pierce Butler lord deputy ; who yet kept not long possession of this honour, as shall be shew'd in its due place.

The cardinal about this time, whether for ostentation of his power, or redeeming the people's favour, caus'd the preacher's at St. Paul's Cross in London, to publish, that all those who would eat white-meats that Lent ensuing, should, without paying any thing, be exempt from punishment and sin. But the people unwilling to be caught by those baits, so contemptuously rejected this offer, that the cardinal might easily judge how ungracious he was with them. But as the manner of the most subtle sort of favourites hath been not to study so much good as great actions, as hoping thereby to amuse and entertain their princes ; so this cardinal, by the perpetual variation (he seem'd to cause) in the affairs of christendom, held not only the minds of the people in attention and suspense, but made his counsels more considerable to the king, than if he had pursued any one way. The last change, whereof he was author, had its chief overture at Bruges, where among other things, the emperor resolv'd to repair to England, to speak with our king, more particularly, concerning the general affairs of christendom, and to treat of a match betwixt himself and the princess Mary, daughter to our king. And finally (which our king took for a singular honour) to be install'd personally of the Order of the Garter at Windsor, while himself sate there as chief. For after his (1513.) retaining Maximilian the emperor in pay, the next great testimony of respect this world could give him (he thought) was, that so brave and great an emperor as Charles, should, in so busy and difficult times, undertake a voyage, to be admitted into that most noble fellowship. Into which also Ferdinand his brother, afterwards emperor, was elected the last St. George's day, (viz.) April 23. 1522, and had the order and habits sent him to Noremberg, where, being the emperor's lieutenant, he held a diet that year. And now, for the more magnificent reception of the emperor, the Marquiss Dorset was sent to Calais, and the cardinal to Dover ; whither, upon the 26th of May, 1522, (being about the time his forces enter'd and sack'd Genoua) the emperor arriv'd. The cardinal first assur'd him of his



welcome ; which our king following (May 28.) presently afterwards, confirm'd. From hence the king conducted (June 2.) him to Greenwich, where the queen (his aunt) with much joy attended him. Hence again the king, riding in great pomp through London, conducted (June 6.) him to his lodging in Blackfryars : his train being plac'd in the new beautiful palace at Bridewell. To relate the justs and other solemnities on this occasion, or to tell how often dukes, earls, and lords gave water to the cardinal at an high mass in Paul's, (where the princes were on Whitsunday) is not my intention. Only for the rarity I cannot omit that on June 19. the emperor wearing the robes of the order, and sitting in his stall at Windsor, accompany'd the other knights in all his ceremonies and rites usual at that time : which being done, both he and our king receiv'd the sacrament together, and swore upon the holy evangelists to observe the league concluded betwixt them, which was to this effect, as appears by an original, subscrib'd and seal'd by Charles :

'Whereas there was lately war begun betwixt us Charles, and the 'King of France, and (by virtue of a league concluded between us and 'King Henry, and the said King of France) both we and Francis, by 'our letters, required aid of the said King Henry, one against the 'other ; and the said King of England, in the beginning of this war, to 'compose these differences, sent to Calais the most reverend father in 'God, Thomas Cardinal of York, as his lieutenant, before whom, when 'many disputes had been on both sides, who first began the war, and 'it was found that the fault was in the French king, and that he first 'began with us, not in Luxemburgh only, by Robert de la March, 'suborn'd by him, but by his captains also in Navarre, and hir'd foreign 'soldiers which were not his subjects to break the publick peace, contrary to the treaty of London ; wherefore, when the most reverend 'father aforesaid could not effect at Calais either peace or truce under 'any honourable conditions, the said King of England understanding, 'as well by the relation of the said most reverend father, as by the 'letter of Francis King of France, written to his orators and captains '(which were shew'd to the said King of England) that the said Francis 'had broken both the treaty of London, and all other treaties and 'agreements of affinity concluded between them ; not only by sending 'the Duke of Albany into Scotland (which was against his oath given) 'but also denying the King of England his pensions, and violating his 'subjects against the league : the said King of England hath resolved 'hereupon to lend us aid against him, according as he is bound by the 'treaty of London. And therefore upon treaty of a perpetual and 'stricter confederacy between us and the said King Henry, as also of 'a marriage with the Princess Mary, (we being on both sides free from 'all agreement made heretofore in this kind with the French) have 'concluded both league and alliance in the manner following :

I. The said emperor shall not contract any marriage with any woman, while the said Princess Mary is under age, but shall tarry for her, and when she is ripe, marry her ; as soon as she is twelve years old, he shall send a proxy to contract with her a marriage *per verba de præsenti*, and she shall send a proxy to him to the same purpose.

II. The King of England during this time shall not give her to any else.

III. As soon as this league is publish'd, both princes shall (at common costs) send orators to the pope, and obtain of him a dispensation sufficient for the performance of the said marriage in its due time ; notwithstanding that they are in the second degree of consanguinity and affinity ; so that the issue may be legitimate.

IV. The princess shall be transported at the King of England's charge, with all equipage and furniture fitting her dignity, within four months next following the contract *per verba de præsenti* abovesaid. And she shall be transported to Bruges, if Charles be in the Low-Countries ; if in Spain, then to the town of Bilboa ; whom within four days next ensuing, Charles shall marry publickly in the face of the Church : and, till that time, she shall remain in the hands of the commissioners of King Henry, who transport her.

V. Her dowry, which King Henry shall give with her, shall be 400,000 crowns ; whereof shall be paid the first half the day of marriage, or within eight days after ; and the other half within a year following, Charles giving acquittances. Yet, if the said princess (for want of issue male left by King Henry) shall succeed in the kingdom of England, then nothing shall be paid for dowry with her ; and whatsoever shall have been paid, shall be restored to the executors of the King of England. It is also agreed, that out of the second payment of the latter moyety (as abovesaid) of the dowry, the King of England may deduct all monies which are due to him, and formerly borrowed of him by the said now emperor, or his grandfather Maximilian, if they shall not be paid before. And the said King of England shall restore to the said emperor the deeds of obligation, and the pledges for the same. But if the King of England have a son, then the whole dowry (above assyn'd) shall be paid, and shall be increas'd to a million of crowns, by the addition of 600,000 ; which 600,000 shall be paid (after the 400,000 are paid) yearly by 200,000 crowns per annum. For her jointure, the emperor shall assign her in lands and cities 50,000 crowns of yearly rent clear ; and particularly for a part thereof, such towns as the late Lady Margaret of England had for jointure in the Low-Countries, the rest in Spain, to enjoy as long as she lives. If she die before the emperor her husband without children, then all her jewels, etc. shall remain to the emperor.

VI. The emperor binds himself, his heirs, and his dominions, unto the King of England, his heirs and successors, under the pain of

400,000 crowns, that this treaty of marriage shall not be hindred on his part. In like manner the King of England binds himself.

That this matrimony may be more firm and certain, a treaty of league is renew'd.

I. That all former treaties shall remain in force.

II. They shall be confederate strictly for the conservation of all their dignities, titles, rights, etc. howsoever, and by whomsoever impeached : to have the same friends and enemies, etc. And, when one is invaded, the other shall aid him *totis viribus*, as he would defend himself.

III. And because the King of England hath entertain'd the emperor, and given him leave to pass through his country into Spain, to provide the better for recovery of his rights against Francis, and hath transported him over into England by a fleet of 3000 men ; therefore, in requital, the emperor, when King Henry shall pass over to Calais, or any other port, in expedition against the French, will provide and lend him at his own cost a number of ships or vessels to transport his soldiers, horse, and munition, 'till the charge equal the costs which King Henry bestow'd on the emperor in this kind.

IV. To recover such lands as the French king detains from both, each prince, before the end of May 1524, or sooner, shall levy armies thus ; (viz.) the emperor in person with 10,000 horse, and 30,000 foot or more, with competent ammunition, shall invade France on the coast of Spain. And, at the same time, all the dominions of the emperor shall declare and wage war against Francis. Also, the King of England by the same time (May 1524.) shall pass the sea in person, and, with 10,000 horse and 30,000 foot, or more, and ammunition, etc. shall fall on France, on what part he shall see most convenient. And because the King of England hath not of his own so many horse, the emperor will provide him horse (so he pay them) and foot (if he need.) If the King of England be coming to battle with the enemy, and send to the emperor's forces, being near at hand, to assist him, they shall come and aid him, unless there be a just impediment.

V. War shall be made by sea, (viz.) the emperor in his navy shall furnish 3000 fighting men ; the King of England so many likewise, to infest Francis's dominions severally, or jointly. They shall not revoke or diminish their fleet without consent, but reinforce it, if impaired.

VI. Neither shall desist from hostility without consent of the other.

VII. Each shall give the other free passage through his country.

VIII. The King of England shall maintain and keep 2000 soldiers in the borders of Calais, and the emperor as many in Artois, which shall make inroads into France, and repel the invasions of the French, either singly or jointly.

IX. Because the French use much the German soldiers, therefore each prince, to divert them from the French, shall entertain as many



German foot as he can; and within two months next following, the emperor shall renew and publish the imperial edicts, whereby all Germans are (under pain of being accounted rebels, and confiscation of their goods) forbidden to serve under the French. And the Duke of Lorraine shall be admonish'd not to suffer any Germans to pass through his country to aid the King of France; if he do, then these two princes will account him their enemy.

X. If either of the two recover from France places belonging to the other, he shall, upon requisition, restore them, within a month: and, to prevent ambiguities and quarrels, each prince, before May 1524, shall declare his pretences.

XI. Also, if either prince have an intention to recover any other rights, against other withholders; as if the King of England will subject Scotland unto the kingdom of England, or reduce Ireland to due obedience; or the emperor recover Gueldres or Frise, or punish any rebel; or, if either of the Scots trouble and invade England, or the Gueldres the dominions of Charles; each shall give aid to other.

XII. To confirm this treaty; it is agreed, there shall be mutual intelligence between the two princes, and all things done by common consent; so that neither shall treat with Francis or any other prince, without the knowledge and consent of the other, to the prejudice of this treaty. And, if any former treaty made, be prejudicial to this, they shall be counted of less value and force than this.

XIII. Both princes, appearing before the Cardinal of York as judge, in what place he shall chuse, shall voluntarily submit to his jurisdiction as legate, and confessing themselves to be bound to observe this treaty, shall require the said legate to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against them, if they violate the articles thereof.

XIV. If the Princess Mary die, and so this marriage take no effect, and it happen that the King of England have a son, and the emperor by some other wife have a daughter, *vel è converso*; then affinity shall be contracted by means of those two.

XV. This treaty, 'till it take its effect, and be put in execution, shall be kept secret from the French.

It was agreed also, that this treaty shall be signified to the Pope Adrian VI. and he be intreated to enter into it, and held as a principal contrahent, if he accept it within three months. The Venetians, if they will accept this treaty within three months, so, as (according as they ought by the treaty of London) (1518.) they will forsake the French, and declare themselves against him, shall be comprehended. The Swiss shall have this treaty signified to them, and be practised to renounce the French, or, at least, to be neutral. None shall be comprised in this treaty, which is enemy to either of the two principal contrahents: for the rest, each may name his friends.

The same day (June 19.) that this treaty was sworn, Charles gave

his oath also to another agreement, call'd the Indemnity; which was an obligation, whereby he bound himself to save King Henry harmless for all the sums of money and pensions, which were or should be due to King Henry from Francis, (upon former agreements betwixt them) and now were or should be with-held by the said Francis, upon denunciation of war against him.

This was sworn in the presence of Thomas Cardinalis Eborac. Legate and Chancellor of England. Mercurinus Comes Gattinaciæ. Baro Ozane et Terrugie. Petrus de Moca Episcopus Palentin. Johannes Aleman. Thomas Bishop of Duresme. Lord Privy-Seal. Cuthbert Tonstall doctor of both laws, elect Bishop of London, Vice-chancellor of England.

Lastly, Charles wanting money for his present occasions, our king supplied him abundantly, upon assurance given him of repayment. Charles having dispatch'd his affairs here, and commanded his fleet, consisting of 180 sail, to meet him at Southampton, is (June 22.) accompany'd by our king to Winchester. Before yet they departed, it was resolv'd betwixt them, to make use of some Venetian gallies (then riding in our ports) upon pretence of conveying the emperor to Spain. Which proceeding yet, lest it should be thought abrupt, and prejudicial to our league with that state, was by instructions from hence to Pace (his majesty's ambassador resident there) excused in great part, by alledging, that if they would make good the confederacy enter'd into, 1518, they must not take it ill that their gallies were employ'd against the French, as the first violators and disturbers of the publick peace. And when they would not join, it was but a just punishment for their falling off. Which yet was not to be understood in that rigour, but they should be restor'd in due time; as in effect I find they were shortly after. This being done, Charles, having taken (July 1.) leave of our king, goes to Southampton, and attends a wind and the convoy of our admiral, who for better complying with the common cause, according to the league 1518, was likewise constituted his; the patent whereof, for the rareness as well as honour of the person, I have caus'd to be set down.

'CAROLUS Quintus, divina favente clementia electus Romanorum  
'Imperator, semper Augustus, ac Germaniæ, Hispaniarum, utriusque  
'Siciliæ, Jerusalem, Hungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatia, etc. Rex, Archidux  
'Austriæ, Dux Burgundiæ, Brabantæ, Comes Habsburgi, Flandriæ,  
'Tirolis, etc. Cum ita sit quod serenissimus et potentissimus  
'Princeps Henricus Octavus, Angliæ et Franciæ Rex, frater, avunculus, et confœderatus noster charissimus, pro ejus jure fœderis quod  
'cum eo nobis inter-cedebat, nuper Francisco Francorum Regi, tanquam fœderum quæ cum nobis ambobus habebat violatori, bellum

‘justè indixerit, causamque suam cum nostrâ, qui ab eodem Rege Gallo  
‘invasi fuimus, conjunxerit, classemque ob id maritimam inter cæteros  
‘belli apparatus instruxerit, cui præfecit illustrissimum consanguineum  
‘nostrum charissimum Thomam Comitem Surrium, Ordinis sui  
‘Garterii Militem, Admiraldum Angliæ, Walliæ, Hiberniæ, Normaniæ,  
‘Vasconiæ, et Aquitaniæ; nosque pariter eundem communem  
‘hostem Gallum armis etiam maritimis urgere (ut par est) decreverimus,  
‘juncta ipsa nostrâ cum præfati serenissimi avunculi nostri classe,  
‘reputantesque tum jam dicti ejus admiraldi insignem bello peritiam,  
‘fortitudinem, atque alias singulares virtutes, cui merito multa majora  
‘onera committi possent, tum quæ conjunctis viribus armisque gerun-  
‘tur multo melius uno duce, uno capite regi quàm pluribus: ea propter  
‘non abs re duximus, si et nostræ ipsius classis onus, bellicque maritimi  
‘provinciam eidem Angliæ admiraldo destinaremus. Itaque in vim  
‘præsentium literarum nostrarum, prædicto illustrissimo Thomæ  
‘Comiti et Admiraldo, ac classis prædicti regis avunculi nostri  
‘capitaneo generali eandem damus et concedimus auctoritatem,  
‘plenamque et omnimodam potestatem super classem nostram mari-  
‘timam, omnesque ejus capitaneos, milites, et classiarios, cujusque  
‘tituli sunt gradusve et conditionis, quam ipse admiraldus super regis  
‘sui classem habet, tam in honorandis militibus, equestrique dignitate  
‘quos dignos censuerit insigniendis, è contra verò malefactoribus  
‘puniendis, quas eis voluerit legibus statuendis, eorumque causis  
‘cognoscendis, quàm in cæteris omnibus et singulis faciendis et execu-  
‘tioni mandandis, juxta auctoritatem eidem à prædicto rege suo con-  
‘cessam, ac quemadmodum aliàs spectat ad officium unius maritimæ  
‘classis capitanei seu generalis præfecti, ipsiusve prædicti admiraldi  
‘singulari prudentiæ convenirè in omnibus visum fuerit, atque expedire.  
‘Mandantes ob id, atque expressè committentes universis et singulis  
‘capitaneis, vice-capitaneis, locumtenentibus, baronibus, nobiles,  
‘militibus, magistris, naviculatoribus, classiariis, cæterisque militibus  
‘omnibus tam equitibus quàm peditibus in classe ipsa nostra existen-  
‘tibus, aut futuris quòd eidem comiti admiraldo et capitaneo generali  
‘ac ejus in hac parte sufficienter deputato intendentes, auxiliantes, et  
‘obedientes sint, in omnibus prout decet, contrafacientibus debitâ  
‘poenâ non carituris. Harum testimonio literarum manu nostrâ sub-  
‘scriptarum, nostrique sigilli appensione munitarum. Dat, in urbe  
‘Londinensi. Die VIII. mensis Junii, anno domini millesimo quin-  
‘gentesimo vicesimo, secundo regnorum nostrorum, Romani tertio,  
‘cæterorum verò omnium septimo.’

‘J. ALEMAND.’

‘Per Imperatorem CHARLES.’

‘CHARLES V. by the Divine favour and clemency elected, most  
‘august Emperor of the Romans; King of Germany, Spain, both  
‘Sicilies, Jerusalem, Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, etc. Archduke of



'Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Earl of Habsperg, Flanders,  
 'Tirol, etc. Since it is so that the most serene and powerful Prince  
 'Henry the Eighth, King of England and France, our most dear  
 'brother, uncle, and confederate, according to the tenor of the league  
 'enter'd into with us, hath most justly proclaimed war against Francis  
 'King of France, for his breach and violation of the treaty concluded  
 'with either of us ; joining herein with us, who have been invaded by  
 'the said King of France : and to carry this on more effectually, hath,  
 'among other warlike preparations, fitted out a fleet, which he hath  
 'put under the command of the most illustrious Thomas Earl of  
 'Surrey, our most dear cousin, Knight of the most noble Order of the  
 'Garter, Lord High Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy,  
 'Gascogne and Aquitain : we likewise with the same reason, have  
 'decreed to infest and invade the said common enemy the King of  
 'France, with our forces at sea, by joining our fleet with that of our  
 'aforesaid most serene uncle, both in consideration of the valour, skill  
 'and courage, and other singular vertues of the said admiral, whereby  
 'he is rendered capable not only of this, but even of a greater trust, as  
 'also because whatsoever is undertaken by confederate forces and  
 'united arms, may be better executed by being under the conduct of  
 'one captain-general than many : therefore we judged it not unfit  
 'likewise to place the charge of our fleet, and the conduct of this war  
 'by sea, under the command of the said admiral of England. By  
 'these therefore our letters patents, we grant and give to the said most  
 'illustrious Thomas Earl of Surrey, Lord High Admiral and Captain-  
 'General of the navy of the aforesaid king, our most serene uncle, the  
 'same authority, all and plenary power over our royal navy, the cap-  
 'tains, soldiers, and seamen thereof, of what degree, title, or rank  
 'soever, which the said admiral hath in the king his master's fleet : both  
 'in promoting the officers, in conferring the honour of knighthood on  
 'persons of merit, in punishing malefactors, in giving out fitting  
 'orders, judging and trying all causes, as also in executing and  
 'appointing all and every thing under his command, according to the  
 'authority by the aforesaid king to him granted, and as the singular  
 'skill and prudence of him, as captain-general and commander-in-chief  
 'of the fleet, shall on all occasions judge needful and expedient to be  
 'done. To this end hereby strictly commanding and enjoining all  
 'our flags, captains, lieutenants, barons, noblemen, officers, masters,  
 'pilots, seamen, and all our soldiers, both horse and foot, that either  
 'now are or shall be in our fleet ; that they pay all obedience, duty  
 'and respect to the said earl their admiral and captain-general, or to  
 'any person by him lawfully deputed, in all things as is fitting, as they  
 'shall at their peril answer the contrary. In witness whereof, we have  
 'subscribed this our commission with our own hand, and thereto  
 'affixed our seal.

'Given in London, June 8. 1522. in the third year of our reign over  
'the Romans, and seventh over the rest of our dominions.

'J. ALEMAND.'

By the Emperor, CHARLES.'

The earl having accepted hereof by our king's consent, did, upon June 13. land his men in Normandy, near Cherbourg, and after having destroy'd the adjoining country, (sparing only religious houses) he return'd to Portland; whence setting sail again, he lands July. 1. at a place near Morlais in Bretagne, and with 7000 men marcheth thither; where our master gunner having discharg'd a piece so fortunately, that he broke the wicket, some of our men enter'd in the smoak and open'd the gate; whereupon the rest following, the town was quickly sack'd and burnt, and a rich booty carry'd to our navy. After which the earl commanded sixteen or seventeen French ships (he found on that coast) to be burnt: and so, leaving his vice-admiral to scower the seas, he made certain knights for their good service, and return'd to Southampton, whence he conducted the emperor to Spain; who taking ship July 6. arrived July 16. at Saint-Anders.

The English garison for this while, in Calais and Guisnes, and the French in Ardres and Boulogne, were not idle, but took many occasions of invading each others frontiers, among which one, related by Hall and Hollinshed, seems so memorable, that I have thought fit to insert it. Three hundred French horse lying in ambuscade near Guisnes, and sending some horse before to draw out the English, a little band of eight archers issued forth, and maintain'd a skirmish; at last twelve demy-lances (which, Hall saith, were all Welshmen) came to their rescue: the French perceiving this, issue forth with all their horse; but our demy-lances charg'd them with that courage, that killing and hurting divers, they open'd their way to the town.

These so many occasions of making war, enforc'd the king to make use of his subjects affections; whereof, that he might take the better notice, he caus'd a general muster or description to be made (this summer) of all his kingdom, commanding (as Stow hath it out of a warrant directed (Mar. 27.) to a constable of a hundred) that they should certify the names of all above sixteen years old; and that they should repair to a certain place assign'd, with their arms, and declare what their names are, and to whom they belong, and who is lord of every town or hamlet, and who be stewards, as also, who be parsons of the town, and what their benefice is worth, and who be owners of every parcel of land within the said precincts, and what is the yearly value of every man's land, as also the stock on the lands, and who is the owner thereof; also what strangers dwell there, and of what occupation they are; also the value and substance of every person being above sixteen years old, as well spiritual as temporal; also what pensions go thence to religious or spiritual men. Which being certified

again, the king (as Polydore saith) rejoyc'd, as finding his kingdom so wealthy: howbeit, as he was not ready yet for a parliament, he (May.) borrow'd of the citizens of London twenty thousand pound, and sent privy-seals to divers other rich persons of the kingdom; in sequence whereof, he demanded a loan (as I take it) of the tenth of the temporality, according to the true value of their estates, to be employ'd in the wars, and a fourth of the spirituality. But as this caus'd much grudging, to the Londoners (particularly) alledg'd so many reasons why they could not, upon oath, give account of their goods, and wealth, especially as long as so much of their stock was in other men's hands, that the cardinal (Aug. 20.) at last accepted their valuation of themselves, upon their simple honesties. All which extraordinary ways of furnishing the present necessities yet ended in a parliament the next year, as shall be told in its place. The king having thus yet gotten some money, denounc'd open war to Francis, unless he made peace with the pope and emperor. In sequence whereof commanding the Earl of Surrey (and not the Duke of Suffolk, as the French have it) after his attempts by sea, to go over to Calais, and with convenient forces, to join with Horence d'Egmund, Count de Bure, general of the emperor's troops. These meeting together (Aug.) betwixt Ardres (lately demolish'd) and St. Omar, spoil'd and burnt all the villages in their way, till they came to Hesden, in which Odoart Seigneur de Biez, with a strong garrison, commanded. But autumn being now far come on, and the weather very unseasonable, they could only take the town, the castle being stronger, than that it was thought fit to attempt it. They marched therefore towards Dourlans, which they took, and burnt, with all the adjoining villages. The season continuing still very foul, and our men falling generally sick, the army separated; and the rather, that the two generals could not agree about their designs. Before yet the Earl of Surrey departed, he burnt Marquise, and some other places near the English pale; which being done, he came home, and gave our king account of his journey. Whereupon also Sir Thomas Bolen, and Richard Sampson Doctor of Law, were sent to Charles in Spain, to advise what further was to be done.

The Duke of Albany, whom we left in France, was now (1521.) recall'd by more than one voice. For he was not only sent for by the vote of the nobility and people of Scotland; but Queen Margaret herself invited him. Besides, it is probable, that Francis did not unwillingly connive at his departure, as hoping he would find our king enough to do at home. The cause why the state desir'd his return was, that their king was so young, and some of their affairs were discompos'd. But Queen Margaret had also her reason: for being offended with the Earl of Anguis for forsaking her at Harbottle, 1516, and scandaliz'd much at the love he now bore to a certain Scotch lady, she had endeavour'd, by the Duke of Albany's means, to procure a



divorce at Rome, alledging among other causes, that she heard, her husband James the Fourth was living three years after Flodden-field, and therefore not dead when she marry'd him, (so much did that report prevail.) But because our king again opposed this, (as I find by our records, whence I have the whole passage) nothing was presently done, though afterwards new motives appearing, she was divorc'd from him, as will appear in its place. The duke, being now generally welcom'd, banish'd (Oct. 19.) the Earl of Anguis, with his brother George, into France, and caus'd his uncle Gawin the learned Bishop of Dunkelden to be cited to Rome, for the rest summoning a parliament to begin Jan. 1522. whether our king sent Clarenceaux herald, to require and command the duke to avoid the realm, and if he would not to defie him. And that he might have just cause to use this language, he was to alledge unto the duke, that he had broken an express article of the treaty in coming over ; neither could he pretend to have any commission from Francis ; who, in a letter to our king, had disavow'd this action so far, as he profess'd to be neither privy nor consenting to his journey. Besides, that there was danger of his aspiring to the crown, and that the divorce he procur'd for Queen Margaret, was not without design to obtain her for himself. And this is the substance of that wherewith Clarenceaux was to charge him (as I gather out of several collections ; ) howsoever, our records tell us, that the Duke of Albany reply'd, that, since his recall came from the nobility and states of the land, he would retain it against all kings. As for his being suspected of ambition to the crown, he answer'd, that he had rather enjoy his means in France, than pretend to that regality. And for Queen Margaret, he said he had indeed negotiated a divorce in Rome, but with no intention to marry her himself, when he could, as having a wife of his own. Letters also were sent by our king to the parliament, whereby he persuaded them to reject the duke. But they answer'd that they would defend him against all. Lastly, I find by an original of Queen Margaret, that our king writ to her also ; for she there expostulates sharply with him, for believing those reports concerning the Duke of Albany and her ; defending nevertheless the said duke's being in Scotland ; adding, that, if he had not been an unkind brother, she should not have needed to provide for her self, by the Duke of Albany's assistance.

Our king finding this took no effect, in February sent the Lord Dacres, Warden of the West-Marches, into Scotland, with about 500 men, to proclaim that the Scots should come in to the king's peace by the first of March following, or to stand to their perils ; which the Duke of Albany suspecting would prove a war, had provided by this time a great army in the borders ; unwilling yet to do more than to shew his power to offend. For, besides that many of the better sort judg'd wisely, that if matters succeeded ill, they might be call'd in

question, when their king came to full age : they were not ignorant, how puissant an enemy they provok'd ; especially, at a time when their confederates the French had so much to do elsewhere. Therefore, although the Lord Dacres made some inroads into Scotland, and burnt divers villages, (July 30.) joyning himself with the Earl of Shrewsbury, constituted lieutenant-general for the north parts ; and that the Duke of Albany himself was advanc'd so far as Carlisle, yet he retir'd ; the intercession of Queen Margaret prevailing for a conference to be had betwixt the Duke and the Lord Dacres, wherein, all for the present was quieted, whereof the Lord Dacres was glad, as being somewhat surpris'd at that time. This conference yet brought forth a (Sept. 11.) truce only, for a few days, upon condition that the Scots should send ambassadors into England, to desire a peace. But when they requir'd the French might be comprehended, King Henry would not consent ; howbeit, the truce was prorogu'd : whereupon the governor, as finding the Scotch nobility unwilling to invade England on those terms, in October departs to France, to crave aid of Francis, the event whereof we shall see the next year.

But while these Christian princes were in war thus one against the other, the Turk who had now long experience what harm the knights of Saint John of Jerusalem had done him in the Archipelago, thought fit to invade the Isle of Rhodes, (their chief strength and fortress at that time.) Hereunto concurr'd a request which Selim upon his death-bed made unto his son Solyman, wherein he not only exhorted him to revenge the affront his grandfather Mahomet suffer'd, when he was repuls'd thence, but even as a pious and devout act recommended this enterprise to him. Such mischiefs hath religion, (which should be a new bond of peace) authoriz'd unto mankind, in more than one age or country. It was not yet without much danger that Solyman made this attempt. For as he brought near 200,000 men into a little and barren island ; so, if ever his shipping had through firing or ill weather been cast away or destroy'd, he must have perish'd there before the town could be forc'd. But such was the disunion of the Christian princes, that they lost their fair occasion ; thus, upon Saint John Baptist's (June 24.) day (the more to despight the knights) this great army enter'd the island, (the Turk himself following in person a month after) and continuing the siege till Christmas, upon which day Solyman with great pomp enter'd Rhodes, being yielded upon composition by Philip de Villiers a Frenchman, great master of that religion. Shortly after which, he, together with those knights that remain'd, sail'd towards Rome, and other parts of Italy, where comfortless and errant they continu'd, till by the intercession of Clement VII. (some time knight of that order) and the favour of Charles, they obtain'd (1525.) Malta, where they now reside.

In November this year, a diet being held at Noremberg, Adrian

sends to the princes of Germany, requiring them passionately to suppress Luther, according to the decree at Wormes ; confessing nevertheless many abuses in ecclesiastical government, insomuch, that he doubted not to give Cheregat, his nuncio, instructions to say, '*In hac sancta sede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse,*' In these later years many abominable things had crept into the church, which he therefore promis'd, by degrees to redress. But the message pleased neither side : the cardinals at Rome disliking Adrian's free declaration ; and the princes there, as little improving the slow and indirect courses taken for reforming the many enormities then us'd in the Roman Church, as may appear by their *Centum Gravamina* ; the particulars of which hundred grievances, I have thought fit to insert, not with desire to affront any, but only that, pursuing my intentions, the reader may find briefly a true history of the times.

The substance of the *Centum Gravamina*, offer'd to Pope Adrian by the Germans, was to this effect :

I. That the Church hath both commanded and forbidden divers things the Scripture did not : as certain obstacles of marriage, differences of meat, etc. all yet to be redeem'd for money.

II. That people, who otherwise might justly marry, were yet forbidden it at certain times, when yet both ecclesiastics and layics took then their carnal liberty. Nevertheless that for money this restraint might be dispens'd with.

III. That indulgences (call'd there *imposturae*) and pardon for sins, not only past but future, did cause all impiety and wickedness, while men believ'd, *modò tinniat dextra*, while they brought money in their hands, they shall have perfect freedom from all.

IV. That the money for indulgences, etc. was not employ'd the way it was promis'd, that is to say, against the Turk, but towards their friends and kindreds expence and luxury.

V. That yet the pope, bishops, and other principal persons of the clergy reserv'd some cases to themselves, which none other can dispense with, and that this again cost them much.

VI. That the pardon of sins for future times, brought in all mischief, as perjury, homicide, adultery, and the like.

VII. That certain preachers (call'd *stationarii*) went up and down the country, preaching the lives of some holy men or saints, as Valentine, Hubert, etc. promising the simple people, that if they avow'd themselves to those saints, and paid such an yearly tribute, they should be free from such diseases, as they nam'd.

VIII. That the *fratres mendicantes*, call'd *terminarii*, consum'd the alms that the poor should have.

IX. That, at the instance of ecclesiastical persons, divers layics were cited to Rome, to answer concerning businesses not belonging to that court, as namely, matters of inheritance, gages, and pawns, etc.



X. That even layics, upon their oath that they cannot hope for justice in Germany before their ordinary judge, might bring their causes to Rome, though otherwise it were prov'd that justice were done, and the party perjurd.

XI. That certain judges call'd *conservatores*, which were appointed by the pope to determine the causes of certain ecclesiastics, did under colour thereof trouble all other places of judicature, and derogate from the temporal authority, excommunicating all that would not obey them.

XII. That certain delegates and commissaries of the pope were often appointed to determine the secular causes of any person whatsoever, and to denounce excommunication if they disobey'd.

XIII. That the pope, by exempting certain monasteries from the jurisdiction of their bishops and ordinaries, went about to draw an immediate dependence upon the Church of Rome, to the diminution of the imperial power.

XIV. That the right of patronage belonging to divers lay and ecclesiastical persons was (under colour of prevention) usurp'd by the pope and his legats, when benefices were vacant, and that they did confer them usually upon courtiers and their favourites.

XV. That these men either dying at Rome, or in their way thither, their offices and benefices were confer'd usually by the pope, to the detriment of the true patrons.

XVI. That divers undue means were practis'd to prove men amply benefic'd to be courtiers, and dependants on cardinals.

XVII. The great benefices or ecclesiastical promotions could not be confer'd on able persons, unless pensions were first given out of them to the courtiers and officers of the pope.

XVIII. That, under pretences of making benefices litigious, the said courtiers and officers drew thence great pensions; and if the ordinary statutes of chancery serv'd not, they form'd and reform'd them as they pleas'd; also the incumbent dying during this pretended controversy, the said pretenders invaded the benefice, to the wrong of the patron.

XIX. That the collation of deaneries, and other ecclesiastical promotions was often taken from the right patrons by the pope, especially if the former possessors were courtiers.

XX. That in granting benefices, they us'd many arts to get money, under the names of reservations, permutations, surrogations, etc. to the damage of the patron.

XXI. That courtiers often having benefices in Germany confer'd on them, farm'd them out to strangers who cannot speak the language.

XXII. That arch-bishops and bishops were bound by their chapters to bestow the best vacant benefices, with cure or without it, among themselves only, to the frustrating of many able persons.

XXIII. That the houses belonging to such benefices were suffer'd to fall, and the people untaught, and the statutes of founders not observ'd.

XXIV. That divers abbeys, and religious houses, being deliver'd in commendam to cardinals, and bishops, did not feed now above five or six persons, whereas heretofore they nourish'd forty or fifty.

XXV. That, whereas there were divers collegiate churches in Germany, into which none but princes, earls, barons, or at least gentlemen ought to be admitted; that now courtiers, though inferior persons, were receiv'd into them for money.

XXVI. That, whereas in the bestowing of benefices divers ancient privileges and immunities belong'd both to ecclesiastical and lay persons, they were now by the policy of the Roman see, eluded or infring'd.

XXVII. That, whereas annats were paid to the pope by ecclesiastics, and whereas the princes of Germany did also pay them for divers years, upon condition the money might be imploy'd in war against the Turk; now because they understood the money was otherwise dispos'd of, they desir'd henceforth to be eas'd of this great burden.

XXVIII. XXIX. XXX. That ecclesiastics do not pay their due parts, either for a war against the Turk, or other publick affairs; whereas having so great a portion of revenue in Germany, they should furnish their reasonable share; and in this case the church ornaments and treasure are not to be spar'd, lest they come altogether into the hands of the Turk.

XXXI. That, whereas ecclesiastical persons, being by taking orders exempt from secular justice; do thereupon take more freedom to commit adultery, murders, rapine, and even coining moneys, to the no little scandal of religion, and derogation of the secular authority; and that their superiors likewise never punish them, but being first degraded, (to which yet much ceremony and time is requir'd,) and that the said superiors by their chapters, are bound not to punish them otherwise.

XXXII. And whereas the leaving these crimes unpunish'd, may cause sedition and tumult in the laity, as finding the ecclesiastics have not parity of punishment with them:

XXXIII. Therefore, they desir'd that ecclesiastics and layics may equally suffer for crimes of the same nature; and that no order may privilege them from the magistrate.

XXXIV. That whereas banns and excommunications ought to be us'd only when men are convicted of heresy; that yet layics incurr'd this punishment for small faults, and so were driv'n to desperation, and excluded from Divine service.

XXXV. That divers also, who were not properly interest'd in the crime of the excommunicated person, did yet suffer as complices; and all this only that more money might be gotten.

XXXVI. That when the priest or ecclesiastical person was kill'd by chance, the whole town or village was interdicted, till compensation were made, and no regard taken of the occasion given.

XXXVII. That holidays were in such number in harvest-time, that people could not get in their corn in due season ; whereas, yet innumerable mischiefs were then done, rather than God's service frequented according to the first institution.

XXXVIII. That the revenues of the knights of the Teutonic order, destin'd for war against the Turk, were apply'd to cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, which were neither Germans, nor of the said order, contrary to the first institution.

XXXIX. That archbishops, bishops, and other prelates obtain'd from Rome conservators and delegates, whence so many grievances follow to the laics.

XL. That layics goods and inheritance might come to ecclesiastical hands by purchase, or otherwise ; but that ecclesiastical goods and inheritance might never return to the laics.

XLI. That when ecclesiastical persons, having inheritance descended upon them, did die intestate, divers bishops did claim that inheritance themselves, to the prejudice of the next right heirs.

XLII. That, whereas the profits of certain lands and possessions temporal, were sometimes casually transferr'd by layics to ecclesiastical persons, they labour'd to retain the said lands as their own for ever, by submitting them to ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

XLIII. That bishops would not confirm the foundations of ecclesiastical benefices, unless the founders gave them the first bestowing thereof.

XLIV. That they were forc'd to purchase the confirmation of them for great sums of money.

XLV. That, when by a lay person any man was presented to a benefice, he could not be invested therein, till he had paid as much as a year's profit, or two, to the bishop and his officers.

XLVI. That bishops raise extraordinary subsidies on the priests under them, so that they cannot live unless they get money again from the people. Insomuch that they will administer no sacrament unless some money be given.

XLVII. That many are made priests who have not means to maintain the charge, to the derogation of their dignity, while they exercise some sordid trades ; and that they who can get six voices for a certificate, obtain orders, when yet those attestations were corruptly gotten.

XLVIII. XLIX. That more is exacted from the people for the consecration of churches than is needful ; and that, though layics bestow divers gifts on the church, as altar-pieces, etc. yet money is required for their consecration.

L. That if two or more fight in the church-yard with their fists, to the drawing of never so little blood, the town must pay for the new consecrating thereof.

LI. That suffragans us'd to baptize bells, under pretence of driving



away devils and tempests ; and, for this purpose, did invite many rich godfathers, who were to touch the rope while the bell was exorcis'd, and its name invoked, (unto which all the people must answer.) And that a banquet was us'd to be made hereupon, at the cost of the layics, amounting in little towns to a hundred florens, whither the godfathers were to come and bring great gifts, etc., whereas they desir'd that the said bells might be baptiz'd, not only by suffragans, but by any priest, with holy-water, salt, and herbs, without such costs.

LII. That, if in any diocess a solemnity for a new saint were frequented, the bishop us'd to take to himself a third or fourth part of the offering, which yet ought to have been employ'd in war against the Turk.

LIII. That whereas some nunneries were govern'd by provosts, the bishops refus'd to accept the said provosts till the nuns had given them money.

LIV. That when any abbot or abbess was chosen, they must be consecrated anew by the suffragans, (though otherwise they were capable of the charge) and feasts made, and great sums paid. That also many offices were invented in the court of Rome, so that bishops could not enter their charge without paying great fees, which again they were forc'd to get of the people as they could.

LV. That ecclesiastical judges commonly were persons of an idle life, and intentive wholly to gain.

LVI. That though the plaintiff be ecclesiatic, and the defendant layic, and that by the law, *actor rei forum sequi debet*, the cause is to be heard in the defendants court, yet the cause was revok'd still to the ecclesiastical court.

LVII. That though justice be neither delay'd nor deny'd in civil courts, yet the ecclesiastical persons drew matters of debt into their courts, and oppress'd men by their rigid censures.

LVIII. That, whereas citations and monitories are granted against layics, in many cases, which are known not to belong to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, yet that the persons so cited, either can get no remedy herein, or that, before the civil magistrate can avoke the cause, so much time and money is spent, as is intolerable to the poor suitor.

LIX. That ecclesiastical judges drew many causes to their court, which belong'd not to it, as ravishment of virgins, some cases concerning bastardy, etc. which yet they could not be drawn to remit to the ordinary jurisdiction.

LX. That, when a man was wrongfully call'd before the ecclesiastical judges, and at last, after much charges dismiss'd, yet unless his adversary's proctor were satisfied to the full, he ran the danger of excommunication.

LXI. That layics, though by long prescription they paid neither great nor small tenths, out of certain of their lands, yet receiv'd cita-

tions from ecclesiastical judges, and were constrain'd to pay, under the penalty of excommunication ; not daring to appeal to Rome, for fear of more excessive charges.

LXII. That all belonging to ecclesiastical persons labour'd also to take the advantage of the ecclesiastical courts, when they had any suit against layics.

LXIII. That, on occasion of injurious words only, ecclesiastical persons drew the suit to their courts, and suffer'd not the lawful judge to determine it.

LXIV. That in all causes where oaths are interpos'd ecclesiastical judges us'd to avoke them, upon pretence that matter of oaths were not otherwise to be decided : which at last yet would wholly frustrate secular courts ; there being so many cases wherein oaths intervene.

LXV. That, when their judgments concern'd their ecclesiastical superiors, they dare not exercise it, but only let them run against the poorer sort.

LXVI. That they have invented many reformations, ordinances, laws, and statutes wholly differing from the usual and common law ; which yet tend not so much to the good of the people, as their own private gain.

LXVII. That it being agreed by the canons of the fathers, that spiritual punishments should be inflicted for spiritual and manifest sins, ecclesiastical judges and officers yet did extend and aggravate these punishments so far, that layics were forc'd to redeem them with money.

LXVIII. That men and women, being falsely accus'd yet upon their purgation, they were so far from receiving satisfaction, that they were forc'd to pay for letters of absolution ; and oaths, besides, taken of malicious and wicked women, upon words spoken when they revile each other ; which made them often incur perjury, and occasion'd much offence.

LXIX. That, when business of matrimony hath proceeded so far, that one of the parties pretended a contract, which the other deny'd, and that some gifts, as earnest of marriage had pass'd betwixt them, the ecclesiastical judges yet separating the parties, keep the gifts for themselves, as forfeit or escheated.

LXX. That, whereas there are certain causes so belonging to both jurisdictions, as they are determinable by that court which first questions them (as manifest perjuries, adulteries, etc.) yet the ecclesiastical judges forbad the civil to meddle herein.

LXXI. That, upon pretences of layics, that they cannot obtain of the secular magistrate execution of justice, citations were usually granted from the ecclesiastical court, or breves to the secular judges warning them in the space of a month to end the said cause, or otherwise that they would take order ; when, yet, the cause being brought

before them, depended often the space of three years, without that they would grant the like power to secular judges.

LXXII. That ecclesiastical judges, under colour of prescription, arrogated much to themselves, when as yet no prescription can avail against the pope and emperor.

LXXIII. That offenders, after private confession, being requir'd to do publick penance before all the people, are compell'd also to pay money to ecclesiastical officers.

LXXIV. That, instead of forbidding usury, they permit it for money given them ; and that for an annual revenue paid, they permit clerks, religious and secular persons, to live publicly with their harlots and get children.

LXXV. That, if one of the marry'd couple take a journey either to the wars or to perform a vow, to a far country, they permit the party remaining at home, if the other stay long away, upon a sum of money paid, to cohabit with another, not examining sufficiently whether the absent party were dead.

LXXVI. LXXVII. That synodal judges, going to poor towns and villages every where, draw annual tribute thence or excommunicate them, when they cannot pay: and that they draw money weekly in many places, from bakers, brokers, butchers, etc., under the same penalty.

LXXVIII. LXXIX. That they send inhibitory letters to layics, forbidding them to proceed in their suit before the secular judge ; whereby they are forc'd to submit to the ecclesiastical court, or otherwise to appeal to Rome.

LXXX. That many, not being able to endure the charges of the law in these kinds, are forc'd to make some bad bargain or composition, being not able to stand out.

LXXXI. That whereas ecclesiastical judges, by giving oaths to the advocates and proctors attending in their courts, did make them obnoxious, it was manifest their clients could have little hope of assistance, when the cause any way concern'd the said judges or their superiors. Neither was there any remedy for this, but by their admission of foreign advocates, to whom yet so short a time was allow'd for bringing them to the bar as they could not easily come.

LXXXII. That the poorer sort, being not able to pay their duties to the parson, were often deny'd the communion.

LXXXIII. That labourers in time of vintage were excommunicated, unless they took such seasons as the ecclesiastics prescrib'd upon pretence that their tenths might suffer damage thereby.

LXXXIV. That synodal judges, going progress yearly under pretext of visitation, and inflicting punishment on offenders, took only occasion to exact money.

LXXXV. That the canons of the cathedral and collegiate churches, who had power to choose a prelate or superior, would not elect him,



until he first promis'd and bound himself not to contradict them in any business, (how foul soever, and dishonest) and that if they offended, he should not punish them.

LXXXVI. That livings belonging to bishops, monasteries, etc. were set forth to vicars, at so dear rates, that they were forc'd to get money again from the poor for confessions, anniversaries, obits, etc.

LXXXVII. That, though priests by their foundation ought to sing such a mass on such a day, yet they will have money therefore. Besides, with one mass they think to serve divers benefices.

LXXXVIII. That if any of their parishioners, for marriage, or other occasion, quitted his house or dwelling, he must pay so much to the priest for testimonials, or be excommunicated.

LXXXIX. That whereas, by the pope's canons, they only are deny'd Christian burial, who without taking the communion, died in any notorious and mortal sin, yet their ecclesiastics extended the law further, and deny'd burial to men deceas'd by chance, as drown'd or kill'd, until such money were paid.

XC. That many priests, and other ecclesiastical persons mixt themselves with the multitude, dancing and disguising themselves, wearing swords, with which they made quarrels, and hurt people, and yet constrain'd them to pay.

XCI. That in most places, bishops, and their officials not only tolerated concubinage, upon paying money in the more dissolute sort of monks, but exacted it also in the more continent ; saying, it was now at their choice whether they would have concubines or no.

XCII. That at the dedications of churches, permission was given to the chaplains and priests to set up taverns, dice, cards, etc.

XCIII. That, at the point of death, they persuaded men by flattery and fictions, to give their goods from their children unto them.

XCIV. That mendicant fryars, drew many causes to Rome unjustly, to the grievance of the layics, getting also so much money, that they had lately bought three cardinals hats for their generals at a huge rate, and that they much molested nunneries.

XCV. That the legats and orators of popes made bastards, and others born *ex damnato coitu*, from marriages within the degrees forbidden, to be legitimate, to the no little wrong of the right heirs.

XCVI. And that they made also certain viscount palatines as their substitutes, having power also to legitimate and admit bastards to succession ; and to make notaries, when yet some of them are so ignorant, as they know not what belongs to a notary's place. Besides, the said legats go about to absolve men from their oaths, pacts, and observations, with permission to treat *de nova* ; than which nothing yet was more contrary to equity and justice.

XCVII. Besides, that they endeavour'd to take livings from the true patrons, and bestow them as they pleas'd.

XCVIII. That, because religious persons succeeded secular men in their inheritance, and not *vice versa*; there could be no equality, unless that before any enter'd into a religious life, they renounc'd their succession in temporal estates.

XCIX. That the chief part of these grievances having been represented in the late diet at Wormes, to the emperor by the lay-states, against arch-bishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, that yet no remedy ensu'd. And that therefore all the secular states of the Roman empire renew'd now their petition to the pope, that his holiness would reform these abuses.

C. That there are many grievances more intolerable than these, which the said secular states of the Roman empire could shew, but (for brevity) did forbear, as hoping, that when those were taken away, the rest would follow.

Wherefore, by way of final petition, the said secular states of the Roman empire, both of the higher and lower sort, did beseech his holiness to take away, amend and abrogate the said grievance; or otherwise, that themselves would take such course as should be expedient for the remedy thereof.

While, that his holiness might take the better notice thereof, they thought fit to digest their grievances into these heads, and send them to his holiness.

These abuses and grievances (which, as much as through the obscurity of some terms us'd there, was possible, I have endeavour'd faithfully to abbreviate) being publish'd; Luther became more obstinate, repenting now his submission at Wormes; insomuch that at Wittenberg he doubted not to abolish the old mass, and to frame a new liturgy, etc. Of which more hereafter.

Our king finding now his extraordinary ways for levying money to fail, or at least having resolv'd to determine them in a parliament, summon'd it to be held in the Black-Friars, in London, upon the 15. April (1523.) in the fourteenth year of his reign. And here the cardinal took order that the spirituality should lead. The business of subsidy, therefore, being brought into the convocation-house, found a fair way, for the most part. Yet Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester, and John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and one Philips, oppos'd it. But the cardinal silencing some, and causing others to absent themselves, prevail'd at last. Insomuch that one half of the revenues spiritual for one year was granted, payable in five years following. Hence the cardinal went (April 29.) to the house of commons, where in an elegant oration, breach of faith was laid to the charge of Francis I., upon the league sworn for the general peace of Christendom. Besides, default of payment for Tournay, and other things, were objected; so that the king could do no less in this publick cause, than join in war with Charles the emperor against him. And because the charge thereof

was cast up to 800,000 pounds, it was requir'd that the aforesaid sum might be rais'd out of the fifth part of every man's goods and lands, to be paid in four years.

This being said, the cardinal departed. The next day Sir Thomas More, (speaker of the house) inforc'd this demand, demonstrating how 'it was not much, on this occasion, to pay four shillings in the pound.' But the house of commons answer'd, 'That though some were well 'money'd, yet in general the fifth part of mens goods was not in plate 'or money, but in stock or cattel. And that to pay away all their coin, 'would alter the whole frame and intercourse of things. For, if tenants 'came to pay their landlords in corn and cattel only; and the landlord 'again, could not put them off for those things he had need of, there 'would be a stop in all traffick and merchandize, and consequently 'the shipping of the kingdom must decay; and the nation itself, for 'want of money, grow in a sort barbarous and ignoble.' To this was answer'd;

'That the money demanded ought not to be accounted as lost, or 'taken away, but only to be transferr'd into other hands of their 'kindred or nation: herein therefore, that no more was done, than what 'we see ordinarily in markets; where, tho' the money change masters, 'yet every one is accommodated. Howsoever, that no man ought to 'refuse unto him that fighteth for the honour and safety of his country, 'so much as will maintain him; since he denies it not even to his 'labourer. That those who are employ'd, must have been fed when 'they staid idle at home, and yet that they ask'd no more now, to give 'the utmost proof of well-deserving patriots. Howbeit, you may reply, 'this will exhaust the coin from the poorer sort; but to avoid this 'objection, let the richer go themselves. Let them shew, in defending 'their country, that they merit the better and greater parts thereof. 'Our king will not deny them this honour. Or, when they would 'desire to be exempt, and lay the burthen and hazard upon others, let 'them not grudge yet the giving so poor a stipend, as some of their 'servants, at home, would scarcely take to stand bare-headed to them. 'Neither are they to value themselves more than others, because they 'have larger possessions, unless they imploy it to the publick good; 'since in ancient times, and even true reason of state, they deserv'd 'not so much, who till'd and manur'd a country, as they who defended 'it. Nor is it well said of you, when you object, that this will carry the 'money out of England, and leave it in France; for doth it not carry 'the men too, and so in effect prove but the same expense? notwithstanding, if you be so obstinate, as to believe that making war in a 'country brings money to it, do but conceive a while, that, if the French 'had invaded us, would the money they brought over, think you, enrich 'our country? Should any of us be the better for it? Let us there- 'fore lay aside those poor scruples, and do what may be worthy the



'dignity and honour of our nation. When you did conceive the worst that can fall out, you should yet eat your beef and mutton here, and wear your country cloth ; while others, upon a short allowance, fought only that you might enjoy your families and liberty. But I say confidently, you need not fear this penury or scarceness of money ; the intercourse of things being so establish'd throughout the whole world, that there is a perpetual circulation of all that can be necessary to mankind. Thus your commodities will ever find out money ; while, not to go far, I shall produce our own merchants only, who, (let me assure you,) will be always as glad of your corn and cattle, as you can be of any thing they bring you. Let us therefore (in God's name) do what becomes us, and for the rest, entertain so good an opinion of our soldiers, as to believe, that instead of leaving our country bare, they will add new provinces to it, or, at least, bring rich spoils and triumphs home with them.'

At last, after some debate and contention, it was agreed by the commons, 'that every man of estate of twenty pounds yearly and upwards, should pay two shillings in the pound ; and from twenty pound a year downward to forty shillings, one shilling in the pound; and under forty shillings, every head of sixteen years old or more, should pay four pence in two years.' The cardinal hearing no more intended, seem'd much troubled, and therefore, coming to the lower house of parliament, he told them, 'that he desir'd to reason with those who oppos'd his demands;' but being answer'd, 'that it was the order of that house to hear, and not to reason, but among themselves,' the cardinal departed. Yet by the liberal motion of some of the lower house, those of fifty pound land and upwards, were induced to give one shilling more, (being three shillings in the pound) for three years to come ; which at length being continu'd to the fourth year, and extended to those who were worth five pounds in goods, was all that could be obtain'd from the house.

The more famous statutes enacted this parliament, fourteen and fifteen Reg. Henry VIII., were these.

That our merchants might have eight days preference before strangers, for buying of broad white woollen cloths, brought to Black-well Hall in London, unless in fairs, ports, creeks, etc. That strangers using a handicraft, should take no apprentices, nor above two journey-men, unless they were the king's subjects. That they should be under the search and reformation of the wardens and fellowships of handy-crafts, and one substantial stranger, to be chosen by the said wardens. That they should cause a mark to be put on the wares, and workmanship, to be known thereby. That, if they were falsely and deceitfully made, they should be forfeit. That this provision should extend to strangers living in other towns than London. That, if strangers were wrong'd, they might seek their remedy from the lord chancellor and treasurer or

England, or the justices of assize in the counties where they liv'd. That, during this parliament, their apprentices or journey-men might continue as before, and so to endure till the last day of the next parliament. This act yet was not to extend to strangers of Oxford, Cambridge, and the sanctuary of Saint Martins le Grand in London. That, if the officers refus'd to put a mark on the wares, or workmanship of joyners, black-smiths, etc. being strangers ; that then it was lawful for the strangers to sell them without the said mark. That lords, and others the king's subjects, of an hundred pounds yearly, might take and retain strangers, being joyners and glasiars, for their private service, this act notwithstanding. That English-men living under foreign princes, and being sworn to them, should pay such custom to our king, subsidy and toll, as other strangers to those parts do. And that the governor of the merchant adventurers, or the king's ambassadors in foreign countries, shall certifie their names to the chancery, to the intent that order may be given therein to the king's officers in havens, ports, and creeks. Yet, if any such English-man did return to inhabit here, that then he should be restor'd to all liberties of a subject.

A college of physicians, (among whom was that famous and learned Linacer, chief physician to the king) was erected, and certain authorities and privileges granted to them.

Moreover, the statute of 6 Hen. VIII. 13. for shooting in cross-bows, or hand-guns, was dispenc'd with in men of one hundred pounds per annum. That coiners, who make money in any mint in England, should coin of every hundred pounds of gold, twenty pound in half-angels, or pieces of forty pence, and of every hundred pounds worth of bullion, plate or silver, a certain portion into groats, two-pences, pence, half-pence, and farthings (the farthings to have a mark different from the half-pence.) That they who bring less than 100 pounds in bullion or plate to the mint, shall have the tenth part thereof in half-pence and farthings. That this yet shall not extend to the mint-masters of York, Durham, or Canterbury. Concerning which law, it is worth the noting, that though it was for the benefit of the subjects, to have so much of the smallest sort of coin, yet by reason of their littleness it is all worn out.

That they which be in the king's service in war, may aliene their lands, for performance of their wills, without any fine for alienation. And, if any of them die in the king's service in war, his feoffees or executors shall have the wardship of his heir and lands.

I find also in this parliament, an act for attainder of the Duke of Buckingham. And an order for the restitution of Henry Lord Stafford, son to the said duke.

Also an act pass'd, that the king shall for his life, have authority, by his letters patents, at his pleasure, to reserve, repeal, and annul, all attainders of high-treason, and to restore their heirs, etc.

While these affairs at home were in agitation, the cardinal (Mar. 9.) sending Thomas Anniball (doctor of law) to pope Adrian then in Spain, obtain'd the continuance of his legantine power for five years more, which yet (saith Polydore) he made so venal, as if, to recompense the heavy loans and payments he had impos'd on the people, he would take order to discharge them of their sins at an easie rate.

The king having sent divers times into Scotland, to require that his nephew James might have exercise of that regal authority which was due unto him, and the Duke of Albany discharg'd from his place of vice-roy, receiv'd so uncertain and dilatory answers, that he thought fit to desist awhile from his designs in France, and to pursue this. Therefore he makes a particular dispatch to Sir Thomas Bolen, treasurer of his household, and Mr. Richard Sampson, dean of his chappel, resident then in Spain, requiring them to excuse him, if he did not proceed so roundly to the execution of the treaty at Windsor, (formerly mention'd) since, for defence of his nephew, he was constrain'd to take in hand the business of Scotland; yet that he would, in good time, perform all that could be requir'd on his part. Together with which they were charg'd to intimate some jealousies he had of a near alliance propos'd betwixt Charles and Francis; whereof he would gladly be clear'd. Presently after which, he sent (March) the Earl of Surrey, (lieutenant of the borders) commanding him to join with Marquiss Dorset, (warden of the east and middle marches) and Lord Dacres, warden of the west borders of Scotland. These lords having (April.) gather'd together convenient forces, took Jedworth; and making frequent incursions, did great harm to that country; without other intention yet (as the Scots have it) than to reduce that nation to a better intelligence with England. Hereupon, the Duke of Albany, who was in France, prepares to return to Scotland. Our king advertis'd hereof, sends out his navy to intercept him. Sir William Fitz-Williams with 36 great ships, cruizing on the coasts of France, and Anthony Pointz with a convenient navy, guarding the western seas. While Fitz-Williams attended this occasion, he discover'd twelve French ships, in which the Arch-bishop of Glasgow and divers others of quality were, whom the Duke of Albany had sent before him into Scotland. Giving chase to these, two of them were cast away near the havens of Diepe and Boulogne. After which, Fitz-Williams leaving part of his fleet to shut up the French ships, (which were fled into those havens) proceeded himself along the French coasts, landing in divers places and wasting the country; till at last (Aug. 10.) he came to Treport, a town strongly situated, and garrison'd with 3000 men; which fortifications our men, (though a far less number) gain'd, together with divers pieces of ordnance, chasing the French that remain'd to the town; yet finding it was not their business to lay a siege at this time, they only burnt the suburbs, and the ships they met in the haven, and so return'd. The Duke of Albany knowing how



narrowly he was watch'd by the English, had caus'd all provision for his return into Scotland to be conceal'd, and made it to be rumour'd abroad, that he had no purpose to stir out of France this year ; which our king understanding, call'd home his fleet. But it was no sooner in harbour, than Albany hasting together his men and ships, set sail at Brest ; and passing along the west coast of England, landed in the island of Arrain, Sept. 24, to the great joy of the Scots, and with him came Richard de la Pole, and 3000 French. When Albany came, the minds of the nobility were divided, some favour'd the English, some the French : it being disputed much before the coming of the governor, to whether side it were best to adhere.

The favourers of the English party, which were many, alledg'd the conformity in person, manners, language and laws, betwixt the two nations ; their living and neighbourhood within the same island ; the power the English had, not only to do more good or hurt, but sooner than the French could prevent them : that the English were masters of the seas, and thereby able to stop and interlude all succour that could come to them from any other place. Lastly, divers letters were produc'd, written from our king to the nobility of Scotland, wherein he did offer both to maintain peace there, and to confirm it, by giving the Princess Mary his daughter, in marriage unto James his nephew, since he had vehement suspicions that Charles intended a match elsewhere.

Those who favour'd the French (whereof many (saith Buchanan) were gain'd with large gifts and pensions, or were such, as being of mean fortune, desir'd to make their advantage in the publick troubles) reply'd hereunto, that credit was not easily to be given to the specious pretext of a new allyance, the former having succeeded no better ; especially when all things in England, were order'd chiefly *ex arbitrio Thomæ Woolsei Cardinalis pravi et ambitiosi* ; according to the will of the ambitious and corrupt Cardinal Wolsey, (as Buchanan hath it.) That, the occasions of falling out betwixt potent neighbours being frequent, friends were to be sought out in any other place. Howsoever, their ancient ally (the French) was to be acquainted herewith, and no time to be lost for preparations to defend themselves.

These, though but cavils of the more tumultuous sort being join'd to the rancour of others, prevail'd so with the heady multitude, that, in the parliament which the governor summon'd as soon as he came to Scotland, it was presently resolv'd, that he should raise a puissant army. These being gather'd, march (Oct. 21.) to a wooden bridge over Tweede, near Mull Rosse, which leads to England ; here the duke pass'd over the greatest part of his forces, intending the rest should follow ; but because divers mutter'd against the causelessness and danger of this attempt, he thought it his best course, presently to bring them back again. Passing thence, he commanded siege to be

laid to the castle of Werke, lately fortified by the Earl of Surrey. Some French here, that serv'd on the Scotch side, found means to enter the outer court, in which the cattel and corn of the neighbourhood in dangerous times were usually kept. But the English, using no other manner of repulse, set fire only to the hay and straw there, and smoak'd out the French : hereupon a battery was planted against the walls, and a sufficient breach made ; wherewith an assault was given by the French and others, but being beaten back with the loss of many, and the Earl of Surrey, being (Nov. 11) with a great army not far off, the duke desisted and retir'd, doing no more with his army for that year. Shortly after which, by the mediation of Queen Margaret, a truce was concluded. And thus our king quitted himself of the troubles which Francis stirr'd against him in Scotland. Let us now look on Ireland, for there also Francis had his projects. And Tillet sets down a treaty between Francis and James Earl of Desmond, in June 1523. But, as it took no effect, by reason of Francis his business in other parts, so it hastned the second troubles of the Earl of Kildare, who though he had freed himself of his imprisonment in England, by the favour he got upon his match with Elizabeth Gray, sister to the Marquiss Dorset, and so was remitted home to his former charge, (Pierce Butler being upon some accusations put out) yet, being kinsman to Desmond, he could not so behave himself but that his enemies found arguments to traduce him ; but of this in its proper place.

While these things were doing, the kingdom of Denmark suffer'd a great change : for Christierne the Second, succeeding his father John, Anno 1514, the Swedes not long after rebell'd, making Steno Stura their head, who yet being slain in battel, and the Swedes overcome, Christierne commands his body to be taken up and burnt ; which, with other cruelties, made the Swedes take arms again under Gustavus Erixon, whom they made their king, and separated themselves wholly from the crown of Denmark : Christierne having thus lost Sweden, and incurr'd the hate of the Danes by his tyrannical government, fearing conspiracy at home, and war from abroad, left his kingdom to be invaded and taken by his uncle Frederick, Duke of Holst ; (whom the Lubeckers aided in the enterprise) and, flying together with Isabell, sister to Charles the emperor, and his three children, (one son and two daughters) as voluntary exiles from their own country, went first to Flanders, and from Flanders, with a small train, came hither. This misfortune yet did not hinder them from finding a reception worthy their degree ; our queen being aunt to his, taking particular compassion on them. After all manner of royal entertainment, therefore, for the space of about three weeks that they stay'd, and divers rich presents bestow'd upon them, they thought fit, upon some hopes given them of recovering their kingdom, to depart hence again into Flanders.

The Duke of Suffolk, being attended by the Lord Montacute, Lord Herbert, Lord Ferrers, Lord Morney, Lord Sands, Lord Berkley, Lord Powys, and divers other knights and gentlemen, and an army of 600 demi-lances, 200 archers on horseback, 3000 archers on foot, and 5000 bill-men, besides 2600 prisoners, came (Aug. 24.) to Calais. To these again the duke added 1700 more, taken out of the garrisons thereabouts. With this little army he march'd into the enemies country, taking all places that resisted him by the way. At last Florence d'Egmond, Count de Bure, general (Sept. 20.) to the emperor, join'd his forces ; so that in all they made about 20,000 men : yet, as it was now about the latter end of September, and the weather prov'd very unseasonable, it was difficult to perform any great action. King Henry yet would have them begin with Boulogne ; but the imperialists said, it was impregnable ; and that for entring France, it were better to coast the river of Soam ; which they did, their design being to come to a battel, as being advertis'd, that the French had long since attended their coming. But finding no forces in the field, they (Oct. 20.) besieg'd Bray on the river Soam. In this town, Monsieur Antoine de Crequi, Seigneur de Pont-Dormy, commanded with a strong garrison ; but a breach being made by our men, and violently assaulted, Antoine de Crequi, having set fire on the town, fled over the bridge with the men that remain'd, drawing some boards after him ; but our men laying on other planks, and getting over, chas'd him, and kill'd divers of his men. When they return'd, they found little sav'd from the fire, but some cellars of wine, which in that cold and wet time, was a great relief. From hence, passing over Soam, they march'd towards Roye, taking by the way some lesser places. This town being summon'd, and promising to yield, Sir Richard Cornwall with 400 men, was sent to take possession of it. Thence the army march'd towards Montdidier, where by the way, Monsieur de Pont Dormy meeting with some of our horse scatter'd, put them to the worst. But at last, more of our men coming, his horse was kill'd under him, and he mounting on another, was constrain'd to flie. Monsieur de Barnieulles and de Canaples, yet stood the shock, to favour the retreat of the rest ; which part, while they perform'd bravely, our men overthrew and took them prisoners, with some others of note. From hence then they went to Montdidier, in which Monsieur de Rochebaron, with about 1200 men, commanded. But, after some four hours battery of our cannon, they capitulated and yielded. The duke with his army had now pass'd the river of Oyse, and was come within eleven leagues of Paris, without that he met with any notable encounter. The Parisians hereupon were much troubled. Neither could the coming of Monsieur de Vendosme with some forces, exempt them altogether from fear. But the time of year being far spent, and the weather falling out to be so extreme cold, that almost all the corn in France was frozen and spoil'd that year, (as the French



confess,) our men were forc'd to return. Besides, the Lady Regent in the Low Countries, withdrew pay from her soldiers, and let all the charge fall upon our King Henry.

It was not therefore misdoubt of any attempt of the French, (whatsoever they brag) they having no army in the field, but only the cause formerly alledg'd, that made them retire. They took yet the castle of Bouchain, near the emperor's territories, before they departed, which yet, together with the other places, was presently recover'd by the French. Our king, hearing now the armies were dissolv'd, seem'd to be much incens'd ; his intention being to keep and fortify the places that were taken. Therefore he had commanded the Lord Montjoy with 6000 men to reinforce the troops. But, before the king's pleasure could be certified to France, the duke (who by reason of the foul ways, left his great ordnance in the town of Valenciennes) was come, with the rest of his army, to Calais ; where he thought good to stay, till the king's anger were appeas'd, by the representing of those important and necessary causes that made him desist from any other enterprize this year, wherewith therefore the king at last being intirely satisfied, he was receiv'd into his former grace and favour.

Francis finding now two of his armies dissolv'd and ruin'd, resolves, in person, to bring a third. For as he found his auxiliaries more than the French forces could command, and that together they had not their pay in due time, he intended now to remedy these faults. But this voyage succeeded worst of all. So little can intervening accidents, but especially those of war, be prevented by human wisdom. Being on his way now as far as Lyons, he hears three armies were preparing against him ; one on the part of our king, for Picardy ; another on the emperor's part, for Burgundy and Champagne ; and a third on the Spanish side, for Fuenterrabie. That on the English side yet astonish'd him most, as suspecting he had given our king enough to do in Scotland and Ireland. Therefore he stays at Lyons, and sends Bonivet before with the greatest part of his forces, consisting of the flower of the nobility of France ; in which also Richard de la Pole (return'd now from Scotland) was ; and reserves the rest for the most urgent occasions. Only he wanted Charles Duke of Bourbon, whom I find so considerable a person at this time, both with our king and the emperor, as I have thought fit to speak of him with much particularity. The causes of discontentment (as the French writers have it) were many.

That, being of great blood and excellent parts, he was excluded from the king's secret counsel.

That, having done ill offices to Francis in the time of Louis XII. Francis challeng'd him to a duel (which unkindness yet, Francis coming to the crown, effaced, giving him the place of constable.)

That he was deny'd to have Renee, sister to Queen Claude, when yet she desir'd to marry him.

That (as is before mention'd) the king gave the vantguard from him, being constable, to the Duke of Alancon.

That having lay'd out much money for the wars of Italy out of his purse, the king not only refus'd to pay him, but detain'd some pensions and rents, which were due to him for divers years.

That a process of law-suit was brought against him about the dutchy of Bourbon, being inheritance devolv'd to him, in right of Susan his wife, lately dead.

That Louise the king's mother, persecuted him, because he refus'd to marry her, and was a suitor to Renee.

That the chancellor and others oppos'd him, for the sake of Louise, who was in greatest authority.

These again being industriously fomented by Adrian de Croy, Seigneur de Beaurain, on the emperor's part, and William Knight, doctor of the law, resident for our king, with the Lady Margaret; and lastly, by Sir John Russel, who in disguis'd habit often treated with him, (as I find by our records) made him finally revolt. Neither did our king make difficulty to appear herein. Francis having not only supported Richard de la Pole, but treated with Desmond; so that finally conditions were agreed on with Bourbon to this effect.

That he should marry Leonora, sister to the emperor, and wife to Emanuel King of Portugal, lately dead.

That he should be king of some part of France, as soon as Francis was outed.

That the emperor should have Burgundy and Artois, and our king Normandy and Guyenne, and the title of King of France; and that, besides, he should renounce all the claim the French pretend to Italy.

This yet was not kept so close, but some notice of it came to Francis, who thereupon, with a singular freedom, did visit him at Molins, feigning then to be sick, and discover'd the intelligence given him; promising yet, that all should be forgotten, upon his confession, and assurance to serve him faithfully in his wars; giving furthermore his royal word, that the inheritance now in question should be restor'd, when it were by law evicted. Bourbon thus surpriz'd, and counterfeiting his weakness still, confess'd he was indeed sought to, but would never condescend to any disloyalty. The king hereupon departed well satisfy'd in appearance; but as the process or law-suit went on, and some secret guards were put on him; Bourbon, offended, escapes (Sept.) in a disguis'd habit to Genoua: whither the Seigneur de Beaurain came (Dec.) from the emperor to offer him his choice, whether he would command the imperial army in Italy, or come to Spain (where Charles had newly extinguish'd a rebellion in Majorca, and given order to besiege Fuentarabie.) But Bourbon chose to command the army, both as it was more generous, and as he did thereby comply best with both princes; to whom he was oblig'd (as I find by our records,) to

furnish 500 men at arms, and 10,000 foot, for performing the agreement betwixt them. But Francis had also other strong oppositions : for though he labour'd to retain the Venetians ; yet as that state consider'd Italy would be quieter when Francisco Sforza held Milan, than if it came under the dominion of the French, they easily abandon'd Francis.

Whereupon a league (Aug. 3.) was enter'd into, betwixt the pope, the emperor, Ferdinand, Francisco Sforza, Julio de Medicis, the Florentines, those of Siena, Lucca, and Genoua ; and the Venetians ; place being left also for our king ; by which it was concluded, among other things, that the Venetians should furnish 6000 foot, and 1200 horse, when Francisco Sforza in Milan, or the emperor in Naples, were invaded.

That the emperor should do as much for them, in the like case.

All parts thus tending to war, Bonivet using much diligence, march'd (Aug. 11.) strait to Milan, where Colonna had retir'd himself ; the army of the league being not yet joyn'd. But Galeazzo Viscount of Milan, meeting and desiring him to stay, till he had rais'd a tumult in the city (whereof he assur'd him in two or three days) Bonivet lost his opportunity ; Colonna using that space to put the town in such defence, as Bonivet retir'd. Yet so, as he forgot not to relieve the castle of Cremona, the garrison whereof was reduc'd only to eight persons. Neither did he more of importance (though Colonna now dy'd) but attended 6000 Grisons, and 8000 Swisses ; but as the Grisons, finding their passage seiz'd on, return'd ; so the Swisses, because they wanted only 400 horse to convoy them, (according to the agreement made) refus'd to come to the French, when the imperial army, now united, was approaching. This made the French wade through the water, to joyn with them. But Bourbon, and the imperialists passing also, charg'd the French so, as Bonivet being hurt, escap'd ; and the Count de Saint Poll and Bayard sustain'd the shock. When Bayard having receiv'd a mortal hurt, (whereof he dy'd, leaning on a tree, with his face turn'd to the enemy) all the army was routed, and the ordnance and baggage taken. Whereupon also Alessandria, Rhodes, and other places were rendred. At Fuentarabie, Francis had no better fortune. For Frauget governor thereof, being desirous to save his goods, yielded the place without much constraint, towards the end of Sept. 1523. for which he was degraded upon a scaffold at Lyons publicly.

Notwithstanding all these oppositions, yet Francis lost not his native courage, but proceeding in his design for Italy. For as he knew the army of the league had different designs, he hop'd some occasion or other would disunite them ; neither did it trouble him that Sforza was put in the possession of Milan : for he knew the imperialists would hold a hand high and hard enough to disoblige him. Besides, he found that a design the emperor had on Burgundy, fail'd,



for want of money to pay certain lansquenets, who thereupon were drawn to his service.

Adrian's death (Sept. 14.) this while intervening, through poyson, (as some have it,) Cardinal Woolsey hearing thereof, by a letter dated 30 Sept. 1523. advertiseth the king hereof; adding further, that his not being at Rome, was the only obstacle that could hinder him from obtaining that dignity. Yet, that he thought none there present would be elected, by reason of the faction among them. Therefore he humbly intreated his highness, that, since heretofore he thought him worthy of that charge, he would now assist him. This letter also was seconded by an other, dated Oct., desiring the king to write with his own hand to the emperor, to this purpose. Notwithstanding all which endeavours, he being, about two months after, inform'd that Julio de Medici was made pope, by the name of Clement VII., (Nov. 19.) thought fit, for justification of his merit, to write again to our king, that the business was not yet so clearly carry'd, but that many of the cardinals concurr'd on him; though, by reason of his absence, and the dangerous state of Italy, (which requir'd present remedies,) they insisted on the other. Whereupon it was thought fit by the king and cardinal, to send, (Dec.) to John Clerk now Bishop of Bath, Secretary Pace, and Thomas Annibal doctor of law, and master of the rolls, then resident at Rome, a dispatch, requiring them to congratulate his election, and together intreat him, not only to continue the disaffection he had ever shew'd to the French, but to give publick testimonies thereof according to the greatness of that power which now was in him. The cardinal also, by a particular dispatch, desir'd Richard Pace to procure, that his legantine power might be amplified; protesting that, by reason of the king's prerogative, and other causes, it was not a thousand ducats yearly to him; yet, if that his authority and faculties might be enlarg'd, that it should be thankfully acknowledg'd. All which Clement condescended unto; and the legantine power, which Adrian granted only from five years to five years, was now (March 22. 1522.) (by a new example) given him for term of life, January 9. 1524.

Thus had Woolsey (to comfort him for his repulse in Rome,) a kind of papal authority in England; whereof, also, he made the uttermost use. Though, while amongst other visitations, he would needs visit the Freres Observants, he found himself resisted; which yet he could not take ill, the pope having (Aug. 31.) desir'd him particularly to spare them.

While these greater exploits in France and Scotland pass'd thus, many brave actions with small numbers were perform'd in the confines of the English and French pale, insomuch that a company of adventurers there, nick-nam'd the Crakers, grew very famous thereby; till, being at last oppress'd by the Count Dan-martine, who, (1524.) with 1500

horse and 800 foot, assailed them, being only 175 foot, and 25 horse, they took their end: which happen'd not yet till they had fought it out, to the last man. The like feats also were done, between the borders of England and Scotland on either side, some of which our chroniclers particularly relate. But as these wars in several countries, drave the king to an excessive charge, so in Oct. this year, it was requir'd, from all men worth forty pound, that the whole subsidy, granted in parliament, and payable in four years, should be anticipated, and brought to the king in one entire payment.

This the commons imputed to the cardinal, but he apprehended it not, as thinking his ecclesiastical dignity would ever prove a sufficient protection for him against the hate of the people. Therefore he doubted not to be the author of many rash counsels, upon pretence only of furnishing the king's necessities; neither did he believe, that when he had precipitated the royal authority to violent and dangerous courses, himself should fall: as thinking his place in the Church so high, as would give him leave ever to look, securely upon any ruin, some arguments where of appear'd in his design to build two colleges, one at Oxford, the other at Ipswich (where he was born) at the price of throwing down monasteries, and appropriating the revenues thereof to this use. The design for the college of Ipswich, was to erect only a grammar-school, to train up the youth till they were ready for the university; but that in Oxford (call'd first Cardinal's, then King's College, now Christ's Church) was nobler; for the building was intended most ample and magnificent, as the foundations and first lines demonstrate, the number of students, professors, etc. great; as appears by a catalogue found among our records, and inserted here.

'Decanus; Subdecanus; sexaginta Canonici primi Ordinis, quadraginta Canonici secundi Ordinis, omnes studiis incibitura; tresdecim Presbyteri Conductitii, duodecim Clerici Conductitii, sexdecim Choristæ, omnes Divinorum Celebrationi quotidie inervituri.

'Professores Collegii et Academiæ publici,—Sacræ Theologiæ, Medicinæ; Juris Canonici, Artium Liberalium, Juris Civilis, Humaniorum Literarum.

'Professores Privati et Domestici,—Philosophiæ, Sophistriæ; Logices, Humaniorum Literarum; Censores Morem et Eruditionis, quatuor; Præfecti Ærarii, tres; Vacantes colligendis Redditibus, quatuor; Ministri Communes Collegii, viginti, in re.; Oeconomicâ prædictis subservituri,—Summa totius numeri, clxxxvi.

'Assignantur item annuatim non mediocres pecuniarum summæ, partim in excipiendis convivio extraneis insumendæ; partim in elemosynas singulis anni quartis erogando. Præter sumptus equitii, ac aliorum, quæ in tanta familia in-dies occurrunt, et sunt necessaria.'

'The Dean ; Subdean ; sixty superior Canons, forty petty Canons, 'all to reside at their studies. Thirteen Chaplains, twelve Singing-Men, sixteen Choristers, for the Chapel Service.

'Publick Professors of the College and University,—of Divinity, 'Physick ; Canon Law, Liberal Arts ; Civil Law, Critical Learning.

'Private Lecturers and Tutors to read,—Philosophy, Sophistry ; 'Logick, Critical Learning ; four Censors to inquire into the Students 'manners and studies ; three Bursers, four Rent-gatherers, twenty inferior Officers and College Servants, in all 186.

'Besides whose salaries, a considerable sum of money was yearly to 'be allowed, partly for keeping hospitality, and entertaining strangers ; 'partly for charity, to be quarterly distributed : as also for horses, 'travelling-charges, and other necessities, which in so large a family, 'cannot but be very many every day.'

I find also, that about 1524, he sought in Italy and elsewhere, for able men to be his readers. Among whom at this time the excellent John Ludovicus Vives (a Spaniard) was sent to him to be professor of eloquence in Oxford. And, for books, he sent to have the rarer sort copy'd out of the pope's library.

These so great preparations, made the cardinal use many rigorous means of getting moneys, as by visitation of religious houses, etc. and at last by the ruin of divers. To perform this yet, he was to obtain the consent of the pope and his king. The reasons represented to the pope, were, I suppose, of this nature :

That his holiness could not be ignorant what divers effects this new invention of printing had produc'd. For as it had brought in and restor'd books and learning, so together it hath been the occasion of those sects and schisms which daily appear'd in the world, but chiefly in Germany ; where men began now to call in question the present faith and tenets of the Church, and to examine how far religion is departed from its primitive institution. And, that which particularly was most to be lamented, they had exhorted lay and ordinary men to read the Scriptures, and to pray in their vulgar tongue. That, if this were suffer'd, besides all other dangers, the common people at last might come to believe that there was not so much use of the clergy. For if men were persuaded once they could make their own way to God, and that prayers in their native and ordinary language might pierce heaven, as well as Latin ; how much would the authority of the mass fall ? How prejudicial might this prove unto all our ecclesiastical orders ?

That there were many things to be look'd to in these innovators, but nothing so much as this ; since it was clear, that the keeping of the mysteries of religion in the hands of priests, had been a principal means in all ages, of making the priesthood sacred and venerable.



That these mysteries and rites therefore, as the greatest secret and arcanum of church-government, should be preserv'd. Nay, that the clergy should rather fly to tropes and allegories, if not to Cabala it self, than permit that all the parts of religious worship, though so obvious, as to fall easily within common understandings, should be without their explication ; since it might be well question'd, whether the essence of religion, (consisting in the doctrine of good life and repentance) might be held sufficient alone to exercise even the most vulgar capacities ; unless frequent traditions concerning former times, and such obscure passages as need interpretation, did concur. In which state of things therefore, nothing remain'd so much to be done, as to prevent further apostacy. For this purpose, since printing could not be put down, it were best to set up learning against learning ; and, by introducing able persons to dispute, to suspend the laity, betwixt fear and controversies. This, at worst yet, would make them attentive to their superiors and teachers. All which being maturely weigh'd by his holiness, it was not doubted but he would advise, and commend to all Christian princes, the erecting of new colleges and seminaries for the advancement of learning ; and here in England particularly, where many favourers of Luther's sect, but especially of Zuinglius, did appear. Yet because his holiness, by our ambassadors at Rome, had divers times been inform'd of the great expences of his king in the wars he had made with France and Scotland, he did not think it the best course to desire any money out of his purse. That therefore he had thought of another expedient, which he humbly offer'd to his holiness ; which was, that in regard the number of monasteries was greater in this kingdom, than that there could be found learned men to supply them ; that it were not amiss to diminish the one a little, to increase the other. That as this would take away the objection of ignorance, wherewith the new sectaries in Germany had so much branded the clergy, so it would furnish able persons to resist their doctrine, and uphold the credit and reputation of the Roman Church. Therefore he would be an humble suppliant to his holiness, to give him leave to throw down a few superfluous monasteries, and to imploy the revenues of them to the building of two colleges ; one at Oxford, the other at Ipswich ; and to believe, that all things being rightly considered, the fall of those few, might be a means to keep up the rest, especially since, in this kingdom, the number of them was thought excessive.

To the king ; as he needed not to use those motives, so he discreetly conceal'd such as might discover the secrets of ecclesiastical government. For certainly, what fault soever might be objected to the cardinal, he seem'd still a devout servant to his religion, as aspiring thereby unto the papacy. Therefore, he said little more unto the king, than that it was fit so learned a prince should advance learning, and maintain that faith, whereof the pope had made him the defender.

For this purpose, he should advise him to found more colleges. Yet because his wars and other occasions had so exhausted his treasury, he would ask no more, than that the care thereof should be committed to him ; who, if his highness so thought fit, would only suppress some little and unnecessary monasteries, and imploy the revenues to this use. King Henry also considering, that if, for his urgent occasions, he were necessitated at any time to seize on the other religious houses, he might this way discover how the people would take it, grants his request. Our king thus concurring with the pope, who, in favour of the cardinal, gave way to this suppression, that overture was first made, which being pursu'd afterwards by the king's sole authority, became the final ruin of all monasteries.

Clement VII. hearing of the preparations of these great princes, had sent in the beginning of this year an express legat, which was an archbishop of Capua, with instructions to procure an union betwixt them against the Turk. He had already been (March.) with Francis and the emperor, without effecting any thing ; and was now come to our king ; but finding the same difficulties, he was forc'd to return without other satisfaction, than a particular of the demands by our king made, and the reasons of them ; which our cardinal promis'd also to certifie unto the pope. Therefore, in a particular dispatch to Rome, he wish'd our agents there, to shew an inclination to peace ; reserving, nevertheless, one year open to the exploits of Bourbon ; whose prosperous success in France (he said) might be such as to alter the case. Howsoever, that the place of the treaty might be Calais, whither himself offered to come in person.

This while (in the beginning of this year) the princes of Germany held a diet at Nuremberg, whithir Clement the new pope) sent a legate Cardinal Campegius ; much complaining of their Postulata or Gravamina the last year, since many points in it smelt of heresy. About April also the emperor from Spain sends to the princes at the diet, desiring them to see the decree made at Wormes against Luther (1521.) to be observ'd. (Thus to comply with the pope, it seems, whom he desir'd to retain on his side against Francis.) The princes nevertheless at the conclusion of this diet, made (April 18.) a decree, that as soon as might be, the pope by the consent of the emperor should call a council in Germany ; and, in the mean time, things to be ripen'd for a peace in religion, etc. This second urging of a council (for it was press'd also the last year to Adrian) provok'd much Pope Clement ; who, knowing our king's zeal to the Roman see, and particular hate of Luther, sent (May 16.) a letter to King Henry, complaining of this behaviour of the princes of Germany ; and to win our King the more, he sent him a rose of gold, (consecrated and curiously wrought) by Thomas Hannibal, (who (May 19.) now return'd) as also a bull seal'd with gold (Dat. tertio Non. Martii for confirmation of his title of Defensor Fidei.

In the mean time, by frequent dispatches, the cardinal, in our king's name, urg'd Bourbon to undertake his expedition into France ; to which purpose our king was to allow him an 100,000 crowns a month. Bourbon, on the other side, requir'd that our king, or his lieutenant, should at the same time enter Picardy with an army ; which was promis'd. When (having given oath to acknowledge Henry VIII. King of France) he advanceth towards Provence, June 24. (on the emperor's part Monsieur de Beaurain attending him ; and on our king's, Richard Pace ;) and July 2 enters France ; where, proclaiming liberty to the common people who willingly came in, he took divers towns. Nevertheless, his course was staid. For, although he had a fleet of the emperor's to second him, coasting along the shoar, to bring victuals to the army : yet the French navy being too strong, kept them off, and so intercepted their provision. The supplies also of money to be sent him by the emperor and King of England were slackened ; for each of these princes fear'd lest the other should reap the fruit of this expedition ; and Charles de la Noy the Viceroy of Naples was thought, besides, to be willing that Bourbon should be repuls'd, as one whom he envy'd, for being made lieutenant in his place. Yet, for all this, Bourbon lays siege (Aug. 19) to Marseilles, but in vain ; for it being stoutly defended by Renzo de Ceri, and Philip Chabot, Francis also with a great power coming to releive it, at the same time Bourbon's soldiers mutiny'd for want of pay, (although Sir John Russel had newly brought twenty thousand pound sterling from our king ;) the siege broke up, (Sept. 27.) and the duke embarking his cannon, retir'd to Genouia with some loss, the Prince of Aurange being taken prisoner there.

It was now mid-October, and a season, in all probability, not to begin any great enterprize. Nevertheless, Francis, who had left Claude his wife in July last, and left Louïse his mother regent of France during his absence, pursu'd his design to conquer Milan ; contrary to the advice of the pope (who perswaded peace) and of his counsellors ; (who at least advised him not to go in person.) Charles de la Noy hearing this, puts Antonio de Leyva in Pavia, with 12,000 Spaniards, and 6000 lansquenets ; and with the rest of his army hastens to Milan. But as he found the citizens there not much affection'd to him, and some of the French vantguard was approach'd, he left the town, and together with the Duke of Bourbon and Ferdinand d'Avalos Marquiss of Pescara, with their forces, retir'd to Lodi. Whereupon Michael Antoine Marquiss of Saluces, and Louis Seigneur de Trimouille enter'd Milan. Francis being presently inform'd hereof, advances his army ; yet so, as according to an ancient military rule, he would not leave so strong a place as Pavia behind him. But the observing hereof cost him dear. While he laid siege to Pavia, the imperialists were but in an ill estate ; the pope at most standing as neuter ; the Florentines friends but in appearance only ; the Venetians excusing themselves, as



suspecting the emperor, in that he would not sign the investiture of Milan to Francisco Sforza ; and our king, instead of giving more money, requiring that which was due to him, being 133,000 crowns yearly, in regard of the pension withheld by Francis,) which yet being refus'd by Charles, made him averse. Besides, he consider'd the designs of the emperor were only on Italy. Francis, on the other side, had a flourishing army, consisting of about 30,000, whereof yet the most part were mercenaries and voluntiers ; and therefore particularly mention'd by me, as not remembring to have read in any history, that so many of this kind (being irregular, and properly under no command) should be admitted to the hazard of disordering a whole army. And for the other part, being mercenaries, he had found them slow, wilful, of small trust, and oftentimes venal ; though it cannot be deny'd, that those whom Francis in particular now us'd, have been reputed in all times a valiant constant nation. All which I have the rather observ'd, that the success which Francis had not long after, might seem less strange unto the reader. The nobility that came with him were indeed principal persons, Henry d'Albret (the titular King of Navarre,) the Dukes of Lorain, Longueville, Alancon, and Albany, (who, the spring before had left Scotland, upon promise made him by the nobility, that nothing should be innovated there, till his return) the Counts of St. Paul, Vaudemont, L'Aval, the Marshals of Foix, Chabanes, and Montmorency, the Admiral de Bonivet (chief author of this counsel,) le Seigneur de Fleuranges, le Vidame de Chartres, Buissey d'Ambois, Richard de la Pole, and many other brave gentlemen.

The manner which Francis us'd (Nov.) in besieging Pavia, seem'd to to take up more time than stood with the season, being now (winter) and the advantage he had over the imperialists, who were neither in number nor vertue sufficient to repel him. This leisure the pope made use of to mediate a peace, by the means of the Bishop of Verona, and (when that could not be done) to keep Francis yet in good terms with him, promising him, therefore indifferency at least, both as he was *communis pater*, and as he conceiv'd him the stronger. But, finding that the treaty of accord took no effect, was perswaded by the French ambassadors (resident with him) to make (Dec.) a league with Francis. The perswasions the French us'd, were promises, and certain propositions of peace, upon such conditions as should be very advantagious to both. And thus at last the pope, by the secret intervention of Jo. Matthei the Bishop of Verona, made peace with the French, encouraging them together (saith Bellay) to attempt Naples ; which yet the pope dissembled strenuously, both with our king's and the emperor's agents ; though, when he could hide it no longer, he pretended he was (Jan. 1525) forc'd to it by the French. Yet, it may be, the pope was not a little inclin'd here unto by a message which came from England ; for I find in our records, that not long after the time that Francis

pass'd into Italy, there came from France into England, on Louis, the regent's part, one John Joachin, a Genouese, whose coming (as things then stood) was much suspected by the imperialists. And the more, that he kept himself close, and repair'd every day to the cardinal, and consulted with him only ; but so much was discover'd, as the pope's agent here, by a letter, advis'd his holiness to make peace with Francis in time ; which the pope did (although to his loss, as will appear in its place.) And now Francis, not fearing the imperialists, sends the Duke of Albany, with Renzo de Ceri, and about 12,000 men, against them of Lucca and Siena, for the pope's service ; and after, to attempt Naples, where all the places were unprovided of sufficient garrison. Besides, he had sent the Marquis de Saluces with 4000 men to Savona, from thence to attempt Genoua. Again, 3000 Italians (their commander Genovanni de Medicis being hurt) disbanded, and 6000 Grisons, hearing of some troubles in their country, return'd ; so that his forces were much weaken'd. Which Charles de la Noy understanding, took the less care to defend Naples ; as believing the French unable to second the Duke of Albany. And, therefore, gave order only to the Duke of Trajetto to defend the country the best he could ; while Bourbon, pawning his jewels to the Duke of Savoy, went to Germany, and rais'd 12,000 men.

During these passages in Italy, the affairs of Scotland seem'd to change form ; for the Duke of Albany being now so far distant from them, the prime nobility of Scotland (nowwithstanding the promise exacted of them by the said duke, when he departed, (which was in May 1524,) promising to return in Sept. next) inclin'd to the queen's side. So that presently after they began to consult of making peace with England ; which because they knew King Henry would never grant, as long as they acknowledg'd the Duke of Albany governor, (for so he had lately intimated) they agreed to abrogate his authority, and to invest the young king in the exercise of his regal power. To this purpose, the Queen of Scots wrote to her brother King Henry to assist his nephew herein ; who sent to the borders his lieutenant, Thomas late Earl of Surrey, now (since his father's death (May), much lamented for his great vertue) Duke of Norfolk, and the treasurer of England, to procure the liberty of the young king. Hereupon the queen, assisted by the Earls of Arran, Lenox, and divers of the chief nobility, brought the young king from Sterling, (where the governor had appointed him to reside till his return) to Edinburgh, where he undertook the administration of the kingdom, July 29. Whereupon allegiance was (Aug. 20.) sworn to him, and the Duke of Albany was *exauctorate* ; yet not with so general a vote, but that the two Bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, dislik'd it ; alledging both the non-age of the king, and the promise of the nobility to the governor, of not innovating till September. Upon this they are both

confin'd, but shortly restored to their liberty. Our king soon after sent ambassadors, Thomas Magnus (a civil lawyer and a priest,) and Rattcliffe (a gentleman) to reside in Scotland ; commanding from thenceforth all hostility to cease. Whereupon a truce was taken, during which the Scotch ambassadors were to be sent into England, for the concluding of a firm peace. Also (for establishing the young king's power) he offer'd to maintain (a while) a guard for him of two hundred persons. But this good correspondence was a little clouded ; for while these things were in hand, the Earl of Anguis and his brother George Douglass, formerly banish'd (as we have shew'd) into France, found means to escape (July.) into England. The earl desir'd our king's aid for his restitution ; but the Queen of Scots, who retain'd her old grudge to him, and (perchance) had newly cast an eye on Henry Stewart, (whom afterwards she marry'd) labour'd the contrary ; remonstrating to our king, by divers letters, that his coming to Scotland at this time, would trouble the State. For the Earl of Arran, whose power and reputation was great, being enemy to the said Anguis, she said would oppose him. But our king suspecting by some actions, that Arran was French, suffer'd, about October, the earl to enter Scotland, to counterpoise him ; taking of him, at his departure, a promise or obligation ;

1. To procure and maintain the young king's authority, to the exclusion of the Duke of Albany.
2. To seek to be reconcil'd to the queen with all humility.
3. To make friendship with Arran, as long as he maintains the young king, and averts him from France : whereupon also, our king promis'd, that if he did contrary, he would maintain Anguis against the said Arran, etc.

Thus was Anguis restor'd to his country for a while ; but the queen took it ill that he was come, and the ambassadors appointed to be sent to King Henry for peace, were in danger to be staid : yet I find, that (Dec. 19.) they came, being Gilbert Kenneth Earl of Cassilis, etc. and intreated peace, and the Princess Mary as wife for their king. Our king gave hope of both ; (for I find, that both the emperor and Francis, made overtures of matches for King James at this time.) Howbeit, when our commissioners in private conference treated of peace, and the princess, it was upon these conditions ;

1. That they should renounce the league with France, and instead thereof make the like with England.
2. That the young king, till he be ripe for marriage, shall be brought up in England.

It seems yet the Scotch ambassadors commission was not large enough to treat these points ; so (Dec. 30.) Cassilis (leaving his fellows here) goes to Scotland ; and shortly after (March 19.) returns to King Henry with the resolution of the nobility, and letters from Queen Margaret, shewing, that the lords of Scotland will be content to relinquish the French, so that the match with the Princess Mary may be made sure ; but they requir'd that the promise, whereby she was engag'd to the emperor, be first discharg'd. Our king hearing this, said, he would confer



with the emperor about it ; and so nothing being concluded but a truce for three years and an half, the Scotch ambassadors departed in April.

The emperor hearing of this treaty, dispatch'd hither Adolpho de Borgona, Senior de Beures, Admiral of Flanders, with the President of Malmes, to require, that the Princess Mary might be delivered to him, promising hereupon to declare her empress, and make her governess of the Low-Countries ; her dower also was requir'd to be paid presently, and that our king in person would the next year invade France. But before our king could give a perfect answer to these particulars, news was brought of the battel of Pavia, and the taking of Francis prisoner ; the manner whereof was thus.

Pavia was a place easie enough to take, had either the French press'd it roundly, or a less valiant captain than Antonio de Leyva defended it. But while Francis, as being confident he was master of the field, drew the siege out in length, he gave not only time to the imperialists to join an army, but at last fail'd miserably in his enterprize. The advice he approv'd, after a breach and assault made in vain, was to open a way to the town, on the one side of the Tesin ; for, as that river divided itself into two channels, whereof one pass'd by the walls, (which had no defence on that part but the river, being not fordable) his intention was to divert this current, and so to leave the walls bare. But one rainy night alone so swell'd the river, that all the damms and works which the French had rais'd, were carried away by the violence of the stream. His ablest counsellors hereupon wish'd him to raise the siege, and give place to the season. Besides, as the imperialists with a great army, were now marching towards him, they thought it not fit he should be enclos'd betwixt the town, (wherein was a strong garrison) and the forces now approaching. It was the even of St. Matthias Feb. 24. 1525, (being the day of the emperor's nativity,) when the Marquiss de Guasto leading the vanguard, the Marquiss of Pescara the battail, and Charles de la Noy, accompany'd with Bourbon, the rereward, came in good order near the French army. Their resolution was to weary the French all night with alarms and skirmishes, and towards morning to fall on them with the whole army ; so that nothing of importance was intended till full day-light ; when Francis pointing his ordnance against them, so pierced their squadrons, that they were forced to retire to a more covert place. Francis thinking this was a flight, draws his army out of his strong intrenchments into an open place, with intention to pursue them. The commanders of the imperialists having thus obtain'd what they desir'd (for they wanted both money and victuals to subsist any long time,) encourag'd their soldiers to fight, telling them that though a king was present, there was not therefore more danger, but more honours and riches propos'd to them. That they should but follow their commanders, who would

lead them to an assur'd victory. The soldiers hereupon (being not ignorant of the necessity they were in,) resolutely promis'd to go on. The Marquiss of Pescara having advanc'd a little to discover the enemy, return'd ; and, with a chearful countenance, turning towards the Spaniards, told them, that he must not conceal from them the cruel command the French king had given, that no Spaniard should be receiv'd into mercy. This being a meer invention of the marquiss, so kindled their courage, that they requir'd the signal, promising for the rest, to sell their lives as dear as they could. Herewith then a furious battel began ; in which yet, because the mercenaries, and especially the Swiss, did not shew their accustom'd valour, all the charge fell on the few French that were present. None yet fought more bravely among them than the king ; insomuch, that with his own hand (as his enemies did afterwards confess) he kill'd the Marquiss of Civita de St. Angelo ; which example so encourag'd the rest of his nobility, as they omitted nothing that could be done in so little number. During this brunt, Antonio de Leyva, throwing down some part of the walls of Pavia, issued forth with the best of his garrison, and fell on the backs of the French then fighting. This wholly routed the army, insomuch that all now began to fly. The king had his horse kill'd under him, whose fall so engag'd his leg, that he could not recover himself. In this posture one Juan de Urbieta, a Guipuscoan, seized on him. But the king declaring himself, and saying, he yielded to the emperor ; Urbieta, without offering any violence, receiv'd him as his prisoner. The king's leg yet lay under his horse : Urbieta thinking by this means he was sure from escaping, runs to succour his Alferes, who was then in danger of being kill'd, desiring the king only to take notice, that he wanted two teeth before, and that he would remember it as a mark that he took him first. With that one Diego d'Avila came, to whom the king also naming himself, and saying, he was already yielded to the emperor, Diego demanded, whether he had given any gage thereof ? The king saying, none was requir'd, Diego laid hold on his sword, (which was bloody) and his gauntlet, and therewithal deliver'd him from his horse, by the help of one Pita, who, for his pains, took his order of St. Michael from him. This so much troubled the king, that, not knowing how to help himself, he offer'd a great reward to the soldier to let it alone, which yet the soldier deny'd, saying, he would carry it to the emperor. The king being now on foot, divers soldiers came in, and as they observ'd some contention among those that took him, would, without further enquiry who he was, have kill'd him. But one Monsieur de la Motte (or Pomperante, as the French have it a French-man) coming by chance thither, kneel'd to him, and kissing his hand with all reverence, made them know how rich a prize they had got amongst them : the king yet caus'd him to rise, saying only, that he should behave himself like that man he had ever esteem'd him. Herewith, a

great concourse flocking in, the king was perswaded to take off his helmet ; which was no sooner done, but every one took a part of a great pennache (or feather) he wore thereon ; others more presumptuously, cut pieces out of a coat of arms or sobraveste, he wore over his harness. At all which this magnanimous king shew'd no other countenance than that of scorn, as knowing sufficiently, that in despite of fortune, his valour had made him comply with his dignity. The chance of those who deserted the king was various ; many were kill'd, others, thinking to pass the Tesin, were drown'd, among whom 6000 mercenaries (the most part Swiss) are accounted. Henry d'Albret, thinking to save himself by flight, was taken. And now the report being general, that the king was made prisoner, divers French, who might have escap'd, out of a singular piety to their king, returned, and yielded themselves, saying, they would not return to France, and leave their king behind them. The first of the chief commanders that came in, was the Marquiss de Pescara ; after him, Guasto, and others ; at last Bourbon, being arm'd cap-a-pe, and with his sword all bloody in his hand, comes towards the king, who hereupon demanded his name : being told, he stept (if one may believe the Spaniard my author) a little behind the Marquiss de Pescara. He also perceiving the king troubled, goes to Bourbon, and (after he had told him that the king was there) demanded his sword ; which Bourbon without more ado rendred, and thereupon, running to the king, and lifting up his beaver, cast himself on his knees, and humbly demanded his royal hand to kiss ; which yet the king refus'd. Hereupon Bourbon with tears in his eyes, said, ' Sir, if you would have follow'd my council, you should not 'have needed to be in this estate, nor so much blood of the French 'nobility shed as stains the fields of Italy.' The king hereupon turning his eyes to heaven, now reply'd only, ' Patience, since fortune hath fail'd 'me.' Further discourse was hindred by the Marquiss of Pescara, who desiring the king to mount on horseback, conducted him towards Pavia. But the king intreating he might not be kept prisoner in a town before which he had lately so puissant an army, they brought him to a monastery adjoining. Henry d'Albert, the Comte of St. Paul, and divers other prisoners, being delivered to several custodies. From hence the king was remov'd to a strong castle call'd Picquiton, and there kept with a great guard of Spaniards, under Hernando d'Alancon, till other order came from Charles ; to whom, immediately after this victory, a messenger was sent, to acquaint him with the success. In the mean time Francis was us'd with all respect. For more ostentation whereof, Charles de la Noy brought (before supper) the bason, the Marquiss of Guasto the ewer, and Bourbon the towel ; which courtesie he requited, by inviting them to sit at the table with him. After which, requiring some money might be furnish'd to him for play, he pass'd away the time the most chearfully he could.



Charles was at Madrid when this great news came to him. The sence he shew'd of it, was such as became a wise prince, and one that was not himself exempted from a quartan. He compar'd the afflictions of fortune with those of nature, and found the difference so little, that he thought himself to want even the advantages of liberty as much as a prisoner. For, if he consider'd Francis as in the custody of his guards, he look'd upon himself as in the custody of his physicians, and confin'd to his chamber by a stronger hand than that which held Francis. Moreover, he said, it was not for Christians to rejoice for their victories against each other, but only against infidels.

Our king was not advertis'd hereof sooner than the ninth of March. When a messenger from the Princess Margarite, governess of the Low-Countries, inform'd him of all the particulars. Charles de la Noy, not omitting also (Feb. 24.) to write to him thereof (as I find by our records.) This being brought to council, it was thought fit the king should comply with his confederate Charles, in giving some public demonstration of joy. Therefore the king going (March 22.) to St. Paul's and causing a mass to be sung in a more solemn manner than ordinary, seem'd to celebrate the victory, though inwardly not so well satisfy'd thereof. For, as he consider'd Charles grown now to more greatness than stood either with reason of state, or due terms of neighbourhood, he deliberated with his council what was next to be done. Whereupon it was thought fit to send immediately ambassadors into Spain, with charge to represent unto the emperor, how that this war being made at a common charge, it was reasonable the fruit should redound to both. That the part his highness pretended to, was inheritance in France, which he desir'd (upon some fitting treaty with Francis,) might be restor'd. To which his highness doubted not but the emperor would afford his best assistance ; as well because it was just in itself, as that it was according to their late treaty. Or, if this could not be obtain'd by fair means, to require the emperor, by virtue of the said treaty, to proceed in levying forces to make war in France, wherein his highness would likewise concur. Neither could his highness doubt, that the emperor would refuse to embrace this motion, since the benefit hereof would finally accrue to him ; for, as his highness was purpos'd to ratifie and make good the intended match betwixt the said emperor and the Princess Mary, who was heir not only to the crown of England, but to his titles in France, so all at last would devolve on him ; which therefore might be thought so beneficial and advantageous, as he ought not to think it much to deliver up Francis to his highness's hands, upon consigning of the said princess to his. Especially, since by an express article of the aforesaid treaty, they were bound mutually to deliver all usurpers upon each other's right. All which being founded upon a solemn agreement, confirm'd by oath, could not seem insolent, what indisposition soever might be found in the

emperor to accomplish it. Notwithstanding which, if (as it was most likely) this proposition should take no effect; and that the emperor would derive the total benefit of his prize upon himself; that his highness yet might make so much use thereof, as with more justification to take that order which pertain'd to his present occasions, and the peace of Christendom. This advice being approv'd by all, a dispatch was made, and given to Cuthbert Tonstal (Bishop of London, and Lord Privy-Seal) and Sir Richard Wingfield Knight, sent then to Spain; wherein also an interview betwixt our king and the emperor was propos'd. In which, further it was offer'd, that the Princess Mary should be given into the emperor's hands upon fitting conditions. Many other particularities conducing to the ends above-mentioned, were specified therein; though for the rest it seem'd not probable to some of our counsellors, that the emperor would accept them, as being resolv'd (what promise or advantages soever was presented to him) to suffer none else to partake of the profit or honour he had acquir'd in his victory. This proposition finding no reception in Spain, but what was before imagin'd, our king returns to that brave and wise resolution he had formerly taken, to make himself arbiter of Christendom, and to fall on him who interrupted the publick peace. Many reasons also of great moment concurr'd to this resolution. For the Lady Margarite (regent of Flanders) who ought by the late league to have rais'd forces against the French, began already to treat with them concerning an accommodation. Besides, the Flemings being grown strong by sea, had not only very insolently treated with divers of our merchants, but, contrary to a remonstrance made in that behalf, had rais'd the value of our coin, and thereby secretly deriv'd great sums into their country. Again, when demand was made only for repayment of that money which was lent to the emperor in his greatest necessity, nothing yet was return'd but a dilatory and frivolous excuse. Neither was our king ignorant of the treaty which the emperor had already begun for the ransoming of Francis. Nor of a match purpos'd with Donna Isabella of Portugal; which reflected on his daughter's reputation. Lastly, the pope's breve, representing the danger of Christendom through the prosperity of the Turk, (who had now taken Belgrade, and Rhodes, and thereby open'd several ways to Italy and Germany) and together exhorting all Christian princes to join against the common enemy, had so prevail'd with our king, that he thought fit to lay aside all ambition to recover his inheritance in France, and to endeavour an universal peace. In the furtherance of which good desire, as the remembrance of this kind interview betwixt him and Francis did operate not a little, so the reputation that Francis had gotten by his courage shew'd in his late action, had kindled in the mind of our generous king, a compassionate zeal for his delivery. Therefore, at the request of the king's mother of France, (who by the

mediation of Giovanni Joakim, had much dispos'd our king to return to his ancient friendship with Francis) he sent to Cuthbert Tonstal Bishop of London, and Sir Richard Wingfield Knight, his ambassadors in Spain, to intercede for the delivery of Francis; who had begun the way already in a particular letter to Charles: where, after an excuse for his not sooner writing, because they who had charge of him, would not permit it, he said, 'That the greatest comfort he found 'in this his miserable condition, was, that he had fallen into the hands 'of so generous a prince, who therefore would not force him to any 'thing which might be unjust to require, or impossible to perform. 'That he hop'd therefore, sufficient security would be accepted for his 'delivery, since thereby, instead of detaining an unuseful prisoner, he 'should make a king his slave. Howsoever, that it was more profit to 'have him a faithful friend, than to suffer him to die desperate.' None yet was so vigilant and intente either for his delivery, or the general good of the kingdom, as Madam Louise his mother (regent of France) who, by many forcible and reiterated ambassies and treaties, drew most of the Christian potentates and republicks, to favour the deliverance of her son. Through her care also, Andrea Doria (General of the French king's galleys) reconducted the Duke of Albany, who, though far engag'd in the enemy's country, did yet, without any considerable loss of his men, return to Marseilles, April 25.

The emperor now finding that all the chief princes and estates in Christendom, would puissantly labour for the delivery of Francis, sent Adrian de Croy Seigneur de Beaurain, with certain propositions, dated March 25, 1525. unto him. Whereof this is the sum.

'That an universal peace and league should be concluded betwixt 'all Christian princes, and security on every side be given, for the continuance thereof.

'That either of them two, with 20,000 foot, and 5000 horse, should 'invade the Turk.

'That for further security, the Dauphin should marry with the 'Princess Maria (daughter to the King of Portugal and the Queen 'Leonora) and the dowry should be a mutual disclaim in each others 'inheritance.

'That the King of France should restore and leave the Dutchy of 'Burgundy in that estate and manner as it was in the time of Charles 'the last duke thereof; and Theroüene, Hesdin, and all that was 'usurp'd in Artois should be re-deliver'd.

'That Charles Duke of Bourbon, should be restor'd to his former 'estate, and (particularly) have the county of Provence conferr'd upon 'him, which thereupon he should hold under the title of king thereof.

'That the King of England should have all restor'd that appertain'd 'to him, or otherwise was agreed upon.



'That all followers of the Duke of Bourbon should be reintegrated in their former possessions.

'That the Prince of Aurange, Don Hugo de Moncada, the Seigneur de Bonze, and d'Antroy, should be set at liberty, and all restor'd to the Prince of Aurange, which was taken from him in the wars of Bretagne.

'That Madam Margarite, aunt to the emperor, and La Reyna Germana, second wife to Ferdinand of Spain, with divers other princes and great persons, (particularly nominated in the said articles) should be righted in their just demands, for restitution in all things taken since the war.

'That all commerce betwixt the subjects should be renew'd hereupon.

'That the chief parliaments of Paris and elsewhere in France, should ratifie the agreement.

'That the king himself, being at liberty, should with all due solemnity, confirm it, as also the Dauphin, as soon as he came to the age of fourteen.'

When these articles were presented to Francis, some of them so displeas'd him, that he is said in a fury to have drawn his dagger, and spoken these words, 'It is better for a king of France to die after this manner.' Insomuch that Hernando de Alancon, who was present, hastily took it from him. Yet, to gratifie the emperor, he gave order that the Prince of Aurange, and Don Hugo de Moncada should be set at liberty. Moncada coming to the court, brought two letters, one from the king, the other from Madam Louise, his mother; by which (as also by the intervention of the Archbishop of Embrun, and Philip Chabot, Seigneur de Brion, and others, who were deputed ambassadors upon this occasion) these conditions following were offer'd.

'That Donna Leonora (sister to the emperor, and relict to the late King of Portugal) should not be given in marriage to Bourbon, (howsoever promis'd him,) but to the King of France, and the infanta Donna Maria, her daughter, unto the Dauphin.

'That the dukedom of Burgundy should be held by Francis, as the dowry to the Queen Leonora, and should be left to the heirs males betwixt them. If no such issue yet should happen, that the dukedom should then descend to the second son of the said emperor: if the emperor should have no sons, but daughters, that then the second son of the King of France should marry one of the said daughters, and have Burgundy for her portion.

'That Francis would renounce all the right and interest he had in Milan, Genouia and Naples, together with all debts and pensions that could be demanded on that occasion.

'That he would release the superiority and dominion that he pretended over Flanders and Artois, and for this purpose would obtain the consent of all the estates of France.

‘That he would restore Hesdin and Tournay.

‘That, for the lands he held near the river of Soam, he would pay the emperor a just price.

‘That, when the emperor should go to his coronation into Italy, or otherwise, that if he or his brother Ferdinand should make war, he would pay half the charges of his army and go along in person.

‘That, if the emperor would pass into Italy by sea, he would command all his gallies and other shipping to attend him at Barcelona.

‘That, if the emperor would make war against the infidels in Africa, or Greece, he would pay half the charges of the army, and attend the emperor in person.

‘That all the emperor had capitulated with the King of England, and all that was due by way of borrowing or pension to the said king, should be paid and accomplish’d, in such manner, that the emperor might be altogether discharg’d and freed thereof.

‘That he would restore to the Duke of Bourbon, all his estate, and pay him his pensions ; and moreover, give his daughter in marriage to him, together with such a portion as was fitting her degree and quality ; and that when any army should be rais’d by him for the emperor’s service, the said duke should be general, in case the king went not himself in person ; and that all former disservices and unkindnesses should be forgotten.

‘That sufficient security by the parliament of Paris should be given of these particularities.’

Upon mature deliberation taken concerning these propositions, the emperor reply’d, ‘That the dutchy of Burgundy was his inheritance, and therefore not to be dispos’d of or alienated according to any man’s fancy or arbitrement. Concerning the marriage propos’d between Francis and Leonora his sister, that he could resolve nothing without the consent of Bourbon, to whom she was promis’d. That for the businesses of Italy, he would innovate nothing, but rather keep all quiet. As for Naples, since Francis had no right thereunto, there was no occasion to make use of his disclaim. That it would content him much to have Burgundy restor’d in the same manner that his great grand-father Charles enjoy’d it. And that he accepted well of his shipping, when he would think fit to go and receive his crown in Italy.’ The French on the other side instead of Burgundy, offer’d great sums of money : but Charles insisting still upon Burgundy, nothing was concluded. So that leaving Madrid, the emperor went to hold his cortes (or parliament) at Toledo ; where, among other things, it was petition’d by the estates assembled, that the emperor being now of age to marry, should take to wife Donna Isabella Infanta of Portugal, and not the Princess Mary, our king’s daughter.

While affairs pass’d thus (March.) betwixt Charles and Francis, our

king, who knew he might have use of money on these occasions, and (howsoever) did well understand, that the maintaining of a sure peace at home, was almost as costly as the making of a war abroad, advis'd with his council how to provide himself. Yet, as the cardinal had undertaken the king should never want, as long as he might manage the public affairs, so they gladly discharg'd themselves on him. But princes ought to take heed in whose hands they commit their extraordinary power, lest it hazzard their ordinary; it being the clue of that labyrinth of state, which ought not rashly to be put into another's hand. Neither should they inforce any thus violently, when business may be done in a calm and gentle manner: the harmony of government consisting in such a delicate proportion, that no one part can safely be strain'd higher, unless the rest may well be tun'd and accorded thereunto. This appear'd in the actions of this year, (being the seventeenth of the reign of our king,) when (April.) commissions being granted forth into all the counties of England, for the levying the sixth part of every lay-man's goods, and the fourth of the clergy's: the people in general took it so ill, that it was like to have grown to a rebellion; alledging, first these commissions were against the law. Secondly, their own poverty; and that the king, since the fourteenth of his reign, had of them twenty fifteens. But as this seem'd to be done, without that the king was fully inform'd thereof, so when the sequence appear'd, it was resolv'd to disavow the whole proceeding. Our king therefore, by letters sent through all the counties of England, declar'd, he would have nothing of them but by way of benevolence. This got the cardinal many a curse, and the king as many blessings. Notwithstanding, under this title of benevolence, he required great sums of all his subjects, and particularly of the citizens of London. But one of their lawyers answer'd (May 8.) that by the statute, *primo Ric. tertii, cap. secundo*, such benevolences were forbidden. But it was reply'd, that 'laws made 'by usurpers oblige not legitimate princes; that Richard III., was not 'only a tyrant, but a murtherer of his own nephews, and therein more 'fit to suffer by the law, than to make any. Therefore his intentions 'were, only by popular and licentious ways, to obtain the favour of the 'commonalty, as having no other means to subsist. That our king, 'being the true and undoubted heir of the crown, could be tyed hereby 'no further than it pleas'd himself; it being absurd to think, that a 'statute invented by a factious assembly, and approv'd no otherwise 'than by a criminal in the highest degree, should bind an absolute and 'lawful monarch; wherefore, if they had no better evasion, it were not 'fit to mention this.' Thereupon the cardinal promising to examine them one by one, concerning what they would give, he begins with the lord mayor; but the mayor desiring leave not to declare himself fully, till he had spoken with the common-council of the city, the cardinal



wisht him and the rest of the aldermen to come to him privately, and give what they would. In the country yet, (where they seem'd more obstinate,) some ring-leaders of the people (who had taken arms) upon the perswasion of the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk submitted themselves, and were brought to London, and there imprison'd. The king yet, persisting in his intention not to punish any on this occasion, (as being advertis'd that the common sort of his subjects excus'd themselves by their want of means, and not of affection, to supply his majesty's occasions) brought the matter to the council-table, where the cardinal, by way of apology, said, that 'he had done nothing herein, 'without advising first with the judges, who affirm'd positively, the king 'might lawfully demand any sum by commission, and that the council 'of state confirm'd this course.' But the king saying, that 'he was 'made believe, his subjects were richer than indeed he found them by 'this commission,' all the fault was laid on the false informers, and pardon given to all those who had deny'd the former benevolence. Hereupon the offenders were brought to the star-chamber ; where after a sharp charge laid against them by the king's council-learned, the cardinal said, that, 'notwithstanding their grievous offences, the king, 'in consideration of their poverty, had granted them his gracious 'pardon, upon condition, that they would give in sureties for their good 'behaviour henceforth.' But they replying, that they had none ; the cardinal first, and after him the Duke of Norfolk, said they would stand bound for them, wherewith they were discharg'd.

The cardinal, who by a concurrence of the papal and regal authority, had suppress'd divers monasteries, and given that terror to the rest, that he drew large sums from them, would not yet desist so, but continued still his purposes of converting the profits of all those, which by any colour might be reputed supernumerary, unto other uses ; among which while he reduc'd the monastery of Beggam in Essex, a disguis'd company, in strange visors, taking the canons along with them, reimplac'd them, and so departed ; promising at the ringing of their abbey-bell, to come at all times to their succours. But these apparitions did not long haunt the house ; for the king's council, understanding hereof, so examin'd the canons, that they at last confess'd the authors, who therefore were sent for, and grievously punish'd. The cardinal thus every way establishing his authority, was thought by this time, between visitations, making of abbots, probats of testaments, granting of faculties, licenses, dispensations, and many other ways, besides the great pensions he had from foreign princes, to have made his treasury equal to the king's (notwithstanding the sums he often transmitted to Rome ;) in which way of enriching himself, one John Allen doctor of law, his chaplain, accompany'd with a great train, and riding from one religious house to another, in a kind of perpetual progress or visitation, did the cardinal no little service. But as this at last became a publick grievance,

so the king took notice of it, in so sharp a manner, that the cardinal was enforc'd, not only to excuse himself with much submission, but to promise never to do so any more ; protesting withal, that he had made a last will or testament, wherein he had left a great part of his estate unto his highness. Upon which submission of the cardinal's (as I take it) the king sent him this letter, written all with his own hand, as we find it in our records.

'As touching the matter of Wilton, seeing it is in no other strain than you write of, and you being also so suddenly (with the falling sick of your servants) afraid, and troubled ; I marvel not that it overslipp'd you as it did. But it is no great matter, standing the case that it doth ; for it is yet in my hand, as I perceive by your letter, and your default was not so great, seeing the election was but conditional. Wherefore, my lord, seeing the humbleness of your submission, and though the case were much more heinous, I can be content for to remit it, being right glad, that, according to mine intent, my monitions and warnings have been benignly and lovingly accepted on your behalf, promising you, that the very affection I bear you caus'd me thus to do. As touching the help of religious houses to the building of your college, I would it were more, so it be lawfully ; for my intent is none, but that it should so appear to all the world, and the occasion of all their mumbling might be secluded and put away ; for, surely, there is great murmuring of it, throughout all the realm, both good and bad. They say not that all that is ill gotten is bestow'd upon the college, but that the college is the cloak for covering all mischiefs. This grieveth me, I assure you, to hear it spoken by him, which I so entirely love. Wherefore, me-thought I could do no less, than thus friendly to admonish you. One thing more I perceive by your own letter, which a little me-thinketh toucheth conscience, and that is, that you have receiv'd money of the exempts for having of their old visitors. Surely, this can hardly be with good conscience. For, and they were good, why should you take money ? And if they were ill, it were a sinful act. Howbeit your legacy therein might, peradventure, *apud homines* be a cloak, but not *apud Deum*. Wherefore, you, thus monish'd by him who so intirely loveth you, I doubt not, will desist, not only from this, (if conscience will not bear it) but from all other things which should tangle the same ; and, in so doing, we will sing, *Te laudant angeli atque archangeli, Te laudat omnis spiritus*. And thus an end I make of this, though rude, yet loving letter, desiring you as benevolently to take it, as I do mean it, for I ensure you, (and I pray you think it so) that there remaineth, at this hour, no spark of displeasure towards you in my heart. And thus fare-you-well, and be no more perplexed. Written with the hand of your loving sovereign and friend,

'HENRY R.'

One of the liberties which our king took at his spare time, was to love. For, as all recommendable parts concurr'd in his person, and they, again, were exalted in his high dignity and valour, so it must seem less strange, if amid the fair ladies, which liv'd in his court, he both gave and receiv'd temptation. Among whom, because Mistress Elizabeth Blunt, daughter to Sir John Blunt, Knight, was thought, for her rare ornaments of nature, and education, to be the beauty and mistress-piece of her time, that intire affection past betwixt them, as at last she bore him a son. The child, proving so equally like to both his parents, that he became the first emblem of their mutual affection, was call'd Henry Fitz-Roy by the king, and so much avow'd by him, that having now attained the age of six years, he was made knight publicly, and the same day (June 18.) created Earl of Nottingham, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, and Lieutenant-general beyond Trent, and Warden General of the borders of Scotland, and (July 19.) shortly after Admiral of England. After which he was first bred up together with Henry Earl of Surrey, in the castle of Windsor (which the earl elegantly describes in a sonnet extant in his works) from whence (Nov. 1532.) they went both together to study at Paris, which acquaintance and friendship was indear'd again by a match of the said duke with Mary the earl's sister ; by whom yet he had no issue. Howbeit, I find, he was very personable and of great expectation, insomuch that he was thought, not only for hability of body but mind, to be one of the rarest of his time ; for which reason also he was much cherish'd by our king, as also because he had no issue male by his queen, nor did, perchance, expect any.

The cardinal had now built his fair palace at Hampton-Court. But as he wisely consider'd, that it would but add unto that envy for which he had already suffer'd so much, he gave it the king, who, in exchange, permitted him to live in Richmond House.

The credit that Luther, at this time, had gotten among those Germans, who were either weary of their obedience to the stricter parts of ecclesiastical government, or desirous to reform the errors and abuses of it, (now so general, as even Pope Adrian himself confess'd that many were crept into Rome) had prevail'd far. Yet, as others examin'd which way he took to make his reformation, so they thought religion yet not so exactly form'd, but that it might be cast in a better mold. Therefore, not only Huldricus Zuinglius, at Zurich, began a reformation somewhat varying from that of Luther ; but one Muncer in the confines of Turingia, having invented a doctrine, opposite enough to the Church of Rome, yet differing from the other reformers in many things, publish'd it with much applause of the inferior sort. For, as he fain'd he had power from God to depose princes, and substitute others, and that, again, he taught, all goods should be common, and divers other articles tending to popularity, he was follow'd by huge multitudes. To temper



yet this licentious doctrine, he preach'd austerity of life ; counselling men to prayers, fastings, and all other devotions, which might argue, his intention was not so much to invade other men's possessions, as to establish a moderate equality. Thus did he season falsehoods with truths, and ill with good, while the vulgar sort, who could not distinguish betwixt them, admir'd, and follow'd all. To remedy these so dangerous assemblies and opinions, the chief neighbouring princes rais'd some forces ; and prevail'd so far, that, at last, they dissipated, and kill'd their whole army. Neither was it difficult, they, for their best defence, singing only a psalm, (whereby they invok'd the Holy Ghost) while Muncer (who it seems trusted least to his own doctrine) fled away ; yet being pursu'd and taken, together with his companion Phifer, they shortly after lost their heads. His sect yet took not its end so ; as being reviv'd again, in part, not many years after, by John of Leyden and Knipperdoling, who, to his other impieties added this, that in a throng of people, being born upon mens shoulders, he would breath on them, and bid them receive the Holy Ghost.

Such was the generous disposition of our king, that not only for Francis then a prisoner, but the expelled King of Denmark, Christiern, he interceded with his best offices. Therefore, this year, he sent Henry Standish Bishop of Saint Asaph, and Sir Henry Baker, Knight, to persuade his subjects to recall him home ; whence yet nothing had chased him so much as the guilt and horror of shedding so much blood there (so great a persecutor is cruelty of it self :) but the angry Danes obstinately deny'd. The next instance then was, that at least his son (who was nephew to Charles) might succeed. But this also was refus'd ; they alledging they durst not commit the supream power over themselves, into the hands of one, who, they thought would imitate and revenge his father.

The French king being weary of his restraint in Italy, had desir'd he might be remov'd into Spain ; both as he hop'd the emperor might be perswaded to come to speech with him there, and as he reputed change of prison to be a second liberty, Charles de la Noy also concurr'd in this request, as fearing he might be taken out of his hand. Having (June 7.) obtain'd this favour, he found not yet the emperor sufficiently dispos'd to see him, though otherwise he could not complain of being either debarr'd the pleasure of hunting, or any other reasonable exercise. Finding yet still that the emperor did estrange himself so much, as not to vouchsafe him one visit, he fell sick ; for he did not think that his misfortunes had made him forfeit his dignity ; or that, for being a prisoner of war, he had extinguish'd his title to be a king. Charles understanding this, whether out of compassion, or fear of losing Francis, resolves to go to him at the Alcazar de Madrid, where, coming to his chamber he embrac'd Francis, who said presently, '*Monsieur veys aqui vuestro esclavo,*' the emperor answer'd again, '*No Sino, buen*

*‘hermano, y amigo libre.’* The king reply’d, *‘No Sino, vuestro esclavo.’* The emperor answer’d again, *‘No Sino, libre amigo, y buen hermano.’* and thereupon wisht him to have a care of his health, which he much desir’d, and that his businesses would succeed well. The emperor not thinking this courtesie sufficient, returns to see him the next day again; which so comforted Francis, that he amended suddenly. Whereupon the emperor resolv’d to return to his businesses at Toledo. But Madam Margarite Dutchess of Alancon, sister to Francis, hearing of his sickness, made haste to see him. Whom therefore the emperor courteously entertain’d, and accompany’d to her brother’s lodging; where, after many affectionate protestations, he left them together, and so held on his journey to Toledo, whither Madam de Alancon, not many days after, followed him, mediating still the delivery of her brother, to whom she desir’d the emperor to give his sister Leonora, upon the conditions above-mention’d; and that the king, her brother, would provide for Bourbon a match equal to this; wherein she was thought to have intimated her self, as being newly made widow by the death of her husband, the Duke of Alancon. As for the right of Burgundy, she desir’d it might be determin’d by way of justice before the twelve peers of France; but the emperor dislik’d this, saying, that he was contented that learned persons in the law on both sides should treat hereof, and that the pope should be umpire; but madame also did not approve this. The French writers add, that promise was made by Francis at this time also, that the king of England should receive intire satisfaction. Madame de Alancon, finding at last how little her intreaties prevail’d, desir’d leave to return, and by the way to see her brother, which was granted. Here then was propos’d how he might escape; which was at last resolv’d, by changing cloaths with a negro, who carry’d wood and coals to the king’s chamber, and blacking his face with coal dust. Which invention as it is like enough to be a lady’s, and somewhat better than the lending him her mask, I have thought fit to give her the honour of. This plot was kept secret, only betwixt the king, his sister, one Clement Chappion his chamberlain, and another treasurer. But Monsieur de la Rochepot striking this Chappion on some occasion, he, as being discontented and without remedy, flies to the emperor, and discovers all. The emperor yet would not suddenly believe it, nor without better enquiry into the business; as not thinking (if one may believe the Spaniard my author) that the King of France would, in such an undecent and unworthy manner, procure his liberty. Therefore, in favour of this conceit of the emperor’s, he so represents the crime, as if Francis ought to believe, that it was more honourable for him to stay in prison, than escape it; howsoever it seems his ancient courage was so far from being abated, as it increas’d rather by his close keeping. Therefore he sent Monsieur de Montmorency to tell Charles, that ‘he was resolv’d to endure anything sooner than to restore Burgundy, or

'yield through constraint that which did not become him; so that he 'desir'd only to know the place of his imprisonment, and number of 'his attendants.' The emperor answer'd, that 'he was content to 'appoint him a place, and to nominate those that should guard him; for 'the rest, protesting that it griev'd him much that Francis should refuse 'to do that for the ransom of his person, which he was bound to do, for 'the sake of justice only.' But ample commission and consent being come from madame the regent and parliament of Paris to transact a further agreement, Francis demanded that he might have Donna Leonora, and, for her portion, the counties of Mascon and Auxerre, promising, in consideration thereof, to restore Burgundy. But to this demand of Leonora, Charles answer'd again, that being oblig'd to the Duke of Bourbon, he could do nothing therein without acquainting him first: yet, to satisfy the king, he sent to Bourbon, to let him know how much it concern'd him, that Francis might have Leonora. But Bourbon (it is doubtful whether out of his former 'contumacy and stubbornness, or out of a violent affection to the lady) answer'd, that he had lost great possessions in France, only to have the honour to match in that nearness of blood to the emperor. This seem'd much to trouble Charles: at last, sending for Bourbon, he offer'd him, in recompence of Leonora, the investiture of Milan, which Bourbon accepted; the writings or patent for which my author saith he saw in Simanca, not expressing in the meanwhile, how this concurr'd with the investiture, which, a little before, he saith, the emperor gave to Francisco Sforza. To reconcile which difficulty, I shall produce (out of a dispatch extant in our records) the reason, as I conceive it; for though Charles had (together with the possession) granted Sforza the investiture of Milan, yet it was upon condition, that Sforza should pay him 1,200,000 crowns towards his charges, and that the said investiture should remain in the hands of La Noy, till the war of Italy were ended. But Sforza finding this too hard, joyn'd with the adverse party, and gave occasion to the emperor to bestow the investiture on Bourbon. And he had reason to be contented herewith; for Donna Leonora, hearing of this competition about her, decided the controversie in favour of Francis; sending word to the emperor, that she had rather be a queen of France than wife to Bourbon.

This while, the pope, the Venetians, and princes of Italy on the one side, leagu'd together for the defence of Italy against the emperor, inviting also our king into the treaty; our king on the other, mediated for Francis; neither did it diminish the suspicion entertain'd by them, that Charles pretended to an universal monarchy in Christendom, because, presently upon the making of Francis prisoner at Pavia, he had written to our king, as well as to all other the said principal persons, that he should take it weil if they did not meddle with the dominions and estates of Francis, since, being his prisoner, he could do no less



than protect him against all others. While these treaties proceed, Henry de Albret, King of Navarre, found a more compendious way to his liberty, by corrupting his guards. The Count de Saint Paul also devis'd means to escape without paying any ransom.

Madame Louïse, the French regent, continuing her messages and ambassades, solicits our king's assistance for the redeeming of her son. To which purpose a treaty was concluded at Moore, Aug. 30, 1525. in this manner, as our records have it :

'That all injuries, done and receiv'd in the late war between England and France, shall be forgotten.

'That confederation for mutual aid and intercourse of merchandise shall be establish'd, together with free passage of subjects through each other's dominions, so that they exceed not a hundred arm'd men.

'That all taxes and impositions laid by each of the kings upon the subjects or merchants of the other, within these last fifty years, shall be extinct, and no new ones impos'd.

'That one shall not protect the disobedient subjects of the other, nor entertain rebels, traytors, or fugitives; but, within twenty days after due requisition made, shall deliver them up.

'That no letters of reprisal (or merk) shall be granted on either side, but only against the principal delinquents, and that but in case of denial of justice.

'That, if the subjects of the one or the other offend against this treaty, they shall be punish'd, without that the treaty shall, any way therefore, be infring'd.

'That, presently upon the ratification of this treaty, the prisoners of war on the one and the other side shall be releas'd, as also the French hostages.

'That, in this treaty shall be comprehended the friends and allies of each prince. That is to say, on the King of France his part, the pope, the kings of Scotland, Hungary, Navarre, and Portugal; the state of Venice; the Dukes of Savoy, Lorain, Gueldres, Ferrara; the Swiss, the Marquiss of Montferrat and Saluzzo. On the King of England's part, the pope, the Emperor Charles, the King of Denmark, of Hungary, of Portugal, Queen Mary dowager of France, Lady Margaret Arch-duchess of Austria; Ferdinand brother to the emperor, Arch-duke of Austria: the state of Venice; the Bishop of Liege; the Dukes of Urbin, Cleve, Juilliers, the house of Medici, the Florentines, the Duke of Ferrara, the Hansiatick towns; upon condition, that they accept it within six months next ensuing. Whose violating of the league yet should not be understood as a breach betwixt the principal contractors.

'That yet this treaty shall not extend to the maintaining of any receiv'd into it, so, as it should hinder the principal contractors to

'recover their right and lands whatsoever, withheld by any, since the treaty of 1518.

'The King of England shall do his best endeavour to procure, as soon as may be, the liberty of Francis, and to induce the emperor to accept reasonable conditions.

'That this treaty shall be sign'd and sworn to by Francis, within three months, if he get his liberty so soon: or otherwise he shall confirm it by his letters, written with his own hand, and written to King Henry VIII. And that Madame la Regente shall renounce all exceptions, which in law (as by *Senatûs-Consultum Velleianum*, etc.) may be taken against this treaty.

'That the Cardinal of Bourbon, Duke of Longueville, Comte Saint Paul, Mr. de Lautrech, Montmorency, Mr. de Pressi, Comte de Bryan, as also the principal cities, Paris, Lyons, Orleans, Tolosa, Amiens, Rouën, etc., shall, under the obligation and forfeit of all their goods, swear hereunto, to observe this treaty, within three months after the date hereof, (in which also their heirs and successors shall be comprehended) giving, for this purpose, a bond with their seal annexed, to be sent to the King of England, within three months. Moreover, certain bonds were given for the debts and moneys hereafter specify'd, viz. two millions of crowns, at the payment of fifty thousand crowns at a time in Calais. The first payment to begin within forty days after the treaty. The second the first of Nov. next ensuing. The next the first of May following, and so from term to term, and year to year, till the whole be satisfy'd to King Henry or his successors. After the payment of which, the said King Henry shall, during his life (and no longer) receive yearly the sum of an hundred thousand crowns.'

This treaty was concluded Aug. 30. by the commissioners on both sides, viz., for our king, William Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cardinalis Ebor, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Henry Marquiss of Exon, Charles Earl of Worcester, Nicholas Bishop of Ely, and Sir Thomas More. For the Regent of France were John Brinon Premier President de Rouën, and Giovanni Joachim Seigneur de Vaultx, Mr. de Hostel to Louïse. And was proclaim'd September 8; and, in October, John Taylor, Doctor of Law, and Sir William Fitz-William were sent into France, to take the regent's oath. By another treaty this year at Lyons, I find the regent obliged her self to pay all the arrears due to Mary our king's sister out of France, by reason of her marriage with Louis XII. as also to suffer her to enjoy the profits and rents of all the lands left her in jointure, according to the treaty, Oct. 8. 1514.

Francisco Sforza being inform'd now that a strong league was intended by the pope, Venetians, and divers others, against the emperor, was perswaded to enter into it, upon pretence, that by their

assistance he might sufficiently defend his country. But this was his ruin; for the Marquiss of Pescara understanding hereof, or (as others say) supposing it only, questions him: but Sforza denying constantly that ever he gave his consent thereto, the marquiss demanded the castle of Milan and Cremona for security. But Sforza utterly refusing this, the Marquis of Pescara took Milan, and laid siege to the castle (which only remain'd to Sforza,) and after Pescara's death (which happen'd (July 24. 1526.) by sickness) the Duke of Bourbon. The conclusion hereof was, that Sforza (by constraint) yielded the castle upon conditions, and so retir'd at length to the army, rais'd by the league against Charles the year following.

The emperor, who had now treated of marriage in many places, (Nov.) concluded it at last with his niece, Donna Isabella the Infanta of Portugal, and daughter of Manuel and Maria, Infanta of Castile, whom yet he married not till January 2. 1526. alledging for his excuse to our king, that at the request and petition of his cortes or states assembled at Toledo, he had preferr'd this lady before our Princess Mary, which therefore he desir'd might be understood for no breach of friendship. Our king also considering the tender age of his daughter, not yet fit for marriage; and that it was an incongruity to ally himself with a prince against whom he might have so soon occasion to draw his sword, (as may appear by the league above mention'd) seem'd very well content to relinquish the match, upon this mutual consent. After which time the friendship betwixt them grew so remiss, that at last it dissolv'd wholly; insomuch that the ambassadors of both sides were recall'd home, and Charles, who before was accusom'd to sign his letters to King Henry always *Tuus filius* and *Cognatus*, from henceforth subscribed only Carlos.

But I the less wonder that the emperor now began to take state upon him, since a richer booty than that of Francis fell into his hands, that is to say Peru, where the mines of Potosi (and many others, which for want of labourers remain to this day buried and unuseful) were first discovered. Which began in this manner.

Vlasco Nunnez having first (1513.) discover'd from a high rock near Darien, the Mer del Zur, (1520.) Hernando de Magellanes (a Portugeeze, but set forth by Charles V.) afterwards found out the streights that bear his name, and pass'd through them with two ships to the Isle of Zebut, and others in that sea; but (April, 1521.) dying in the voyage, his companions went on to Borneo and the (Nov. 8.) Moluccaes, and many other places, whence one of the ships (Sept. 6. 1523.) return'd to Spain by Capo de Buena Esperanca, and so first compassed the globe; Juan Sebastian de Cano, a Biskainer, being pilot. The other ship was taken by the Portugeeze. Yet, as the continent towards that sea was unknown still, Francisco Pizarro, a Spaniard living at Panama, (being the furthest part of land, where it is narrowest, betwixt the



North Ocean and the Mer del Zur) first attempted the (1525.) discovery of that coast, bending at last to Peru, which afterwards he (1533.) ransack'd; for landing his men at a time when there was dissention betwixt Guancar the lawful heir, and Atabaliva his younger brother, he made his advantage thereof to the overthrow of both, and of Atabaliva first, in this pretext. Pizarro having his forces in a readiness, sent a Dominican fryer, with a cross in one hand, and a breviary in another, who (as the Spanish writers have it) told Atabaliva (then in the head of his army) that God was three, and yet one, and that He made the world of nothing, and that He sent His Son down to be born of a virgin, and to die for our sins upon a cross, like that he bore; and that He rose the third day, and left St. Peter His vicar, and the pope his successor, who had given the emperor that country; if he wou'd not believe this, commanding him also to make war, and destroy him and his religion. Atabaliva, who though full of superstitious worship, did yet venerate a Supreme Deity (confess'd in these parts by the name of Viracocha, or Baracocha, as in Mexico by that of Teuth, and in Guatimala by that of Cabovit, in Nueva Espanna by that of Yocabuva-guamaorocoti) and together acknowledg'd virtue and vice, reward and punishment, after this life, as believing the soul immortal, found this ambassage strange, and said, 'He believ'd no power on earth was 'superior to himself, yet, that he would be glad to hold friendship with 'the emperor; and for the pope, he wonder'd at him, because he gave 'that which was none of his. As for his religion, he would not dispute 'it, since it was so ancient, and receiv'd in his country. And, for 'worshipping Christ that died, he said, he thought he had done better 'in worshipping the sun and moon, that never died, as believing '(which I find by the history of the Incas, written by one of that 'blood royal) that the sun did go about the world on God's errand.' Lastly, he demanded, 'Who told him that God had made the world 'on that fashion?' To whom the dominican answering, 'the Breviary,' and together putting it into his hands; Atabaliva turning over a few leaves (as if he expected some such expression from thence) but finding he understood nothing, threw it away, wherewith the dominican exclaiming, that the gospel was on the ground, and demanding vengeance, Pizarro discharg'd some great ordnance, and his small-shot against him, wherewith the terrified Indians fled, and Atabaliva was taken prisoner. Atabaliva hereupon offers for his ransom as much gold and silver as would fill a great sala or room where they were, which being accorded and almost perform'd in effect, Pizarro upon false pretences, most cruelly put him to death, though baptized; for which also the conspirators, and Pizarro himself at last, came to ill deaths, as the Spanish writers observe. However, for the present, the Spaniards proceeded in their cruelty to others of all sorts, especially of the blood-royal, and (1541.) got infinite treasure, their temples

being planked with gold, and their graves full of treasure and riches, which were buried with them. But I doubt I have insisted too long upon these barbarisms.

The year of our Lord 1526, was now entred, when Charles requir'd his council to advise him, whether it were best to deliver Francis ; and if so, upon what terms ? Charles de la Noy, Vice-roy of Naples, did not think fit the emperor should lose the benefit of such a prize ; therefore, though he perswaded the delivery of Francis, yet he wish'd that the most advantageous conditions that could be made thereof, should be taken suddenly, and before the league, which was now forming against him, could be concluded. That this being done, the emperor was more free to provide for the business of Germany, to resist the Turk, and to suppress Barbarossa, and other pyrates that infested the seas. Others, and among them Guattinara the chancellor, said, ' That there was less danger of Francis's being in prison than ' abroad ; especially since it did not appear sufficiently the new league ' would be broken off, when Francis had his liberty, but rather ' strengthen'd and confirm'd, as being not directed so much for the ' delivery of Francis, as oppos'd to the greatness of Charles. That ' many things might be done while Francis was unsettled, which would ' take no effect when he were restor'd to his former estate. Therefore, ' his best course were to find some means to have the children of his ' prisoner, and other affairs in France, within his power, that so nothing ' might interrupt his designs elsewhere. And that himself should ' undertake his journey to Italy, before he let go so dangerous an ' enemy, who, if once loose, would rather make war for redeeming his ' losses, than improve them by standing to any servile conditions. ' Lastly, that his Imperial Majesty ought to believe, that if Francis ' being in prison, would not make restitution of Burgundy, he would ' much less do it when he were free.' Hornando de Vega said, ' that ' Francis was very well in Madrid.' To which Guattinara reply'd resolutely, ' There might be use both of detaining and letting him go ; ' only, since he saw so little hope of performance (what security soever ' were given) he thought it best either to let him go freely, and therein ' put a perpetual obligation upon him, or to keep him still where he ' was.' This was a wise advice. The emperor yet chose rather to adhere to them who counselled him to prevail himself of the occasion. Therefore considering Francis offered his two sons for hostages, while himself going to France, mediated with the estates for restoring Burgundy ; and that, without this personal intercession, there was little hope of any satisfaction or peace ; he thought it best to deliver Francis, as that which at least would declare to the Christian world, that he desir'd the quietness thereof. So that upon the Jan. 14. a treaty (called the Concord of Madrid) was concluded ; the tenor

whereof, according to the most substantial articles, is here set down.

Charles the emperor, and on his part, Charles de la Noy, Vice-Roy of Naples, Hugo de Moncada, and Juan Aleman : and Francis le Roy Tres-Christien, and on his part, Francis Archbishop of Embrun, and Jean de Selue, Premier President du Parliement de Paris, and Philip Chabot, having commission from Madam Louise Regent of France, in vertue of the power given her by Francis, before his imprisonment (thought therefore authentick) did upon the day and year above-written, treat, accord, and conclude these articles following :

1. That there shall be a good and secure peace and confederacy establish'd between the two princes, so that they shall be friends to the friends, and enemies to the enemies of each other, for the mutual defence of their estates and kingdoms.

2. That traffick and commerce shall be renew'd betwixt their subjects on either side, upon payment only of their ancient customs ; and that the sea shall be secur'd from pyrates.

3. That the dutchy of Burgundy, together with all the rights, members, and dependences, shall in the name of him, his heirs, and successors, be restor'd within the space of six weeks after the delivery of Francis, notwithstanding any decrees of parliaments, pretence of the salick law, or other claim whatsoever.

4. Because yet, for better performance of these things which are requir'd, the French king alledgeth it is necessary, that he should presently repair home : it is therefore concluded, that upon the tenth of March next, the said French king shall be set free, in that part of France which adjoins to Feuentarabie ; upon condition nevertheless, that at the same hour and instant (the number of attendants on both sides being equal) the Dauphin his eldest son, and Duke of Orleans his second son, or (instead of the said duke) Monsieur de Vendosme, John Duke of Albany, Monsieur de St. Pol, Monsieur de Guise, Monsieur de Lautrech, Monsieur de la Val, the Marquiss de Saluzzo, Monsieur de Rieux, the great Seneschal of Normandy, the Mareschal de Montmorency, Monsieur de Brion, and Monsieur de Aubigny, should be deliver'd to Charles as hostages, till all conditions were perform'd ; which being done, that within the space of four weeks a ratification by the parliament of Paris, and all the other parliaments of the said kingdom, shall be deliver'd unto Charles ; whereupon the said Charles doth swear and promise upon the faith of a prince, to return the said hostages, upon condition yet, that the third son of Francis, being Duke de Angoulesme, should at the same time be given to Charles, to be kept and brought up in his court, and with him. And the French king doth furthermore promise, in case these things were not perform'd (that is to say, the restitution of Burgundy, and the rest in six weeks, and the ratification in four more ensuing) to return



prisoner to Charles. And, for this purpose, as he had sworn already, so when he is at liberty, he shall renew and confirm the said oath, before such commissioners as Charles shall appoint. And that upon his said return to Charles, his hostages should be deliver'd.

5. That Francis for himself, his heirs, and successors, shall renounce his whole right, claim, and interest, in all the kingdoms, estates, lands, and seigneuries, which are now in the possession of Charles, and especially in the kingdom of Naples, as well for all propriety therein, as any pension or payment demanded for the same. And that the investiture thereof, given by the apostolick see to his ancestors or him, as also all capitulations made to this effect heretofore, shall not be available for the said kingdom of Naples, or for the estates of Milan, Genouia, Asti, and their dependencies. And, that the grants or writings to this purpose, whether pontifical or imperial, or only between him and Francisco Sforza, should be deliver'd to Charles. And that Francis shall, for him, his heirs, and successors, renounce all his demand or claim to Flanders, and to all other places thereabouts, now in possession of Charles, together with all superiority over them. In lieu whereof, the said Charles promiseth to relinquish his title to Perone, Montdidier, the counties of Boulogne, Guisnes, Ponthieu ; as also the cities, towns, seigneuries on both sides of the river of Soam, now in the possession of Francis, reserving only the counties of Masconois, Auxerrois, and Bar sur la Seine, which shall be dispos'd of particularly hereafter. And that all other lands, towns, and seigneuries not mention'd in these presents, shall be restor'd to the estate in which they were before the wars.

6. That, in performance of the league defensive betwixt both princes, they shall suffer no hostile forces to pass through either of their countries, to the hurt or prejudice of the other ; and that either prince being invaded, may have of the other 500 horse, and 10,000 foot, with convenient artillery (or any less number) at the charges of the demandant ; and, for the offensive league, that it shall extend no further than to their joint enemies, and by the mutual advice and consent of both.

7. That a marriage shall be had and made betwixt Francis and Leonora, a dispensation for that purpose being first obtain'd ; and that she shall be deliver'd to Francis at the same time that the hostages shall be restor'd by Charles.

8. That her dowry shall be 200,000 crowns *de soleil*, besides her arras (*i.e.* a pledge given in Spain, where marriages are recorded) which did appertain to her upon her first marriage.

9. That, besides the aforesaid sum, the emperor, out of his abundant love to his sister Leonora, shall bestow the counties of Masconois, Auxerrois, and the seignury of Bar sur la Seine, on her, and her heirs male only.

10. That the Queen Leonora shall renounce all rights of goods, or

heritage, that might descend to her from the part of her grandfather Maximilian, her father King Philip, or Queen Joan her mother, save only the collateral succession, in case the said Charles or his brother Ferdinand should die without issue.

11. That the said Queen Leonora shall receive from Francis jewels to the value of 50,000 crowns, to remain to her, her heirs, and her successors.

12. That if the said Francis and Leonora shall have issue male betwixt them, the eldest son shall be Duke of Alancon, and have in possession the dutchy thereof, conferr'd on him by Francis, and on his mother's part, the above-mentioned counties of Masconois, Auxerrois, and Bar sul la Seine, and that his other sons shall be provided for according to their degree, reserving still the right belonging to the Dauphin. And that the daughters shall have such portions as the kings of France usually give.

13. That in case Francis die before Leonora, she shall have for arras 60,000 livres Tournois of rent, yearly to continue, during her life only.

14. That, in case Leonora survive Francis, it may be lawful for her to return to Spain, Flanders, or Burgundy, and carry with her all her goods and jewels; and that before the solemnity of the said marriage, the seal of the said king and dauphin, and of the estates and principal places of the said kingdom of France, together with due acknowledgments and obligations shall be given, to the intent they may be forc'd to the accomplishment thereof, both by way of excommunication, and also by arrests, and detaining of all persons of the said kingdom, of what quality soever.

15. That a marriage shall be solemniz'd between Francis the Dauphin, son and heir to Francis, and Donna Maria, daughter to Leonora and her first husband Manuel, in words *de futuro*, when the said lady shall attain to seven years of age; and by words *de presenti*, when she shall be twelve. And that her brother Don Juan King of Portugal, shall give his consent thereunto, with sufficient provision for her dowry.

16. That the said Infanta Maria, shall at twelve years of age be conducted to France, and consign'd to Francis.

17. That Francis shall use his best means to dispose Henry d'Albret, together with his brothers and sisters, to renounce their title to Navarre, or when they could not procure any such disclaim, not to assist him or them in their pretences. That Francis likewise shall use his best means to dispose the Duke of Gueldres to leave (after his life) the dutchy of Gueldres and county of Zutphen, to Charles; or when he could not procure this, to assist Charles with 300 horse, and 4000 foot, to recover it.

18. That Francis shall not give assistance to Duke Ulicke of

Wittenberg, nor to Robert de la Mark, or his sons, against the said Charles, but rather help him to repress them, nor interpose himself by way of treaty in favour of any potentate of Italy.

19. That when Charles shall pass in person to Italy, Francis shall lend the said Charles his fleet in the Mediterranean Sea, being well equipped, for the space of three months, and no longer. And, whereas Francis promised to assist Charles, both with men and artillery for his voyage, he should in lieu thereof, pay in money 200,000 crowns, giving him good security for it; yet, if the emperor demanded 500 great horse, together with sufficient artillery, Francis should furnish them at his own proper costs.

20. That because Charles, for the better drawing Henry King of England to his party against Francis, had promis'd to pay unto the said Henry, the sum of 133,305 crowns yearly, in lieu of those pensions and rents which the said Francis was bound to pay to Henry, and during such terms as was agreed betwixt them; (as by a treaty concluded at Windsor, June 19. 1522. more at large appeareth) and because, since that time, until a later league betwixt Francis and Henry, all the said money remains in arrear: and because Francis saith, he hath taken order with Henry for the payment of the said entire sum; therefore it is agreed, that Francis shall save harmless the said Charles, from all demands on the part of Henry; and furthermore, shall give an authentick copy of the said late agreement betwixt him and Henry, some time before the end of four months next ensuing the date hereof; as also of the acquittances he shall receive from Henry upon payment of the said sums, which shall be such as Charles, his heirs and successors, may remain indemnify'd and discharged thereof for ever. So that, if Charles should be call'd upon for satisfaction in these particulars, Francis shall take the business on himself, and defend it as his own, without that Charles shall be any way molested therein.

21. That, because this particular treaty is made in the way of a general league, intended to be agreed on and concluded hereafter against Turks, infidels, and hereticks; therefore, that supplication should be made in both their names unto his holiness, that he would write unto all Christian princes and estates to join herein; as also to authorize a cruzada for the said enterprise; to endure at least for three years next ensuing, not exempting ecclesiastical persons from it. And, if need be, that Charles and Francis should go in person to this holy war by sea, that then they should join and unite their forces together with those of the Great Master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and the Genouese; or, if the danger appear not so great, as to require their presence in the said war, that then a general for conducting the said forces, shall be appointed by Charles; or if otherwise it should be thought necessary themselves should go in



person, that then ambassadors and commissioners should be appointed to reside in each others dominions, for the determining of all difference that should arise in their absence.

22. That, because Charles Duke of Bourbon, together with divers of his friends, allies, and servants, did for a while absent themselves from France, and the service of Francis, and that for this cause, the duchies of Bourbon, Avergne, Chasteleraut, the counties of Clermont, etc. had been taken away from them, it is agreed, that Francis presently, or at farthest in six weeks after his delivery, shall restore unto the said Duke of Bourbon, as well as to all the rest of his friends, allies, and servants, (whether ecclesiastical or secular) their former possessions, together with the just value of all the goods that have been taken from them, as also the writings or deeds by which the said possessions were formerly held, and also the true profits of the said lands and possessions, during their absence, and to stay all suits and proceedings against them on this occasion. Furthermore, that the said duke shall not be constrain'd personally to appear in the French court, but that he may administer, and dispose of all his estate and possessions, by sufficient deputies and officers appointed thereunto, and receive the revenues thereof, in such place as himself shall chuse, when it were out of France; and that the said officers shall not be molested in execution of their charge. And, as for the right the said Duke of Bourbon pretends to the county of Provence, and the dependancies thereof, it is agreed that a just and equal hearing and decision thereof, shall be permitted and given before competent judges, whensoever the said duke shall re-commence his former suit therein: and that the said duke, his friends, allies, and servants, may, without prejudice to their rights or possessions, stay or continue in the service of the emperor. And that, for performing of all these particulars above-mention'd, Francis shall give good and sufficient warrant and assurance, according to form of law, and the terms usual in this case.

23. That before the fifteenth of February next, all prisoners on both sides, and particularly Philibert Prince of Aurange, shall (without paying any ransom) be set free, and return to their several countries unless their sovereigns, by mutual consent, do otherwise determin.

24. That all rebels and fugitives on either side shall be remanded, (only those in the dutchy of Milan, Genoua, and county of Asti excepted) who shall be freely pardon'd, and within six months restor'd to their former estates. As for those who are charg'd with heinous crimes of that nature, as they cannot be return'd home, without scanda, and inconvenience, it is agreed, that upon a month's warning, they shall depart from those places to which they are retir'd, upon the penalty of being apprehended, and sent to their lawful sovereign or superior.

25. That all prelates and ecclesiastical persons, as also all subjects, of what condition soever, shall, on either side, return to their former

places, estates, and possessions, notwithstanding any confiscation, gift, or alienation thereof whatsoever.

26. That, because in the cortes of Castilla, the consuls and university of Burgos had complain'd of divers losses they had receiv'd, contrary to some ancient privileges, (both before and since these wars) which they pretend to hold from the ancestors of the most Christian king as Duke of Bretaine, it is therefore agreed, that upon verification of the particulars, the said privileges shall be confirm'd, and a friendly end made, or otherwise justice done on the offenders.

27. That, because the cloths made in Catalonia, Rousillon, Cerdenna, and other places of the crown of Arragon are not permitted to be carry'd through the territories of France into other countries without danger of confiscation, it is therefore agreed, that paying their ancient customs, they shall have a free way and passage, both by sea and land, along all the French dominions.

28. Because Madam Margarite, aunt to Charles, hath much mediated this peace ; and because a certain neutrality, by the consent of Charles was accorded betwixt her and Francis, for the countries in her possession, during their late wars, according to which she ought to enjoy the county of Carlois, and certain granaries of salt, etc. notwithstanding which, they have by force been taken from her ; it is agreed therefore, that they, together with the profits in arrear, shall be restor'd to her, during her life only. And, that afterwards they shall descend on Charles and his heirs.

29. That, because the Queen Donna Germana de Foix, widow of Arragon, saith she had receiv'd a definitive sentence in the parliament of Paris, by which the towns and lands of Marceni, Tursen, Gavierdey, and Gavaret, are adjudg'd to her: it is agreed, that Francis shall see the said sentence executed by strong hand, if need be.

30. Because Philibert de Chaalon, Prince of Aurange, since his service of the emperor, hath had divers places and rights in Dauphine and Bretaine taken from him by Francis, and some money's detain'd ; it is agreed, that he shall be restor'd to his former possessions, and the said money's paid, and good and speedy justice done him in his other demands.

31. Because Philip de Croy, Marquiss of Arescon, pretends to divers lands, and other rights in France, which since these wars have been taken from him ; it is agreed he shall be restor'd to them, and justice done him in his other demands.

32. Because the Princess of Chimay pretends to certain goods and inheritance descended to her, as in the right of the Seigneur de la Brit her father, as also to some goods of her mother and brethren ; it is agreed that good and speedy justice be done her.

33. That Henry Count of Nassaw shall have right done him by Francis for part of the dowry of his wife.

34. That Adolpho of Burgundy, Seigneur de Beures, Admiral of Flanders, shall be restor'd to his right of the castle and lands of Crevecœur en Cambries, in the manner he held it before the war.

35. That Monsieur Charles de Pompet, camarero to the emperor, shall have the money restor'd him, which contrary to the privileges of the university of Paris, he was constrain'd to pay for the ransom of his children, students there, when the late war began.

36. That Guillaume de Vergi shall have right [done him for the seigneury of San-de fier en Perchois.

37. That the Seigneurs de Frenes, Conde de Gaures, Monsieur Andriano de Croy, de Reulx, de Meleny, Conte [de Spinay, and Sieur de Reulx, shall have the goods restor'd which they enjoy'd before these late wars.

38. That the Marquis Antonio de Saluzzo, his mother and sisters, as also Frederico de Baugy, shall have those goods restor'd, which were taken in these late wars, and justice done them.

39. That the Seigneur de Monago, Bishop of Grasso, shall be replac'd in his bishoprick, and justice done to him, and against those who kill'd his brother.

40. That the Seigneur de Luz shall be restor'd to his possessions which he enjoy'd before he entred the emperor's service ; and good and speedy justice done in certain lands he pretends descended to him from his ancestors during those wars.

41. That the pope, the King of England, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Portugal, and Scotland, Don Ferdinando brother to Charles, (and his lieutenant-general of the empire) Madam Margarite aunt to the emperor, the electors and other princes of the empire, (who are obedient to the emperor) the seigneurs of the ancient leagues and cantons of High-Germany, may upon notification of their desire to be admitted into this league, (and not otherwise) be receiv'd there-into at any time within the space of six months next ensuing.

42. That Francis being set at liberty, shall in the first town he shall come to within his kingdom, give letters patents for the ratification of this accord, and send them to Charles. And that the Dauphin, when he shall attain the age of fourteen, shall likewise ratifie them with a solemn oath, in which he shall renounce all advantages, which by minority of age he might take hereafter to infringe the said oath.

43. That both Charles and Francis shall ratifie this]present capitulation and agreement, and all that is contain'd therein (each for his part) before ambassadors appointed for this purpose ; and especially Francis, when he is free in his kingdom, shall swear solemnly upon the Evangelists in the presence of the true cross, to keep and hold all that is contain'd in the said capitulation ; and that both of them shall submit themselves herein to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and censure, even to the invocation of the secular power to constrain them ; and



that they shall appoint their several proctors to appear for them in the court of Rome, and before the pope, where they shall voluntarily accept the condition and fulmination of the said censures, in case of contravention ; and that neither of them shall demand or sue for absolution of this oath or censure ; or if they do, that it shall not be available without the consent of the other.

44. Because no man may pretend ignorance, it is agreed that this peace shall be publish'd before the fifteenth of February next, both in the dominions of Charles and Francis, and especially in the frontiers, and such other places as have been accustom'd in the like case.

This was signed: Francois, Charles de la Noy, Don Hugo de Moncada, Francois Archevesque de Ambrun, Jean de Selue, Chabot.

The treaty betwixt them being concluded in the manner above-mention'd, the archbishop of Ambrun, for the last seal and solemnization thereof, said mass. This being done, Francis coming to the altar, and putting his right-hand upon the book of the Evangelists, (which the said archbishop held) did swear by the sacrament, and the holy evangelists, not to break this capitulation all the days of his life, nor to give counsel or favour that any other should break it. The like oath was taken by the Vice-roy of Naples, Don Hugo de Moncada, and the Secretary Aleman in the emperor's name. (For the emperor in person did not think fit to balance his free oath with that of Francis, then in restraint.) This being perform'd on both sides, the vice-roy took the faith and *pleyto omenaie* (being a kind of homage) of Francis, who as a prince and the most Christian king, promis'd and gave his fidelity and royal word to return into Spain a prisoner within the space of six months, in case he did not accomplish all that was there capitulated betwixt them, giving his hands thereupon to be held betwixt those of Charles de la Noy. This being ended with much seeming content on all parts, the emperor's commissioners went to Toledo ; where, upon relation to the emperor of what was done, it was thought fit to send the Seigneur de Praet, Chevalier of the Toison d'Or, who had been in England, and was now his ambassador in France, to meet with the French king at Bayonne, and there to require of him, according to the articles, a new and more ample ratification of his oath.

Some few days after this treaty (commonly call'd *Concordia de Madrid*) Charles de la Noy having power and commission from the Queen Donna Leonora, privately contracted a marriage with Francis in her name, and then having commission from him again, went to the Queen Leonora and contracted a marriage with her in the name of Francis. After which time the emperor treated no more with Francis as a prisoner, but a near ally ; insomuch that at the next visit, he offer'd

him the right-hand. I observe yet the emperor would not permit Francis to enjoy Leonora his sister, till he had fully accomplish'd the concord betwixt them. Neither did he, in his last words to Francis, (being then licens'd to depart) seem so sensible of any thing, as of her honour. At which time also (for further obligation of Francis unto this agreement) I find by Sanhoval, he demanded of Francis, 'whether he remembred well all that was capitulated betwixt them?' Francis answer'd, 'Yes;' for further confirmation repeating the most particular articles. Charles then demanded, 'Are you willing to perform them?' Francis answer'd again, 'Yes;' adding, 'he knew no man in his kingdom would hinder him.' And, 'when you find that I do not keep my word with you, I wish and consent that you hold me for lasche and meschant, a knave and a villain.' Charles reply'd, and 'I wish you to say the like of me, if I do not give you liberty.' Whereupon they lovingly bid each other a long farewell. This being done, Charles return'd. There was much difficulty yet about the exchange betwixt Francis and his two sons, neither could they (almost) devise how to secure it from jealousy on either side. At last (Feb. 26.) these articles were agreed :

1. That no man at arms, or other soldier, might within ten days before or after the exchange and delivery be permitted to come within twenty leagues of the place; and that those who were come already should retire.

2. That no gentleman of the French king's household should pass Bayonne, till the king were come to St. Juan de Luz.

3. That the number of foot garrisons in either frontier should not exceed a thousand. And that when Madam Louise the regent had declar'd whether she would give the two eldest sons of Francis in hostage, or the Dauphin only with the twelve others above-mention'd, that then it should be advis'd whether the number were to be increas'd.

4. That at the day of the delivery neither man nor woman, neighbour nor stranger should be near the place.

5. That six days before the delivery, Charles should appoint twelve persons to visit the coast, on that side where the river of Fuentarabie joins with France: and that four persons appointed by Madam Louise, should be ready there to do whatsoever was requir'd for performance of these articles. And that for this purpose Madam Louise might also appoint twelve on the other side of the river, whom four on Charles his part should likewise attend.

6. That neither on one or other side of the said river (passing near Fuentarabie) there should be any boats or pinaces, but two (which must be of the same bigness) to pass Francis to the one, and the hostages to the other side, and that the twelve deputies on either part should take order herein.

7. That there should be no gally, ship, or pinace in the sea within five leagues of the place appointed for the delivery.

In sequence of which capitulation, it was further agreed (March 15.) that Charles de la Noy, with twenty five arm'd men, with swords and daggers only, for guarding of the French king, and as many with Monsieur de Lautrech, in like manner weapon'd, for conducting the two hostages, should come to the sides of the above-mention'd river; in the middle of which a little bridge, upon a bark fastened with anchors, should be built, on which yet no body should stand; and that two boats of equal bigness, fitted for twenty oars apiece, should be ready there, of which Francis should chuse one; which being done, twenty rowers, all French and unarm'd, should enter his boat, and bring it to the side of Spain, at the same time that the other with twenty Spaniards unarm'd likewise, should be brought to the French coast. That thereupon Charles de la Noy conducting the king, and taking ten persons only with him, should pass to one side of the said bridge, at the same time that Monsieur de Lautrech with the hostages, and ten persons, should likewise come to the other. That none of the said persons yet should put themselves upon the bridge, but Charles de la Noy with the French king and one other, and Monsieur de Lautrech with the two hostages, and Madam de Brisac and Chauvigny. That thereupon the exchange should be made in one instant. Before yet any thing was done the same day, that a boat with four rowers Spanish, and four French, and a gentleman of either nation, should visit the coast on both sides, and take order that every thing should be prepar'd. For fear yet lest some supposititious children should be rendred instead of the Dauphin and his brother, it was agreed further, that the Seigneur de Praet, the emperor's ambassador, should come along with them, while another Frenchman was allow'd to attend Francis in his passage.

Thus upon the eighteenth of March 1526. after one whole year and some days imprisonment, was Francis deliver'd to his boat, and by mutual consent at the same time accompanied with twelve Spaniards, (whereof Charles de la Noy and Hernando de Alancon his guardian were two) to the French shoar, while the hostages, accompany'd with the like number, came to the Spanish coast; neither was there any thing more that might be thought remarkable in the performance of all this, but that a stay was made while the two children kiss'd their father's hand, and that his last words to La Noy confirm'd again his promise to the emperor. As soon as Francis came to his own ground, he got hastily upon a Turkish and swift horse, and suddenly putting spurs to him (if we may believe Sandoval) and casting one of his arms over his head, and crying '*Je suis le roy, je suis le roy,*' posted to St. Juan de Luz, and the next day to Bayonne, where the lady his



mother, and many other principal persons with much anxiety attended him.

I am the more particular in the relation of these passages, both as the example is rare, and as it leads to the understanding of that which followeth in our history ; and the rather, for that it was the subject that chiefly took up the time and thoughts of our king, whensoever his prospect was turn'd on foreign affairs ; insomuch that he might be truly said a principal actor in them. And now he held it his part to relieve Francis. Therefore as he had sent Cuthbert Tonsal Bishop of London, and Sir Richard Wingfield, long since into Spain, to mediate his delivery with the emperor, so now hearing he was in his way homewards, he dispatches Sir Thomas Cheney to congratulate his safe return, and to take his oath to the treaty of Moore above-mention'd, which Francis accepting, sent a messenger immediately to advertise our king of the conditions of his delivery, and to acknowledge, that he ow'd him chiefly his liberty, as both Sandoval relates it, and our records, under his own hand, confirm ; which fair terms produc'd, afterwards, a more firm correspondency betwixt them.

Charles de la Noy and Hernando de Alancon having in vain solicited Francis, at Bayonne, to accomplish that part of the late concord and agreement he was bound to there, seem'd yet to receive some satisfaction, that they were referr'd until their coming to Paris. (The king pretending he could do nothing, effectually, till he had spoken with the principal persons of the estate and parliament.) Here again they press'd Francis unto the performance of that he was bound to by so many oaths and promises. But Francis, for a conclusion, positively answer'd, that it was not in his power to dismember any part from the kingdom, without consent both of the same part, and the whole kingdom ; and therefore, with many loving words, desir'd that his ransom might be chang'd to some equivalent sum of money. But Charles would by no means hearken hereunto. Therefore, as he had by treaty happily detain'd the Queen Leonora from passing into France, so he determin'd rather (at what price soever) to take off the pope, Venetians, and Francisco Sforza, and the Florentines, from a league they were entering into with England and Francis against him, than to decline any way the least article of the late concord and agreement.

This league (call'd *Clementina et sanctissima*) was begun (as the French have it) by the instigation of our king, during the imprisonment of Francis, but not perfectly concluded, till about two months after his delivery. To give this a more auspicate beginning, the pope (as the Spanish history hath it) sent (May 22.) to the French king a relaxation of the oath he made to observe the concord and treaty of Madrid, upon pretext alledg'd by Francis, that those of Burgundy would not consent, by any means, to be alienated from the French crown. Charles de la Noy and Hernando de Alancon finding matters thus

distemper'd, and unlike to sort to any good end, desir'd leave to return, which Francis granted, upon condition that they would go to Spain immediately and not to Italy, whither (in regard of his government) la Noy desir'd much to pass through the French territories. Though others write, and our records confirm it, that they departed not till the following treaty was sworn, at Cognac, in their presence. Which that they might make more specious to the emperor, they offer'd him place to enter into it, upon certain conditions. This treaty, concluded (May 22.) between Pope Clement VII. Francis the French king, the Venetians, Francisco Sforza, and the Florentines, was to this effect :

1. That the contractors of this league and concord shall be friends of the friends, and enemies of the enemies of each other. That this clause yet shall not extend to the dominions held by the pope and the Venetians, out of Italy. And that the said contractors shall, particularly defend the person and the dignity of the pope against all his adversaries.

2. That place shall be left for the Emperor Charles to enter hereunto, if he desire it, and for Henry King of England, not only as a contractor, but protector of this most holy league and concord, as also for Don Hernando, Arch-duke of Austria, and the rest of the kings, princes, and potentates of Christendom, provided yet, that the said Charles shall not be admitted hereunto, but upon these ensuing conditions. That is to say, unless he first restore the two sons of Francis, which he detains as hostages, and take in lieu of them, some reasonable and fitting recompence and satisfaction. As also unless he leave the dutchy of Milan freely unto Francisco Sforza, and the rest of the estates and dominions in Italy, in the form and manner they were before the late war ; and unless when he enters Italy, to be crown'd there, he bring with him such family and train only, as the pope and Venetians shall think fit ; which yet is intended shall be such, as may take away suspicion of violent attempt, and preserve together the imperial dignity ; and unless within three months, after the conclusion of the said treaty, (the King of England entering into it) he pay unto the said king all the money due to him.

3. That an army shall be rais'd by the said confederates, which shall consist of 30,000 foot, 2500 men of arms, and 3000 light horse, together with the artillery and munition fitting thereunto. Whereof, the pope should furnish 800 men at arms, and 700 light horse, and 8000 foot : the French king 40,000 crowns the month in money, and 500 men at arms (call'd *maistres*) comprehending 1000 light horse : the Venetians 800 men at arms, and 1000 light horse, and 8000 foot ; Francisco Sforza, the Duke of Milan, 400 men at arms, 300 light horse, and 4000 foot. That certain Swiss should be rais'd for the said league, at the charge of the French king ; who, besides the above-mention'd, shall have a powerful army to hinder the passage of any considerable

forces into Italy. All which, are to be imploy'd against the perturbators of the peace of Italy, until they be reduc'd to the estate of not being able to keep the field.

4. That, when this treaty shall be ratified by all the confederates, they shall jointly desire Charles the emperor to restore the two sons of the French king, and, in case he refuse, shall denounce war against him, till he restore them. For the execution whereof (the war of Italy being ended) the confederates shall furnish to the said French king 10,000 foot, 1000 men at arms, and 1000 light horse, or money for the raising or payment of them.

5. That the confederates shall defend each others estate against all invasion ; in which case those of Italy shall furnish 10,000 foot, and 2000 horse to the French king, and he as many to them again.

6. That the confederates shall have an armado of 28 gallies at least, whereof the French king shall furnish 12, the pope 3, and the Venetians 13, to be imploy'd in this war, unless the French king have particular use of his part.

7. That, for removing all suspicion of attempt upon the dutchy of Milan, the French king shall not only permit the present duke to enjoy it, but shall defend him against all adversaries, with the proportion of forces above-mention'd, he paying, in consideration of the claim and expence of the French king, such a pension (at Lyons in France) as the pope and Venetians shall ordain ; which yet shall not be less than 500,000 ducats yearly.

\* 8. That, because this peace may be universal over Italy, all goods taken away in these late occasions, shall be restor'd, and all men re-inplac'd in their former possessions.

9. That the French king shall give some lady of the blood-royal of France, (by the nomination of the pope) for wife to the Duke of Milan, and shall procure the Swiss to defend his state on all occasions, as they were formerly accusom'd. That the Concado de Asti, as being distinct from Milan, and anciently pertaining to the House of Orleans, shall be restor'd to the French king, or at least the government thereof, to be administred by the Duke of Orleans, second son to the French king, or his deputy.

10. That Antonio Adorno shall remain Duke of Genouia, if either he enter into this league, or, otherwise, alter the form of the city government, in such sort as may be thought most for the security and quiet of Italy, reserving yet to the French king his title and right of superiority, in the manner he held it when he was in possession of the said city.

11. That, if the emperor deny or delay to perform what is requir'd in the second article, that then presently after ending the war for the pacification of Italy, the confederates shall invade the kingdom of Naples ; and, if the emperor be expuls'd thence, that then it shall



remain at the disposition of the pope, as being held in feud of the Church ; and that, in recompence of the pretence which the French king hath to it, the pope, with consent of all the cardinals, shall bind himself and successors to pay yearly to the King of France a convenient pension, which shall not be less than 65,000 crowns de soleil.

12. That in case any of the confederates should die or fail, yet the league should continue firm among the rest, and that the successors of the dead may enter into his place.

13. That all the confederates shall take upon them the defence and protection of the house of Medicis, even to the restitution of them to their former greatness and dignity.

14. And because the most serene and powerful King of England, Defender of the Faith, hath always affected peace, as appears by the good offices done to the French king, and hath always employ'd his forces in service of the Catholick Church, as his father did before him ; and because no authority, superior to his, can be interpos'd either for the conservation of good men in peace, or repressing of those who are ill : therefore, it is agreed, that his majesty shall be protector of the most holy league and concord. For which purpose, the said confederates do offer to him and his heirs an estate in the kingdom of Naples, with the title of duke or prince, not less worth than the yearly rent of 30,000 ducats. And to the Cardinal of York, for his great pains and service in this business, they offer another estate in Italy worth 10,000 ducats yearly.

15. That the confederates shall make no treaty with others than these who are mentioned in this present concord : and that, if, before this time, they have made any, it be reputed as of no force and value.

16. That, before the ratification of this concord, every one, who is contain'd in it, shall name his friends, provided, that they be not subjects, nor vassals, or enemies of the greater part. And so the pope nominated the King of England, and the Marquiss of Mantua, reserving the naming of the rest within the time appointed. The King of France naming the Kings of England, Scotland, Navarre, Portugal, Polonia, Hungaria, the Dukes of Savoy, Lorain, and Gueldres, and the thirteen cantons of the Swiss. The Venetians nominated the King of England, reserving the naming of the rest within the time appointed.

17. That the French king send his moneys within the space of a month to Rome, or consign them to Venice or Florence, and give security for payment to the bankers six days before every month.

18. That all, who enter the league, shall, in the space of one month, approve and confirm it. And if the Duke of Milan, because he is straitly besieg'd, cannot perform his part, that then the pope and Venetians shall sign it for him.

And thus far I have follow'd the Spanish relation. By the French

I find only such a league was sign'd at Coignac in France, May 22. 1526.

Our king finding himself thus chosen protector of the league, advises what to do ; which being accordingly debated by his council, it was resolv'd, most prudently, that he should not be a party, where he might be a judge.

The emperor also, inform'd hereof, protested against Clement VII. as an ungrateful person ; he having been by his favour first made cardinal, and after pope, in despite of Cardinal Soderino's allegation, that he was a bastard, and, therefore, incapable of either of the said dignities : neither had he other evasion to clear himself, but that he produc'd witnesses, how his father, Julian de Medicis, before his death, (which he receiv'd by a stab, as the priest lift up the host) had at length marry'd his mother. Against the French king he exclaim'd, as perjur'd and false, and against the Venetians, as unconstant. Howsoever, his greatest care was how to divide them. Therefore, though in Italy, upon publishing of the league (July 8.) solemnly, by the pope, they levy'd their appointed numbers, yet Francis, being put in hope of the restitution of his children, delay'd so much on his part, that, at last, the imperial army constrain'd (July 24.) Sforza to yield Milan, reserving yet the revenues thereof to his use, as hoping thereby to content him. But the despited and distrustful duke, not satisfied herewith, fled to the forces, which the league had then on foot, in Italy, of which the Duke of Urbin was made general. This while the emperor was advertis'd, how, in sequence of the pope's relaxation of Francis his oath, the parliament of Paris and king's council had disannull'd and annihilated the concord of Madrid, as being concluded by a person who was constrain'd, and in prison. To colour yet this refusal, Francis sent ambassadors to Granada, (where the emperor was) to tell him again, Burgundy 'could not be alienated from the French crown ; 'and that if he would return his sons at a reasonable ransom,' (which I find by the French was two million of crowns) 'he would take his 'sister Leonora for his queen ; if not, that he would recover them 'by force.' The several ambassadors also of the confederates, which were in his court at that time, (and particularly the English) concurr'd herein ; requiring further, that he should recall the Spaniards out of Lombardy, and restore Francisco Sforza ; leave his pretence to Naples, and not go to Italy with an army ; and that he should pay the King of England, all the contractors of the league, in case of refusal, denouncing war. The emperor answer'd, 'That the French king should do 'ill, not to keep his oath and promise. Neither could he excuse 'himself sufficiently by laying the fault on his parliament or kingdom, 'they being privy and consenting to it. That he would detain the 'hostages ; and, for the Queen Leonora, she was not demanded in such 'terms as it was fit to send her. For Francisco Sforza, that he would chas-

'tise him as his vassal. That he would hold his right in Naples. That he would go to Italy, when and how he listed. And that, if all made war against him, he would, by the help of his good subjects, defend himself against them all, and that he would pay the King of England with French money.'

I must return now a while to speak of home businesses, that the reader may see wherefore our active king prevail'd himself no more nor otherwise of these great occasions. It was only for want of money; the scarcity whereof also was the excuse his people made, for not furnishing those contributions he demanded. Hereupon our king inquires into the causes: among which because secret transportation of money was thought one of the greatest, he advises concerning the remedy. All his counsellors yet did not concur in the same opinion; for some affirm'd, 'no merchant would carry away coin unless he found gain by it; and that this, returning home again, enrich'd the country.' Others said, 'there were subtleties yet, which, if order were not taken, would drain away our monies insensibly; it being manifest to all, that would take the pains to consider it; that, unless the commodities and coin of our country kept both standard and proportion with those with whom we traffick, there would be loss.' That the crafty Flemings, therefore, when they desir'd to raise the price of their commodities, inhauc'd likewise the value of our money, especially gold; lest our merchants should be discouraged to buy, when they find the price of the commodity so much rais'd. The consequence whereof was, that as our merchants desir'd, by stealth, to convey over their money in specie, as having, thereby, the benefit of the enhancing; whereas if they receiv'd it in the Low-Countries by bill of credit or exchange, they should not only lose this benefit, but pay somewhat to those who furnish'd them. Again, that when our merchants had occasion to return from the Low-Countries, they were not suffered to carry back their monies in specie, but were forc'd to take letters of exchange for them in England, by which they lost again. Thus, notwithstanding all prohibitions and searches, great sums were convey'd over, to the impoverishing of the kingdom. The only remedy whereof therefore was, to cry up our money at home, to the same rate that it passeth at abroad, which will both keep our money from transporting, and make the exchange without loss: neither was there any other means to prevent these inconveniences; which had now extended so far, that our gold was as frequent and current among our neighbours, almost, as at home; whereas, yet, little or none of their gold was to be found in our ordinary payments. Besides, they made another advantage hereof: for as their standard was baser than ours, so they coin'd our gold again, and made no little profit that way. Thus did our neighbours many ways procure the wealth of their country, and damage of ours; and would do more, when timely order were not



taken. Which our historians have thought worth the setting down, and myself have the more insisted on, both to show the rate of gold and silver in those times, and to help the reader to understand the second enhancing under this king, Anno 1544. Therefore thus I collect. The angel-noble of gold was hitherto in weight  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an ounce, in estimation six shillings eight pence of silver, which silver was two ounces. Thus the proportion of gold to silver was twelve to one. Again, an ounce of silver (or half-angel) pass'd for three shillings four pence; so twelve ounces (or a pound) was just forty shillings, which is two pound, as we commonly count our money.

But Henry VIII. now (Sept.), by proclamation, advancing the value of both (one tenth part) the angel was rais'd to seven shillings four pence (which was the rate at which it pass'd in the Low-Countries.) And, consequently, an ounce of gold estimated at forty four shillings, and an ounce of silver three shillings eight pence, and a pound weight at forty four shillings, the proportion being (*ut supra*) twelve to one. The sudden benefit of this appear'd such, that in Nov. following, there was another enhancing of one forty-fourth part. So that the angel was seven shillings six pence, the ounce of gold forty five shillings, and the ounce of silver three shillings nine pence. And, by these means, much of our gold (as our historians observe) was brought back again. But Anno 1544, these metals were again enhanced one fifteenth part. So gold came (from forty five shillings) to forty eight shillings an ounce; and silver (from three shillings nine pence an ounce) to four shillings; and a pound weight of silver was forty eight shillings.

This while Solyman brought 200,000 men into Hungary, with which (near Buda) he wholly defeated the army of Louis king thereof, being 40,000, and constrain'd him to fly away; till, by the fall of his horse, having his leg engag'd, he was drown'd in less than a span-deep of water and mud, so that it concern'd all Christian princes to make peace, but chiefly the emperor, whose sister King Louis had married; and whose brother Ferdinand, in the right of his wife Anne, sister and heir to the said King of Hungary and Bohemia, claim'd to succeed in both kingdoms. Francis, being not ignorant hereof, thought fit to prevail himself of the occasion: therefore he sent in Sept. 1526, the Archbishop of Bourdeaux (with whom also the nuncio and Venetian ambassadors join'd offices) to desire the emperor to send back his children, and to accept some honest ransom in money; promising, withal, his love and friendship. But Charles, now incensed, told the archbishop, that, if he would have his children, he must according to his oath and promise, return prisoner himself; (adding, that his kingdom could not hinder him therein, however he pretended they would not consent to the restitution of Burgundy. Wherein yet, he should but imitate the example of King John his predecessor; who, being prisoner in England, and permitted to go home upon the like terms, did (when

he was not able to pay his ransom) most faithfully return again, and yield his body unto custody, where he dy'd. Then, taking the ambassador aside, as (Sandoval hath it) he bid him tell the French king his master, that he had done laschement and meschamment, in breaking the concord of Madrid, and that, if he deny'd it, he would make it good in person against him. But Francis wanted not courage to reply in the same language, as will appear afterwards.

In the meantime, as he thought it concern'd him to defend his reputation in any probable way, rather than to confess in himself so notable a falshood, he caus'd an apology (penn'd by the Chancellor of France) to be publish'd, and sent to all Christian princes, the effect whereof was,

'That the emperor had (1516.) first broke the confederation of 'Noyon, in denying the tribute due for the kingdom of Naples, the 'restitution of Navarre, and divers other rights. Besides, that he had 'made war in Milan, which was his by inheritance, the concession of 'popes, and donation in feud by Maximilian the emperor. And, which 'was worst of all, had enticed his vassal the Duke of Bourbon, to 'rebel against him, and invade Provence. That, thereupon, he had 'indeed, drawn his sword, and chased the imperial army from before 'Marselles, and follow'd it to Italy, where he was unfortunately taken 'prisoner; yet that he had protested to those who kept him there, 'that, if the emperor requir'd unjust or impossible things, he would not 'perform them, but rather that he would revenge himself, when he was 'free. That, as he doubted lest through his absence, some troubles 'might arise at home, he had procur'd his liberty the best way he 'could. In the whole frame whereof, if any thing were to be dislik'd, 'it must be rather imputed to the emperor, who demanded unreasonable conditions, than to him who found no other means of escape. 'Notwithstanding, that, at his return, he had for the satisfaction of 'his honour, requir'd of his chief nobility and counsellors, what he 'ought to do, both according to equity; and the maintenance of his 'royal dignity, who upon mature deliberation, answer'd: That insolent 'pactions and contracts, which comprehend in them notable damage 'and detriment to the contractor, as being impos'd on him from one 'more powerful, ought to be held as violent, and involuntarily, and therefore in themselves void. Besides, that, when he was sacred at Rheims, 'he was then sworn not to alienate any patrimony of the crown, from 'which oath therefore, as being formerly made, and more obligatory, 'he could by no means depart; especially, when the inhabitants of Burgundy (which was the country demanded) would not consent thereunto. 'Wherefore, if the emperor pressed him to any thing contrary to these 'duties and obligations, he must think it was not without a special 'providence from above, that he recover'd his liberty. For how could 'the emperor be ignorant, that, he was ty'd by the greatest bond of re-

'ligion not to violate the right of his crown? Or how could he believe,  
 'that the presidents of the parliaments of France would consent here-  
 'unto, when they had taken their oaths to the contrary? Howsoever,  
 'that none could think him false or perjur'd as long as the hostages (as  
 'the counter-value of all that was capitulated) had been deliver'd to the  
 'emperor. Neither was it enough to say, that, in demanding Burgundy,  
 'the emperor did but require his own; since that dutchy was (long  
 'since) annexed to Normandy, and incorporated into the crown of  
 'France by King John, and consequently govern'd by the same laws;  
 'among which the Salick being principal, the emperor's title, as being  
 'claim'd from a daughter, was excluded. Furthermore, that this affair  
 'had been communicated to some out of this kingdom, who understood  
 'well what was to be done in such cases, and that he had receiv'd  
 'much comfort. In conclusion, as there remain'd nothing else for him  
 'to do, so he had offer'd a condign ransom in money, and other good  
 'conditions, which might both redeem his dear children, and testify  
 'the desire he had to recover his lately married wife, who was also de-  
 'tain'd from him; yet that he was still refus'd. All which premises  
 'being duly consider'd, he appeal'd to all Christian princes and poten-  
 'tates, as his judges and protectors, whether the fault was his, and not  
 'rather the emperor's, who, by his injurious and impossible demands,  
 'had frustrated himself.

Thus (as many thought) did Francis strive to elude his oath with  
 reasons of state; and to cover the breach of his faith under a pretext  
 of impossibility; without making any good excuse at all (that is extant)  
 for his not returning, (tho' more easily palliated than the rest;) both as  
 suspicion of ill usage might be held a kind of natural defence and  
 evasion in this kind, and as his kingdom would less consent hereunto,  
 than to any other condition. And certainly, had the emperor suffi-  
 ciently consider'd all these circumstances, he would have follow'd their  
 counsel, who advis'd him, either to detain Francis till he had made  
 some advantage thereof, or else have let him go freely. Neither should  
 the Clementine league (begun during the imprisonment of Francis)  
 have deterr'd him; as being not concluded so much in favour of  
 Francis, as directed against him, whose greatness did then many ways  
 appear. So that to let Francis go, was but to fortifie his adversaries  
 against himself. He thought fit yet to command an answer to this  
 apology; wherein the title, by which he claim'd all his doubtful pos-  
 sessions, (especially that of Naples and Provence) is set down, and  
 the fault laid on Francis, with as much bitterness as the cause requir'd;  
 all which is set down by Sandoval.

Francis, finding now there was no other way to recover his children,  
 but by force, makes all the friends he can: wherefore, about the end of  
 July, sending some ambassadors to our king, a league was concluded  
 the eighth of August, Anno 1526. 'By which both kings did oblige



‘themselves reciprocally, not to treat or agree apart, or separately with  
 ‘the said emperor, concerning the restitution of the two children of  
 ‘Francis (when yet they were freely offer’d) nor the money due from  
 ‘the emperor to our king ; but jointly and together. And, as for all  
 ‘other businesses, they should pass without derogation or prejudice to  
 ‘their former treaties, which were understood to remain entire. And  
 ‘that neither of the said kings should, in any kind, assist the emperor,  
 ‘when he were invaded by the other.’

The persons who chiefly procur’d this treaty, were Giovanni Joachim (now stil’d Monsieur de Vaulx) and Jean Brinon the premier president of Rouen ; who, being (as is before said) dispatch’d by Francis, came to King Henry, April 28, and, being admitted, the president, in an eloquent oration in Latin, before our king, set in his throne, and attended by the ambassadors of the pope, the emperor, Venice and Florence, (who at this time labour’d to draw him into the league of Italy,) professed publicly, that ‘it was the king’s goodness meerly that  
 ‘made him abstain from France at this season, the occasion of invading  
 ‘it being so fair, during the imprisonment of the king his master.’ This being ended, Sir Thomas More, in the same language, wittily answer’d him ; concluding at last, that ‘since they acknowledg’d this  
 ‘goodness in the king, it should be an obligation on him to continue  
 ‘it ;’ wherewith the ambassadors departed, much satisfy’d. Our king also, considering the difficulties he found to procure money, divided his time, betwixt businesses at home and his pleasures, not neglecting yet the public weal of Christendom ; for which purpose, he sent Sir John Wallop, not only to the princes of Germany, exhorting them to join against the Turk, but to Mary Queen of Hungary, to comfort her for the loss of her husband, adding withal such a supply of money as might testify his zeal to that cause, was greater than theirs, who by kindred and neighbourhood to the danger were more concern’d herein.

The army of the late league having now begun a war, with some doubtful success, in Italy, the pope, for his justification, thought fit to write unto the emperor, June 23. 1526. a kind of apology for his taking arms ; alledging, that, ‘as he was *pater communis*, he thought himself  
 ‘bound, by all the ways he could, to procure a general good before any  
 ‘particular, exhorting him for the rest, to moderate his immense ambition, to give peace to Italy, pardon to Francisco Sforza Duke of Milan, and contentment to all the confederates in their just demands.’ To which Charles sharply answer’d, (by letter dated the 17th of September following) ‘laying the faults of that dissention among Christian  
 ‘princes (which had given occasion to the Turk to conquer so much in  
 ‘Hungary) from himself, and on the pope chiefly ;’ telling him, among other things, that, regularly, ‘he ought not to draw his sword, when  
 ‘even it were against the enemies of our faith. Then, taxing him, as  
 ‘if he were ungrateful, false, and an incendiary, he declares how much

'he had done for the peace of Italy, and the Christian world, and among others, for Francisco Sforza,' proceeding thence to a bitter expostulation with the pope, as is more at large set down by Sandoval; by whom also I find, that Charles solicited all the cardinals, openly, to call a general council for the good of Christendom, (as of themselves) when, otherwise, the pope would not consent thereto.

This while Don Hugo de Moncada coming into Italy to offer some conditions of peace unto the pope, and finding they took no effect, treated secretly with Pompeo, Cardinal de Colonna, and others of that family; who suddenly, (Sept. 20.) with 3000 men only, or as others say, 6000, enter'd Rome, sacking part of it, and causing that terror to the pope, that he fled to the castle of St. Angelo: neither could he free himself, till he had agreed with Moncada for a truce of four months with the emperor, and the withdrawing his forces out of Lombardy, and a pardon to all the Colonnese. Whereupon Moncada also withdrew (Sept. 22.) his forces out of Rome.

Our king, being not yet inform'd hereof, had sent to Charles to offer his best endeavours to the mediating of a peace betwixt all parties, protesting, that if he accepted his good-will herein, he would disclaim all interest in the Clementine league, although that ambassadors from all the confederates were, at that instant, in his court, sufficiently authorised to induce him into it. The emperor hereupon sends instructions to his ambassadors resident in England, to treat accordingly of an end; to which purpose also he dispatches Don Hugo de Mendoza, who came to our court, Jan. 14, 1527, to treat hereof. Howbeit, as matters were likely to be spun out into a greater length than stood with his master's occasions, he shortly after broke off the treaty. One article whereof concerning the spiceries of the East-Indies, I have thought fit to mention with particularity. For whereas, by the decision of Pope Alexander VI. 1493. the East-Indies were given to the Portugals, and the Western to the Spaniards; so that the first bound was a line drawn from north to south, distant from the Islands of Capo Verde the space of 400 hundred miles westward, (all on this side being allotted to the Portugal, the other side being permitted to the Spaniard) this line yet in favour of the Portugals, (who by their riches, power at sea, and conquests in Africa, had made themselves much redoubted) was afterwards extended to 888 miles westward, whereby betwixt these two neighbour princes alone, a new world, with the immense wealth belonging to it, was divided; yet with this honour to the Portugal, that his discoveries and possessions gave denomination to both, the river Indus having occasion'd anciently the calling these parts after its name, and the new conquests on the Spanish part, though hugely distant, following the stile. Notwithstanding which large empire, able to satisfy any exorbitant ambition, there wanted not emulation betwixt those princes, insomuch, that neither alliance, neighbourhood, nor the

danger they should incur, if other princes prevail'd themselves of their dissensions, could keep them in good terms. Therefore I find by a letter from Edward Lee, our king's almoner, and now ambassador in Spain, dat. at Medina del Campo, January 21. 1527, the emperor laid claim to some spiceries in the eastern parts, which I find by Sandoval, to have been the Molucca's, lately discover'd (as we have shew'd) by the companions of Magellanes, to the no little prejudice of the Portugal, who, to buy out the King of Spain, offer'd two millions of ducats ; which yet the emperor accepted not for the present, but chose rather to offer a treaty concerning them to our king ; and, thereby, either to draw a great sum of money from him, and, together, to engage us in a quarrel against the Portugals, while himself continued his navigation securely to the West Indies : or at least, to detain him a while from a league he was now entring into with Francis. I do not find yet what answer our king return'd thereto : but as no effect follow'd, I believe the offer, tho' advantageous, was (out of ill information concerning these parts) rejected.

And now our king finding no good to be done by treaty, and understanding besides, what rough usage the pope had receiv'd from Moncada, resolves, according to his former league, to join against that prince which appear'd most refractory. Therefore, conceiving the fault to be in Charles, he enter'd presently into a strict league with Francis, chusing rather to concur with him particularly, than to embrace the Clementine Accord, as containing many articles in it that no way concern'd him. Therefore sending (Dec. 24. 1526.) over Sir William Fitz-Williams, he proposes to Francis the Princess Mary in marriage, (since Charles had deny'd him Leonora ;) and, besides, offers to enter an offensive league with him (such as his confederates in Italy had made) for the recovery of his children, and forcing the emperor to reasonable conditions. Francis, gladly accepting this motion, demands the Princess Maria's picture, which, together with our king's, is granted, and the match treated in France by our agents, the Bishop of Bath, and Fitz-Williams. The French king, if he marry'd her, requir'd she should be presently given up into his hands : but our king not agreeing thereunto, (by reason his daughter was yet but eleven years old) March 2. the Bishop of Tarbe, the Viscount of Thurenne, and Antoine Vesey, the President of Paris, came into England ; where, on the last of April (as I find by the French and our records) three treaties were concluded, in which these are the most remarkable articles.

I. In the first the preceding treaty (Aug. 8.) betwixt them was confirm'd. Besides, it was agreed, that the said kings should send their several ambassadors to the emperor, with instructions conformable to each other, (so that their language might be the same) as well concerning a ransom of the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans (then



hostages with Charles) as payment of the debts due from him unto Henry, and other satisfaction for his rights.

II. That they should propose also in name of the said king, such decent conditions and offers, which should be by them advis'd, and pursue them instantly with the said Charles. And, if either he refus'd, or made no answer within twenty days next following, or otherwise detain'd or excluded the said ambassadors from coming to his presence ; that then, by their heralds (or kings of arms) they should denounce war against him, in such form, manner, and order, as should be declar'd in the second treaty.

III. Furthermore, it was concluded, than an alternative marriage (for so the French and our records call it) should be made, betwixt Mary, daughter of the said King of England, and the said Francis, or the Duke of Orleans his son ; and that the determination of the alternative marriage should be reserv'd to the interview of both kings, in the town of Calais, (at a moderate expence) which should be declar'd presently after the refusal of Charles : in which case Henry should send unto Francis some faithful person, to advise concerning the particulars thereof. Also, the articles of the said alternative marriage, were remitted until the aforesaid time. Howsoever, it was presently agreed, that, if the said Princess Mary, or her issue, did not succeed to the crown of England, and that the said war were not made against Charles, that then this treaty of a more strait alliance should be void. Notwithstanding which, if the said alternative marriage were broken off by the common consent of both kings, they should yet be oblig'd reciprocally unto the said war. Upon condition still, that Francis should re-imburse (at convenient days of payment) unto King Henry, the expences he should be at ; and, besides, should furnish unto the said Henry, as long as he liv'd, yearly, of the salt of Broüage, the value of 15,000 crowns. But if the said marriage were hindred on the part of Henry, the said Francis should not be bound to pay the aforesaid expences of the war. On the other side, that he should pay them double, if the impediment proceeded from him.

2. By the second treaty it was agreed, that presently after the refusal, delay, or non-admittance of their ambassadors, the intercourse, commerce, and traffick between their subjects and those of the emperor should be forbidden. Nevertheless, that, by their ambassadors, they should offer the respite of forty days, to the intent that the goods of their said subjects, might be reciprocally withdrawn, if the said emperor accepted it. That, for the making an actual war against him in the Low-Countries, an army should be levy'd of 30,000 foot, and 1500 men of arms, *à la Francoise*, a band of artillery (so term'd then) and necessary ammunition : whereof Francis should furnish the aforesaid 1500 men at arms, and 20,000 foot ; and Henry 10,000 archers or halberdiers, whom 500 of the said men at arms should accompany and

convey, whensoever, by the command of the said king, or their generals, they should be divided from the body of the army. And that victuals and other provision should be deliver'd to them, at the same price that other foot-men had it. That, for better keeping of the narrow seas, as well as for hindering all intercourse and traffick into the said Low-Countries, a navy should be equipp'd of 15,000 men, besides mariners and seamen. Whereof Francis should furnish 10,000, and Henry 5000, each of them at their proper cost and charges. That at Calais, Abbeville, or other the most commodious towns, under the obedience of the said kings, certain priviledg'd marts or fairs should be appointed; and that those merchants which usually frequented the Low-Countries, should be drawn and invited thither, by all means possible. That the number of their said armies, both by sea and land, should be kept intire; and that the towns, and strong places, which were conquer'd, and prisoners taken, should be equally divided betwixt the said kings. And that the spices and other merchandize of the Portugal ships, passing by the narrow seas, should not be permitted to be sold in the Low-Countries; but only in France and England, while the said war continued, according to the proportion of that use and necessity, that either of the said kingdoms should have thereof; provided yet, that if the King of Portugal did declare himself in favour of Charles, that, in this case, he should be held as their common enemy, and his goods and subjects adjudg'd as good prize. And that the like course should be held with all others who succour'd the emperor in his said wars; which neither of the said kings should abandon or leave off, or otherwise treat of any peace, truce, or other cessation of arms, without mutual consent. That place should be reserv'd for the pope, Venetians, and Francisco Sforza, to be compris'd in the said confederation; upon condition yet, they should continue the war begun by them in Italy, as long as the said kings proceeded in their wars in the Low-Countries. That the said Francis should dispose Henry de Albret, King of Navarre, as also the Duke of Gueldres, and Robert de la March, Sieur de Sedan, to make war, on their part, upon the countries of Charles next adjoining to them. That if John Sepuse, Vayvod of Transylvani, (pretending to the kingdom of Hungary against Ferdinand King of Bohemia, and brother of the said Charles) have not yet allied himself with the Turk, and that the said King of Bohemia did any way assist the emperor against the said kings; that then, by their joint letters, they should animate and comfort the said John Sepuse to the defence of his cause, to the end he might both abstain from any dependency on the Turk, and that he might divert the succour of the said King of Bohemia. That also, by their joint letters, they should signifie to the princes of Germany this confederation, together with the causes thereof, to the end they might forbear giving assistance to the emperor, and be excited to bring the said emperor unto reason, which whensoever the said em-

peror would accept, Francis should condescend thereunto, by the intervention of Henry.

3. By the third treaty, true, solid, firm, perpetual, and inviolable peace, amity, union, confederation, league, intelligence, and concord between the said kings, and their posterity, even to the end of the world, was accorded, by decree and law, obliging them, and all kings their successors, no less than the oaths they take at their sacrings and coronations. According whereunto, they did respectively promise and agree, that the said kings and their successors, should never be inquieted or molested, by them or any of their successors, being kings, in the lands, countries and seigneuries, which either of them held for the present ; which therefore they and their heirs should quietly possess for ever. In consideration whereof, the said Francis did bind himself, and his successors, kings of France, to pay, every year, at two several terms, after the decease of the said King Henry, to all the kings of England his successors, 46,000 crowns de soleil, and 24 sols Tournois, without deduction or prejudice of the sum of 1,800,736 crowns de soleil, xxxii. sols, due to the said Henry, by obligation, and treaty of the xxx. August, 1525. or of that which should remain to be paid after his decease ; moreover the said Francis bound himself, and his successors, kings of France, to give of the salt of Brouage yearly, as well to the said Henry, as to his successors, to the value of 15,000 crowns, as is above-mentioned. Furthermore, it was agreed, that, if any thing were attempted by any subject or ally of the said kings, contrary to this third treaty, that their peace and amity should not yet be broken, but that the offenders and delinquents only should be punish'd. And in every one of the said three treaties, an express article was inserted, that the precedent treaty of August 30. 1525. should be by them confirm'd, and no ways infring'd, or diminish'd. Lastly by letter, or agreement, apart, bearing date likewise 1527. the said kings declar'd, that they would have themselves held, understood, and reputed as one and the same, and that either of them should be still concern'd in the other. These treaties being concluded (May 5.) and sworn, (yet so as the Bishop of Tarbe made not a few doubts concerning the Princess Mary's legitimation; which we shall find afterward occasion the divorce,) they were dismiss'd, and honourably rewarded, and afterwards (as I find) sent by Francis to Spain.

While these things pass'd, the pope, as soon as the imperialists had quitted Rome, and left him at his liberty, sends to our king a letter, Sept. 24. complaining of the indignities offer'd to his person by Moncada, and the Colonnese, desiring his grace to set his hand to the revenge of it, and defence of the apostolick see. Moreover he told our ambassadors, (as they write,) that if the King of England, by whose encouragement (he saith,) he enter'd this labyrinth, will yet effectually assist him, and the French king amend his former slackness, etc. he



will do as he did before, notwithstanding his late agreement with Moncada, to which he holds himself not bound, because he was forc'd to it. Whereupon our king in November, sent him about 30,000 ducats for a present. The pope being thus heartned, cites the Cardinal Colonna to appear at Rome upon pain of deprivation of his dignity : he, on the other side, threatening to call a council against him, and depose him as a Simoniac ; the pope hereupon gathers an army, and with about 10,000 men, led by the Comte de Vaudemont, brother to the Duke of Lorain, (to whom the pope now pretended to give Naples, as the right of his family,) enters (Feb.) the kingdom of Naples, takes divers places belonging to the Colonnesei, and approacheth the very gates of Naples. But now new succours coming from Spain, the pope was distress'd and glad (Mar. 29.) to treat again with la Noy the viceroy, and to give the imperialists 60,000 ducats ; whereupon also it was agreed, that the armies should retire on either side, and a cessation of war should be accorded, for eight months. But the pope finding this accord also too disadvantageous (as having disarm'd himself thereby, and discontented both the French and our king,) intends to disavow it, and to provide himself of money by creating fourteen cardinals, for which he had 300,000 ducats ; but Bourbon prevented his attempts. For being actually general of the imperialists (who for want of pay, were to be maintain'd with pillage,) he takes a pretext to invade Rome it self ; for (as the intelligence in our records hath it) coming near that city, May 5. he sent to the pope for leave to pass through it, and his territories into the realm of Naples, and to have victuals for his money ; but the pope denying it, Bourbon resolves to assault Rome, which Renzo de Ceri, an old commander, defended. But Bourbon having an army of 30,000 men, upon May 6. 1527. marches directly to the walls ; where carrying a ladder before the rest of the soldiers, with which he meant to scale the town, a shot kill'd him : which kind of death, some writers say, he call'd upon himself by a kind of imprecation, when the last year, being at Milan, he made the citizens buy their quiet at a great price ; wishing he might be shot to death the first time he went to the field, if they should be oppress'd any more by such payments, which yet he forc'd them unto soon after. Bourbon being thus dead, Philibert de Chaalon, Prince of Aurange, threw a cloak over his body, as fearing it might discourage his soldiers. But they, whether out of indignation for this loss, or greediness to sack the town, enter'd it with fury ; killing in the way divers bishops, and surprizing some cardinals that were flying to the castle Saint Angelo ; the pope and Renzo de Ceri being already retir'd thither with seventeen cardinals, and the ambassadors of England, France, Venice, and Florence, and about 500 soldiers. The Prince of Aurange (who now took upon him the charge of general) did all that was possible to restrain the soldiers from their frequent murthers and pillage. Notwithstanding which, their impetu-

osity was such, that (without making difference, betwixt holy places and prophane) they ransack'd the city for the space of six or seven days, killing above 5000 men. Not content with this yet, they laid siege to the castle, and brought the pope to such necessity, that to free himself from further danger, he and thirteen cardinals, that now remain'd with him, agreed, that 400,000 ducats should be paid to the army within two months, and the castle of Saint Angelo, together with those of Ostia, and Civita Vecchia, and other places, should be deliver'd into the hands of the imperialists. That the pope with the said cardinals should remain in the castle, till part of the money were paid, and good hostages given for the rest. Which being done, that he should go to Cajeta, or some other place in the kingdom of Naples, there to expect the emperor's pleasure.

Hereupon the guard and service of the pope's person was committed to Hernando de Alanzon, and victuals put into the castle ; (where the pope remain'd under some restraint, not free from danger, though otherwise reverenc'd in all appearance, according to his dignity.) And now the Cardinal Colonna, and others that sided with the emperor began to treat concerning a general council, conformable to a late bull of Pope Julius II. by which it was declar'd, that a pope might be depriv'd from his place, and another substituted, when there were cause for it ; (and they pretended to prove this pope a Simoniac.)

It was now the beginning of June, 1527. when the emperor being at Valledolid took notice of this success, divulg'd already over all Christendom. Nevertheless he shew'd not any other sense thereof, than such as might be expected from one to whose ambition and power nothing could seem either great or new. Yet as he knew that all Christian princes must needs be highly interested in the imprisonment of the head of their Church, so he thought fit to satisfie them herein. Among all which, none seem'd so considerable as our king. To whom therefore in a letter dated from Valledolid, Aug. 2. 1527. he made a kind of apology for these proceedings ; beginning first with giving an account thereof, then demanding our king's advice ; thereupon declaring also the causes why his army could not be withheld from invading of Rome. Yet so, as he disclaim'd any part, either the counselling or authorizing thereof. Notwithstanding which (as God could draw good out of evil) so he hop'd a benefit might redound to Christendom thereby. Wherefore, that he should intreat him again, as his good uncle and brother, that he would send his opinion what further was to be done in this case. And particularly, that he would assist him against the enemies of our faith ; against whom, when their intestine wars were compos'd, he resolv'd to imploy his blood and life. He forgot not also, upon the instance of ours and the French ambassadors for the pope's liberty, to write gently unto his holiness, offering his love and friendship in case he desir'd it. But to the chief officers of his army, by his agents

Antonio Veyeley, and Francisco de les Angeles, General of the Franciscans, he sent instructions, which for some space amus'd them. For he commanded to set the pope at liberty, yet so, as together they should provide, that from a friend he should not become an enemy. The Prince of Aurange, Hernando de Alanzon, and some other principal commanders met hereupon ; where, after a long consultation, how to reconcile and interpret this riddle, they resolv'd at last, that to despoil the pope first of his money, and then to deliver him, was the best way to comply with their instructions. After therefore having extorted great sums, not only for the emperor's occasions, but their own ; and forcing him to give hostages for security, he was dismiss'd out of the castle of St. Angelo, as shall be told in its place. Yet so, as they suffer'd him not to depart out of their reach ; neither indeed did he think fit to do otherwise : so that although by the former convention he was to be remov'd to Cajeta, ten miles distant thence ; or some other place belonging to the kingdom of Naples, (whether not only the burning of his palace, library and records did seem to compel him, but the pestilence then raging in that city, whereof also Charles de la Noy Viceroy of Naples died ; into whose charge therefore Hugo de Moncada, much against the pope's will, succeeded ;) yet, saith Guiccardine, with much diligence, intreaty, and art, he procur'd to stay in Rome. From whence upon the first (June. 6.) surrender of the castle he complain'd (as I find by our records) to our king and cardinal ; protesting, that all the help and succour he could expect in this extremity, was from hence, and therefore implor'd his assistance. Which petition therefore he caus'd to be seconded by the thirteen cardinals then with him, and to be dispatch'd hither by Gregory de Casalis, our king's agent in Rome, and now returning to England.

This while the ambassadors of our king in Spain, mediated potently for delivery of the hostages upon more reasonable terms than had been hereunto propos'd ; and in conclusion so prevail'd, that (as Sandoval hath it) Charles protested to our ambassadors, that for his sake only he would relinquish his demand for the restitution of Burgundy, in which the difficulty of the peace consisted. Adding further, that for the same reason, he would accept, as well as for the ransom of the two sons of Francis, as for the recompence of the great expences he was at for breach of the concord of Madrid, the sum only which Francis had offer'd voluntarily long before to Charles de la Noy (which were 2,000,000 crowns ;) upon condition yet, that Francis should observe the rest of the articles in the said concord. But all this again was interrupted by the continual intelligence of the pope's imprisonment, which so incens'd our king, that he would not so much as vouchsafe an answer to the above-mention'd letter of Charles, but prepar'd to join in a stricter league with Francis, as judging that Charles would never in so insolent a manner have captivated the pope, had he not pretended to universal monarchy.



This while Ferdinand King of Hungary and Bohemia, sent (Mar. 14.) ambassadors hither to invite our king to join against the Turk. Notwithstanding which, as John Sepuse, Vayvod of Transylvania, pretending he was chosen King of Hungary by the greater part of the nobility, had lately complain'd of Ferdinand's usurpation to divers Christian princes, and particularly to our king ; so no other satisfaction was return'd, but a protestation made by Sir Thomas More, that the fault was not our king's if more were not done therein. All these miseries which he so much lamented, being occasion'd by the ambition of Charles the emperor, his brother, who (notwithstanding his mediation) could not be induc'd to accept the overtures generally propos'd him for a peace. And that till this were done, the Turk must needs prevail. Whereupon the ambassadors were honourably rewarded and dismiss'd.

Our king at this time intended to proceed according to his treaty with Francis ; but as he now heard that Rome was sack'd, he made, May, 29. a new confederacy with him, by which 'they agreed mutually 'to desist from their war in the Low Countries, and to transport it into 'Italy ; according to which, Francis oblig'd himself to send an army of '30,000 foot, and 1000 great horse, to join with the Venetians, and 'others of the Clementine league. And that Henry should contribute 'thereunto monthly 32,222 crowns de soleil, to be deducted out of the 'money which the said Francis ow'd him ; and that this contribution 'should be understood to be in lieu of those forces which by the late 'treaty he should have furnish'd for the wars in the Low Countries. 'And that therefore all the other articles of the said treaty should 'remain in full effect and virtue. It was agreed also that Henry might 'send a commissary which should visit the army in Italy, and advertise him of all passages.' For the better accomplishment of which treaties, Sir Thomas Bolen, Knight, made (June 18. 1525.) Viscount Rochfort, and Sir Anthony Brown, being join'd in commission with the Bishop of Bath, (then resident at Paris,) were commanded to see Francis sworn thereunto, which accordingly was perform'd. Sir Francis Pointz, Knight also, upon the tenth of May, 1527. was sent to Spain, where Doctor Edward Lee, and Hierome Bishop of Worcester, (lately come from Rome, and dispatch'd to the emperor,) were resident on the part of our king. To accompany him in which journey and negotiation, Clarenceaux, king of arms, was sent to act his part, when the gentle persuasions of our ambassadors could not prevail. The proposition on their part to be made, was briefly this. 'That in regard 'our king was at half the charge of the war, Charles should send him 'half the prize and booty taken at Pavia, and one of the two hostages ; 'and that if he deny'd, Clarenceaux should denounce him war.' To this rough message Charles answer'd with much gravity ; 'That the 'proposition made was of great moment on either part. So that 'whether he accepted or refus'd it, it was fit he took time to advise

'with himself, both that his good will to our king might be conserv'd, 'and Francis might be us'd according to his demerits, who had so 'perfidiously behav'd himself, that he had broke his promise almost 'before he made it. Therefore that he would declare his resolution by 'letters unto Henry ; and that, till then, he would make them no 'absolute answer.' All which was done purposely by Charles, that he might gain time. Our king and Francis being advertis'd of this dilatory reply, and together of the pope's distress, would no longer intermit to give order for their own, as well as the general affairs of Christendom. Therefore our cardinal was commanded to France, both for concluding the marriage of our Princess Mary, either with Francis or the Duke of Orleans his son, (as is before-mention'd) as also for other occasions, which shall be hereafter declar'd. Though whatsoever they treated concerning her marriage in so many places, and with persons of so different ages, her husband Philip the Second, was now but newly born at Valledolid, May 21. 1527.

The cardinal having (July 3.) kist the king's hand, and receiv'd his instructions, arriv'd at Calais with a noble equipage, being near a 1000 horse, the eleventh of July, 1527. departing thence toward Boulogne, (leaving yet the great seal behind him in Calais with Doctor Taylor, Master of the Rolls ;) where he was met by Monsieur de Byron with 1000 horse, and after by John Cardinal of Lorain, and the Chancellor of Alanzon, who accompany'd him in his way to Monstreüil, and afterwards to Abbeville. Francis in the mean time (July 23.) assuring him by letter, that himself and Madame Louïse his mother would meet him at Amiens, as soon as he had confiscated the lands of Bourbon, and extinguish'd his title and dignity. This occasion'd the cardinal's stay for some days, yet so as he wanted not a just exercise for that power which Francis had given him, wheresoever he went to release all those prisoners he thought capable of mercy. While he staid thus at Abbeville, the Bishop of Worcester, and Edward Lee, our king's ambassadors in Spain, sent him the emperor's demands, in case the restitution of Francis his children were propos'd ; which, though high, were to be qualified by our king, if his highness so thought fitting, hereof therefore, by a letter dated July 29. 1527. he advertis'd our king ; adding moreover, that though the emperor were determin'd to train the pope to Spain, (to which also he heard the pope was inclin'd) yet that the project was so dangerous, as it was not by any means to be suffer'd ; since thereby Charles might both establish the imperial authority in Rome, and seize on the patrimony of the Church, or at least constrain him to furnish what money he would, and together compel him to make so many cardinals of the Spanish faction, as when the pope died, would enable him to elect what successor he pleas'd. Neither did he see how this could be avoided, unless Andrea Doria were commanded to use the fleet he had then at sea

for intercepting of the pope ; who, what shew soever he made of willingness to come to the emperor, complain'd yet of his captivity, as by a letter written (June 6.) by the pope's own hand in ciphers, to his highness, and conveyed by Gregory de Casalis, might appear ; which also was confirm'd by divers cardinals then attending him. Besides, that it were convenient, that the forces his highness was bound to furnish for the wars of Italy, should be join'd with Lautrech, (who was now design'd by Francis to pursue the war there) and imploy'd to hinder the pope's passage ; in which affair also, some princes of Italy might be drawn to concur, when his highness would write to them ; all which was the rather to be speeded, for that the Bishop of Worcester had written from Spain, that the emperor went to sow division betwixt him and Francis. This letter was seconded by another of the same date, which yet contain'd only an overture for a meeting betwixt Madame Louïse and himself, on the one part, and the emperor on the other, at Perpignan ; wherein all these difficulties should be resolv'd. Moreover, by a letter dated from Abbeville the 31st. of July, he certifies the king, how Monsieur de Bouclans had propos'd on the emperor's part, a match betwixt the Duke of Richmond, natural son to our king, and the daughter of Portugal, with Milan for dowry ; which yet (as being colourable only) he thought fit should not be much insisted on. Only, because it was necessary to keep good correspondence with the emperor, he thought it not amiss to entertain speech thereof. And together, (by a letter the first of August, to desire our ambassadors in Spain, to quench all rumours concerning a divorce bruited now betwixt our king and the queen ; and to assure the emperor, that the first original thereof arose only from the objection which the Bishop of Tarbe (when he was lately in England) made, concerning the legitimization of the Princess Mary. At last, Francis, together with Madame Louïse his mother, coming to Amiens, the cardinal with all his train (Aug. 1.) sets forth from Abbeville ; whereof notice being given, Francis being royally attended, meets him a mile and half out of the town ; and after protestations, that he owed his liberty chiefly to our king, conducted him to his lodging. Shortly after which, (Aug. 4.) the cardinal obtaining audience, declar'd his business, consisting principally in three points.

' I. To require the resolution of Francis concerning this alternative of the marriage a little before-mentioned.

' II. To advise concerning the means of making peace with the emperor, upon such terms as the restitution of Francis his children might be procur'd.

' III. To determine how the pope might be deliver'd out of captivity ; (for which purpose our historians say, that the cardinal carry'd over with him 240,000*l.* of our king's treasure.)'



To the first, it was answer'd, 'That the Duke of Orleans, (as more 'suing in years) should be recommended to the Princess Mary.'

To the second, 'That Francis for re-obtaining of his children, would, 'among other things, renounce his claim in Milan.'

To the third, little more was said, than 'That the pope (as soon as possible) should be set free, by mediation, or force.'

Besides which points, an interview was propos'd on our king's part, betwixt him and Francis ; but Francis excusing himself by reason of the great charges he must be at till his children were redeem'd, the motion was urg'd no farther.

After this, Francis brought our cardinal to Compeigne ; from whence he wrote to the king, that howsoever Francis did promise to renounce Milan, yet, that it was best not overstrictly to tie him to it, until his highness discover'd whether the emperor would really confer it in dowry upon the match formerly intimated. The king receiving thus much satisfaction by the cardinal's negotiation, writ a letter with his own hand, acknowledging therein the good service he had done him and the kingdom divers ways ; and particularly in three treaties, concluded Aug. 18. 1527. which, by the French and our records, I find thus related.

'1. The first treaty was concerning the Princess Mary ; who (according to the reference formerly made,) was to marry the Duke of Orleans, reserving notwithstanding unto a further time, the particularities of her dote, dowry, transportation of the said duke into England, the charges of his family, and the like. Furthermore it was declared, that if the said marriage, either by death, or consent of both kings, or any other accident, took no effect, that yet the other treaties betwixt the said kings (being of the thirtieth of August, 1525. and of the last of April, 1527.) should remain in full force. The interview of the two kings, which (the last of April) was agreed to be at Calais, was remitted to a further time. The contribution, to which the said Henry oblig'd himself for the war of Italy, was express'd to be twenty thousand escus de soleil for June, and for July thirty thousand, and for every of the months of August, September, October, thirty two thousand two hundred twenty two crowns. Upon condition yet, that the said contribution should be abated proportionably, if the number of soldiers employ'd in the said war were diminish'd. That, after the said month of October, Henry should contribute no more ; and that, if peace were made sooner, he should be discharg'd of the said contributions. And finally, that neither prince might demand of the other, his money spent in this war, as long as the perpetual peace was conserv'd.

'2. By the second treaty it was agreed, that the said Henry should

'not charge himself with the protection and assurance of the peace, whensoever it should be concluded betwixt Francis and Charles; but in case only, that the said peace could not otherwise be made, which therefore so hapning, the said Francis did agree, that he should take the said protection and warranty upon him. On condition yet, that nothing should be attempted by him by reason thereof, either against him, his kingdom, or subjects. Moreover, the said Henry consented, that, for the good of the intended peace, the marriage betwixt Francis and Leonora, sister to Charles, should be validated and confirm'd; upon condition yet, that thereby no prejudice should follow to the treaties concluded betwixt them. That if any peace were made with Charles, by which Francisco Sforza should enjoy Milan, it was declar'd by the said kings, that they did not intend to renounce certain pensions assign'd to either of them, upon the said dutchy, by the league of Italy, when Francisco should refuse to pay them. That if war were commenc'd by the said kings against Charles, upon his refusal of the conditions offer'd to him, then the like privileges, exemptions, and liberties, that the English merchants had (a year since) in Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, they shall now have in other places under the obedience of Francis, as long as the said wars should last; the said places to be nominated and agreed on hereafter.

'3. By the third treaty it was concluded, betwixt the said kings, that no council-general, summon'd by the pope during his captivity, or by the emperor's authority, should take effect; and, that for this purpose they should cause their clergy on either side, by publick and solemn protestations, to renounce and detest all such convocation. That any commandment, sentence, bull, letter, or breve proceeding from the said pope, being in captivity, and tending to the damage of the said kings or subjects, and especially to the prejudice of the legation of the Cardinal of York, should neither be obey'd by them, nor suffer'd to be obey'd; but that they should be declar'd as of no effect, and the bringers of them punish'd. That during the said captivity of the pope, whatsoever by the Cardinal of York, (assisted by the prelates of England assembled and call'd together by the authority of the said king) should be determin'd concerning the administration of ecclesiastical affairs in the said kingdom of England, and other countries being in the dominion of the said Henry, should (the consent of the said king being first had,) be decreed and observ'd. (To confirm which power, the pope sent him a bull, to be vicar-general throughout all the king's dominions.) It was also agreed, that Francis and his clergy should have the like power in France, and other his dominions, during the captivity of the pope.' And here certainly began the taste that our king took of governing (in chief) the clergy; of which therefore, as well as the dissolution of monasteries, it seems the

first arguments and impressions were deriv'd from the cardinal ; who having now in a conference with certain cardinals at Compeigne, resolv'd that the aforesaid order for the government of the Church was in these times requisite, took on him the charge of our ecclesiastical affairs (though Guiccardine writes, that he sent for a bull to be the legate in England, France, and Germany, and the imperialists gave out, that he attempted to make himself pope of the English and French Church, by a schism from the see of Rome.) The passages betwixt the cardinals above-mentioned being certified to Rome, Sept. 16. Woolsey prepar'd to return. Whereupon Francis not only richly presented him, but conducted him through the town, and upon his way about a mile, being accompany'd with the titular King of Navarre, the pope's legate, and his prime nobility. The cardinal now hasting homeward, came to Calais, where having establish'd a mart, he arriv'd at court toward the end of September, where much demonstration of affection was given him by our king. To correspond with this ambassade, Francis sent Anne de Montmorency Grand Maistre, John du Bellay Bishop of Bayonne, John Brinon the Premier President de Rouen, and le Seigneur de Humieres, as his ambassadors to ratifie the said league here. These, with divers other cavaliers, (being in all about 600 horse) were conducted to London, Oct. 20. and lodg'd in the Bishop of London's palace. After which, audience being given them, they were, Nov. 10. entertain'd by our king at Greenwich with a feast, ('the most sumptuous,' saith Bellay, 'that ever I saw,') and then with a comedy, in which his daughter the princess was an actor. On this day also the King of England receiv'd at the hands of Montmorency, the order of St. Michael ; and Francis, with no less solemnity, that of the garter, in Paris. For which purpose our king had sent over Arthur Plantagenet Viscount Lisle, (natural son to King Edward IV.) Sir Nicholas Carew master of his horse, Sir Anthony Brown, all knights of this order, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley garter-herald. Both princes likewise giving their oath and seal (which was in gold) for the ratification of the late treaty.

Charles, being not ignorant of these treaties, thinks fit to prevent the execution of them, by a timely consent unto all that could in reason be expected from him. Therefore at Palentia, Sept. 15. he offer'd this agreement unto the French, English, and other ambassadors residing in his court ; which also for the present they seem'd to accept. That the article for the restitution of Burgundy, should be ras'd out of the concord of Madrid, reserving still to the emperor his right. That Francis should pay for the ransom of his sons, the two millions of crowns which were offer'd. And that out of them so much should be allow'd as would pay our king. Furthermore, that Francis should take upon him to satisfie Henry, as well as to keep Charles



indemnified from the obligation, by which he ty'd himself in London by particular treaty ; which was, that he should pay unto Henry the ancient pension which Francis paid him, together with any other sum that Francis should refuse to pay only because the said Henry had declar'd himself his enemy. That the French should oblige themselves to restore Genoïa, and all the rest that they had taken in Lombardy, before the hostages were rendred. That in the particular of the Duke of Milan, Charles should nominate and appoint certain judges, who should determine the cause betwixt them. And that if he were not found culpable, then his estate should be restor'd to him, and the investiture given him ; otherwise, that the emperor should dispose thereof as lord of the feud. That, in all the rest, the concord of Madrid should be observ'd, saving in some few points of small importance.

When these articles were approv'd on both sides, the ambassadors of France said, that they wanted sufficient authority from their king to sign them, which yet they promis'd to send for, and procure. And so the conclusion of peace at this time was deferr'd on their part. Charles not much troubled herewith, returns to his former arts of dividing our king from Francis. Therefore he sends privately to the cardinal (now return'd from France,) offering him, besides his ordinary pension, large sums for this purpose. Notwithstanding which (saith Polydore) because he had deny'd him the archbishoprick of Toledo, to which (if we may believe the same author) he vehemently aspir'd, he was found inexorable.

This year our king sent out (May 20.) two fair ships to discover new regions, then daily found out by the Portuguese and Spaniard ; though, as no success follow'd thereupon, I do not find the design pursu'd.

This while, Monsieur de Lautrech made ready an army of 26,000 foot, and 2000 horse, for the affairs of Italy ; and, about July, passed the Alps. Wherewith the Clementine league (whose forces were 11,000 foot, and about 1600 horse) being much encourag'd, an answer was sent to the propositions made by the emperor, to the ambassadors of the league, at Palentia. For which purpose a secretary of Francis came, Dec. 12. 1527. to Bruges, (where Charles then was) publishing by the way, that he brought a final resolution of peace ; when yet indeed he brought order only to defie Charles, as will appear afterwards. Yet, to shew some desire of accommodation, the ambassadors of England and France desir'd two points of the treaty of Palentia should be alter'd in this manner. The first was, 'That Francisco Sforza should be restor'd to his estate ; and, afterwards, justice done 'concerning the complaints made against him.' The other was, 'That 'the hostages should be remanded, before Francis should deliver up 'Genoïa or Asti, or withdraw his army out of Italy.' And to induce Charles hereunto, it was offer'd by the French, 'To put security into

'the hands of our king, for the payment of 300,000 ducats to Charles, 'in case of not rendring the said towns, and withdrawing his army.' Charles reply'd, 'That tho' all this was innovation upon the treaty of 'Palentia; yet, to shew his desire of peace, he would put security for 'payment of so much money into the hands of our king, in case the 'French would agree to perform that which was concluded on their 'part.' But the French ambassador saying, 'He had no order to make 'any other end, than what was proposed,' this great affair remained suspended.

Our ambassador perceiving this, proceeds upon his instructions, and makes four demands.

'1. That without any delay, Charles should pay to the king his master all that was lent him heretofore.

'2. That he should pay him a penalty of 500,000 ducats, because he 'did not marry the Princess Mary, as was agreed.

'3. That he should satisfie for the indemnity he undertook to discharge, upon the declaration that our king made of war against 'Francis, (whereof mention is made formerly) which from the time it 'was due, was four years and four months.

'4. That he should deliver the pope ; and make him satisfaction 'for the loss and damage he had sustain'd.'

To which Charles answer'd: 'That he marvell'd why the king should 'press him so much, since he never deny'd the debt ; and that, if they 'requir'd from him the money, they should give him the security he 'enter'd into for the payment thereof.' But our ambassador saying 'That they were kept among the archives and records of England ; 'and that, for the rest, they were sufficiently authorized to give him an 'acquittance : ' Charles knew not well how to argue the matter further. As for the penalty of marriage and indemnity, he said 'he would send 'an express messenger into England, to acquaint our king with the 'reasons, why he did not hold himself bound to give any such satisfaction.' And for the delivering of the pope, he said, 'Order was, and 'should be given.' And indeed, I find that about this very time, the pope recover'd his liberty. Which because it was occasion'd by the proceeding of the French in Italy, let us look back a while on those affairs.

The army of the league formerly mention'd, being commanded by Odet de Foix Seigneur de Lautrech, (an able general) great hope was conceiv'd ; both as he was supported by our king, and Francis, and the Venetians, at a common charge, (whereof our king's part, according to the French history, was 60,000 angelots the month) and as the imperial army, which sack'd Rome, was much consum'd with the plague. By sea also, Andrea Doria of Genoa, who had the command of the

French king's gallies, a brave commander, was appointed with a strong fleet to second him ; who, accordingly, so scour'd all the coast of Genoa, that no shipping on those quarters durst appear. This caused great scarcity of victuals there ; which being advertis'd to Doria, and afterwards to Lautrech, he sends Cæsar Fregoso with 2000 men thither ; who, together with Doria, so prest that city on both sides, that, at last, it yielded ; whereupon Theodoro de Trivulci was made governor of it, on the behalf of the French king. After this, Lautrech took (in the name of Sforza, and for his use) Alexandria, the country of Lomeline, the cities of Vigueva, Biagras, and Novarra, and besieged Pavia, to the great displeasure of Antonio de Leyva (then Governor of Milan) who wanting soldiers for himself, would yet spare some for defence of that town. This did not hinder Lautrech yet to make a breach and enter it, at the second assault ; where, in revenge of the king his master's misfortunes, he permitted his army to exercise all manner of licentious cruelty : and now Milan it self, (which remain'd only to make an entire conquest of those parts) began to shake ; neither could it have resisted long, but that a mystery of state preserv'd it. For, as Lautrech's chief design was on Naples, to which he knew yet Sforza and the Venetians would not easily concur) so he thought fit to leave this strong place entire, as well to keep them in exercise, as to draw from them a greater dependance on the king his master. For he understood well, that when he had put a garrison in it in the name of Sforza, that he and the Venetians would sooner have excluded him from his further passage to Naples, than given him any assistance ; which would have frustrated both his chief designs, since Francis pretended a like title to Milan and Naples. Besides, the more moderate sort approv'd this course ; for when the event of war had been improsperous or doubtful, it left a way open for peace ; while each party having somewhat to require, better overtures might be given for a general accommodation. Lastly, these intentions of Lautrech were much facilitated by the intreaty of the pope ; who solicited him to expel the remnant of the imperial army from the patrimony of the Church. Lautrech hereupon (Oct. 18.) marches forwards ; whereof Antonio de Leyva being inform'd, sallies forth of Milan, and with his small forces takes Biagras, and holds it, until Lautrech sending Pietro de Novarra back with 6000 men, wan it (Oct. 28.) again, and settled Sforza in the possession thereof. Lautrech continuing thus his march, finds the Duke of Ferrara, and Marquis of Mantua, ready to join him. The manner of weaker and inferior sort of princes being ever to comply with the more puissant and victorious army. The sincerity yet of the Duke of Ferrara seem'd questionable ; both as he had just cause to be offended with the pope, and as he had, a good while since, rang'd himself with the imperialists ; nevertheless, upon the treaty of a match betwixt his eldest son, and Renee daughter of Louis XII. all was compos'd, and he



receiv'd into the confederacy. But among all, none was so much perplex'd as the pope; who being not yet deliver'd from his guards, knew not whether were better for him, to trust to the fair words of Charles (whose agents now treated with him) or to the assistance of the league. Neither could he (when this latter part was resolv'd) determine concerning the seat of war. For as, to keep the army of Lautrech at a distance, had been to leave himself in restraint still; so, to invite him to his territories, had been to expose his subjects to the rapines of both armies. Therefore he varied strangely in his private advices, answers, and negotiations; insomuch that Lautrech, at last, was neither scandaliz'd with his denials, nor confirm'd with his promises. Howsoever, Lautrech thought fit to pursue his point; whereof Charles being advertis'd, resolv'd, by a timely and voluntary discharge of the pope out of prison, to prevent compulsion. Therefore he sends (Oct. 31.) a particular dispatch to Don Hugo de Moncada, to set him free upon these conditions:

'That the pope shall not oppose Charles in the affairs of Milan and Naples. That he should grant him a croisade in Spain, and a tenth of all ecclesiastical livings in all his kingdoms. That Ostia and Civita Vecchia should remain in the hands of Charles, for security hereof. That he should consign to him la Civita Castellana, and the Castle of Furli, giving hostages till it were done. That he should pay presently to the Almain 77,000 ducats, and to the Spaniard 35,000; and that fifteen days after his departure out of Rome, he should pay as much again to the Almain, and within three months after give the rest, being in all about 300,000 ducats; and to deliver hostages for performance hereof.' Upon which conditions he was to be set at liberty, Dec. 10. But the pope prevented this, by escaping in the habit of a merchant to Monte Fiascone, and thence to Orvieto, the night before they promis'd to deliver him. His hostages yet, the cardinal of Cesis and Orsino, remain'd till the money was paid; for obtaining of which, he was forc'd to have recourse to undecent ways, making (as Guiccardine hath it) divers cardinals for money, which, otherwise, deserv'd not that honour. He also gave the Spaniards license for the alienating of ecclesiastical goods and possessions, (and particularly in the kingdom of Naples, to the value of 600,000 crowns, as our records say;) giving therein a beginning (as some observe) to that liberty which was afterwards taken in divers places. But necessity is a violent counsellor. Howsoever, the pope was glad now, not only to find his person free from guards, but safe from attempts. The Cardinal Colonna (as a latter author affirms) having labour'd much with Hernando de Alanzon privately to make him away. Thus did the pope enter, by night, and without other company but that of Louis de Gonzaga, (the complice of his escape) to a town, unable any way to relieve or protect him. From whence yet, though despoil'd of all his

money, he found means (Dec. 14.) to return to his former greatness and authority. Being now at liberty, he sends word (Dec. 18.) thereof to Cardinal Woolsey, acknowledging him a great instrument thereof; and, withal, certifies our king of his estate, desiring him to continue his protection of the see of Rome. Our cardinal also (who the last year had caus'd the litany to be thus sung, *Sancta Maria ora pro Clemente Papa, Sancte Petre*, etc. as Charles, who kept him in prison, had caus'd to be done in Spain, though ironically, as most men conceiv'd it) now came, in great triumph, to St. Paul's in London, and caus'd (Jan. 10.) *Te Deum* to be sung, and bonfires to be publicly made. The French ambassador in Spain this while understanding well how matters were likely to pass, hasten'd the delivery of the cartelles, of which the chief cause was ill usage of the pope. For the performing whereof therefore, with more solemnity and ostentation, all the ambassadors of England, France, Venice, Florence, and the rest, desir'd leave of the emperor to depart, saying, their commission was expir'd. To which Charles briefly answer'd, that he would detain them no longer, than till his own were recall'd from their masters courts. Hereupon it was thought fit to proceed unto the defie; which, though the Spaniards relate with much particularity and circumstance, I shall yet declare as briefly as I can, according to their history.

Upon the 22nd of January, Anno Domini 1528, Charles being at Burgos, Clarenceaux and Guyenne came to the court, and demanded audience, which accordingly was granted them; hereupon the said heralds, holding their coats of arms in their left-hand, after three low obeysances, presented themselves before Charles, who sate in an high throne, being attended by his chief nobles and counsellors. Clarenceaux (whom Sir Francis Pointz, being now return'd to England, had left there for this purpose) begins first, saying :

'Sire, according to the laws and edicts inviolably guarded by the  
'Roman emperors your predecessors, as well as by all other kings and  
'princes, we two, in the name of our kings, do present ourselves before  
'your sacred majesty, to declare some things on their part; beseeching  
'your majesty, that, having respect to the above-mention'd laws and  
'edicts, you would, out of your benignity and clemency, vouchsafe to  
'give us security and good usage in your dominions, while we attend  
'your answer; and that you would grant us a safe conduct, till we  
'come to the lands and seigneuries of the kings our masters.' The  
emperor promising to accord this, Guyenne reads a cartell, sent from  
the king his master, the substance whereof was, 'That because Charles  
'would not condescend to an honest and fitting conclusion of peace,  
'nor pay unto the King of England that which he ow'd him, nor put  
'the pope at liberty, nor leave Italy in quietness; the king, my master,  
'hath commanded me to tell you, to his great grief and displeasure, as

‘also of his good brother the King of England, that he shall from henceforth hold you his enemy, notifying to you, that, from this day forwards, he intends not to keep any contract or agreement that may be for your profit and advantage ; but that he will do you, and your subjects, all the harm he can, by war or otherwise, until, upon honest and fitting conditions, you restore his sons, put the pope in liberty, pay the King of England that you owe him, and leave in peace and repose all his allies and confederates. Nevertheless, he offers forty days respite for the withdrawing your subjects out of their dominions, requiring the like for his.

‘Dated Nov. 11. 1527. and signed, Guienne, King of Arms.’

Charles hereunto reply’d presently, ‘That he had understood all he had said on the part of the king his master, and that he did marvel much, that he should defie him, since, being his prisoner of war, and having his faith plighted to him, he was disabled to proceed in this manner. Besides, it seem’d strange to him, that he would defie him now ; since he had made war with him a long time, and yet never defy’d him. Yet, that he trusted in God, he should be able to defend himself. And for that ye say of the pope, none is more sorry than myself for what is pass’d, as being done without my knowledge or consent ; but, for that, I must advertise you, that I receiv’d assur’d news yesterday, that the pope is at liberty. As for the sons of the king your master, he knows well I hold them as hostages, and his ambassadors know as well, that it is not my fault, if they be not deliver’d. As for that you say on the part of the King of England, my good uncle and brother, I believe that he is not well inform’d of all the passages in these affairs ; otherwise, that he would not have sent me this message. But I shall advertise him of the whole truth ; and do believe, that, when he knows it, he will be the same to me that formerly he was. I never deny’d the money he lent me ; and am ready to pay it, as by right I am bound. Notwithstanding which, if he will needs make war against me, I can do no less than defend myself ; and pray to God, he give me not more occasion to make war against him, than I have given him against me. As for the rest, I desire to have your cartel under your hand, that I may answer more particularly.’ Hereupon Guyenne took his coat of arms and put it on.

Then Clarenceaux, not by writing, but by word of mouth, spake to this effect. ‘Sire, the king my supreme lord and master, considering the necessity of peace in the Christian world, as well for resisting the Turk, (who have taken the Isle of Rhodes, and fortress of Belgrade, intends yet further conquests) as for repressing the heresies and sects that are newly risen ; and finding that your commanders and army have lately sack’d the city of Rome, and taken our holy father



'prisoner, together with divers cardinals, who have been also put to ransom, and that the churches have been sacrilegiously profan'd, and all manner of religious orders put to the sword ; insomuch, that by these cruelties and mischiefs, the air and earth have been infected, and the anger of God drawn down upon us, if we procure no reparation for them : and, because the root and beginning of these wars proceeds from the contention and debates between you and the most Christian king : the king my master, for giving an end to these differences, hath, by his ambassadors, propos'd to you, several times, such honest conditions, that you ought not to refuse, if you desir'd peace ; and the rather, because your unreasonable demands would be an ill precedent for other kings and princes, that may be subject to the like fortune : and whereas he also, as a prince, being bound many ways to protection of the holy see, hath desir'd you to give the pope intire liberty ; and hath, oftentimes, requir'd the money he lent you in the time of your necessity, which yet you have not paid him.

'For these causes, the king my master hath thought fit to take a final resolution, to desire you, without further delay, to condescend to equity and reason ; and to tell you, that, since you have refus'd it hitherto, he could do no less than conclude a league with the most Christian king, and other confederates, by force of arms to constrain you to that, which by right you ought to do. Wherefore, the said king my master, and the most Christian king, require you this once for all, to accept the conditions they have offer'd you for peace ; declaring, in case of refusal, they must (though not without great grief and displeasure) hold you for their enemy, denouncing war unto you thereupon, both by sea and land, and defying you with all their forces. Yet, if you desire to recal your subjects out of all their dominions, as they on their part likewise require, they offer you forty days respite for this purpose.'

This being said, he put on his coat of arms, and afterward gave his speech under his hand, signing it,

'Clarenceaux, King of Arms.'

The answer Charles made to this, little differing from what he made to Guyenne, I shall not particularly relate.

Then Charles, calling Guyenne aside, desir'd him, among other things, to tell the king his master, 'That he thought he was not well advertis'd of something that he told in Granada to his ambassadors, which did concern him much : and that he did hold him to be so gentle a prince, that, had he known it, he would have answer'd him before now. Wherefore, that he should do well, to take information thereof from his ambassadors since thereby he should understand, that I Charles have better kept what I promis'd at Madrid, than he hath done ; and I pray you fail not to tell this to the king ;' which

Guyenne promis'd ; and so, doing his obeysance, departed. After which, the said kings of arms were call'd by Juan Aleman, principal secretary to the emperor, to receive the answer he sent to the cartels. That, made to the French king, having little in it more than what is formerly set down, I shall mention no otherwise, save only that a day was requir'd for treaty of repealing the merchants on either side.

To Clarenceaux he answer'd, by the pen of his secretary : ' That ' the progress of the Turk in Christendom, and the captivity of the ' pope, were not occasion'd by him ; and that the King of England ' ought not to complain, that he ever refus'd to condescend to honest ' and reasonable terms of agreement, since for his sake only, he had ' releas'd much of that, which Francis, of himself, had freely offer'd ' unto the Viceroy of Naples. And all this before ever Henry did in- ' termeddle with the said peace. Also, that, for the same reason, he ' had accorded divers other conditions, which no other persons could ' have persuaded him unto. Whereas, on the other side, Francis ' had never done anything to comply with him. As to the second ' point, which is concerning the liberty of the pope, he was assur'd ' already from Italy, that he was free. So that no more needs to be ' said thereof. And, for that which pass'd in Rome, as soon as ever he ' was advertis'd thereof, he writ his justification unto our king ; desiring ' (withal) his counsel and assistance in that which he thought might be ' most for the service of God, and good of Christendom, to which yet ' he never answer'd. Which argu'd, he did not so much desire the ' liberty of the pope (which by his loving advice he might have pro- ' cur'd) as to pick a quarrel against him. And as for the title which ' your king pretends of being Protector of the Pope and Defender of ' the Faith, he would not yield to him the honour of that duty ; but ' that he would say only, that if both had done what they ought, it ' would have been better for Christendom ; neither should those have ' been born out and favour'd, who have so manifestly broken their ' promise, which yet, according both to Divine and human right, ought ' to be conserv'd inviolable, both towards friends and enemies. As ' for the third point, which speaks of the debts demanded, it is ' answer'd, that the delay of payment was caus'd by the treaty betwixt ' your king's ambassadors and me, according to which, the said debt ' should be assign'd on Francis to pay ; and since that time, the ' non-payment was occasion'd by want of sufficient power in your ' king's ambassadors to discharge me thereof. And as for the ' obligation of indemnity, there being in arrear four years and ' four months at the rate of 133,305 crowns by the year ; and ' for the 500,000 crowns to be paid as a penalty for not having ' match'd with the Princess Mary, it is answer'd, that the am- ' bassadors, having not with them the original obligations and con- ' tracts, by which these things should appear, he thought himself ex-

'cus'd, till convenient place were appointed, where at the same instant that he paid the money he might receive the securities he entred into for the said payments. As for the indemnity, there had so many things interven'd since, that he thought he could produce five sufficient reasons to exempt himself, when indifferent commissioners shall hear the business on both sides. And as for the penalty, which the said ambassadors demanded, there were three evident and peremptory reasons to clear him from satisfying that demand. First, because by the law civil and canon, all penal stipulation, by which the free power of marrying in any fitting place is prohibited, is, *ipso facto*, void, and of no effect. Secondly, that, when the obligation for the said penalty were valid, yet the said king your master cannot prevail himself of the treaty of Windsor, (where the said penalty was agreed) unless he prove first, that he had intirely accomplish'd all that was to be done on his part; which he thought was more than could be made appear. Thirdly, that, before he marry'd, he requir'd the king your master to send his daughter to this kingdom, for the better satisfaction of his subjects, who desir'd much to see him have children, who might succeed him: whereas your king thought fit rather to give commission to his ambassadors to consent to any other marriage, than to send his daughter hither. Besides which, it appear'd by certain letters that were taken, the king your master treated of a marriage betwixt his daughter and the King of Scotland his nephew; which treaty was begun long before he marry'd with the empress. So that, when the stipulation were valid, the king your master should pay the penalty, as being reciprocally agreed: on which yet he would not insist, as being void in law. Moreover, that, contrary to the said treaty of Windsor, he had secretly kept in his court John Joakim, and afterwards publickly receiv'd the President of Roüen, as ambassador, who treated on the part of Francis; and because the ambassador he had in England, had writ the truth of what he saw and understood, he was ill us'd, and threaten'd in the said kingdom, and the dispatches he wrote, taken and open'd by the ministers of your king, contrary to all right, both divine and human. And, which was worst of all, since the imprisonment of the said Francis, the king your master, being requir'd to set down his claims and demands, whereby (according to the said treaty) each of them might have recover'd their right, and a good and durable peace been establish'd in Christendom, yet the king your master would never accept thereof as thinking to make his advantage another way; which hath been the cause of all the breaches that have follow'd since. That yet he had forbore to take notice, or complain of these offences, as being desirous to keep the friendship of the king your master, which he esteem'd so much, that he accorded for his sake almost all that his ambassadors demanded at Palentia, concerning the peace with Francis. As for the defiance



‘you have made on the part of the king your master, there is sufficient answer thereto given by word of mouth. It being possible (as was then said) that there might be more just occasion to make war against the king your master, than he hath against me; especially, if it be true (which is said in England, France, and other parts) that your king will be divorc’d from the queen his wife, and marry with another, (notwithstanding the dispensations granted on that behalf.) Since besides all other injuries done herein, it will be manifest, his intention was to make the lady (he pretended to give me in marriage) a bastard; which yet as he could not easily believe, in a prince he esteem’d so much, so, if any such purpose were, he must lay the fault thereof upon the sinister and perverse information of his cardinal, whose unmeasurable ambition and covetousness was such, that because he refus’d to employ his army in Italy, for the making him pope by strong hand, (which also he had procur’d the king his master to write for, and himself had intreated by some letters written by his own hand;) and because also he would not satisfy him in other his inordinate and unreasonable desires, he had many times declared, that he would give that disturbance and impediment to all his businesses, that for this hundred years the like had not been seen; so that he would make him repent it, when the kingdom of England should be hazarded thereby. And certainly, if the king your master will believe the evil counsel of the cardinal, it will be the right way to bring that to pass which he said, and consequently to be the ruine of your king and master’s dominions. All which being consider’d, he protested he was not the author of the evils might follow hereupon. Finally, for the business of the merchants, he referr’d him to a further treaty.’

These answers were read unto the said kings of arms by Juan Aleman Seigneur de Bouclans, and then given unto them, to be carried to their several kings and masters, in Burgos, Jan. 27. 1528. Where-withal they had their safe conducts to depart.

Thus did Clarenceaux, instead of satisfaction for the money, and kindnesses done to Charles, return with a reply full of offence and evasion, unto his king and master. Of which our king yet made no other account, than such as became one, who holding himself free from all causes of suspicion and calumny, despised whatsoever in either kind was objected against him; since, having inviolably kept his intention and oath of falling on that prince, which most interrupted the publick peace, he thought it now his part to join against Charles. For though in the beginning he interceded only for a peace betwixt him and Francis, (refusing therefore to be the chief and protector of the Clementine league) yet finding now that the generals and army of Charles proceeded to such an enormous outrage, as to take and hold the pope prisoner, he thought he could do no less than use all means

that might conduce to his delivery, and the repressing of the exorbitant ambition of Charles, who was thought not obscurely to aspire to an universal monarchy. As for the little cavils and punctilio's concerning the receiving of Giovanni Joakim, or the giving a civil ear to a proposition of marriage in Scotland, and the like, as they were not, before some contraventions of the part of Charles, so no effect did follow thereof in those times when Charles most suspected them. Though when our king was inform'd that Charles did, after his treaty at Windsor, give and receive overtures of marriage in more than one place, it could not seem strange if he took the same liberty. As for the opening of the letters, our cardinal by particular dispatches to Doctor Sampson, resident in Spain, had a good while since (1525.) so clear'd his king from any sinister intention therein, that it ought not to have been further mention'd. For though indeed a stranger passing the watch, about London, at an undue time of night, and in a suspected manner, had some letters taken from him; which afterwards were open'd by Sir Thomas More, and deliver'd to the cardinal; yet the said letters, which (as it appear'd (April 9. 1525.) afterwards) came from Monsieur de Praet, (who departed secretly out of England, without taking leave either of our king or his council,) and were written in ciphers, and contain'd many dangerous falshoods, were, in due time, posted to the emperor, (whereby also he might perceive what ill offices his said ambassador did,) and the fault laid on de Praet, who chose rather to use his own authority than to demand a pass, in a time when he knew they could not otherwise be convey'd; which likewise was the excuse for intercepting another messenger, who carry'd letters to the Lady Margaret in Flanders, of the same tenor; which yet she receiv'd presently after. And for the excuses not to pay the money requir'd of him, or the penalty above-mention'd, they were but arts, by which others might learn to deceive him in the same kind, and which therefore might instruct Francis to do the like.

Our cardinal being thus incens'd against Charles, thought fit, as well in despite of him, as for the assertion of his king's proceedings, (Oct.) publickly to give account, in the star-chamber, of the whole state of this business; adding withal, that our king was resolv'd to make war against Charles. In the delivery whereof, though he did exaggerate the actions of Charles, even to the making him criminal of whatsoever either by the law of God, or man he could be guilty; yet our merchants, who thereupon, should neither vent their chief commodities in the Low Countries, and Spain, nor again receive from thence supplies of some commodities they stood in need of, would no way approve this war; as that, from which they saw neither profit or honour likely to ensue; especially when they heard, the pope was deliver'd from his imprisonment. Nevertheless, the cardinal, pursuing his intentions, (as the emperor had done first in Spain to the English

and French,) seisseth on the goods of the subjects of Charles, and shortly after on the person of his ambassador Don Hugo de Mendoza, upon notice given, that our ambassador was staid in Spain. The consequence of this, was, that our merchants presently found the like measure in the Low Countries, to the great prejudice of that intercourse and commerce, which for many ages had pass'd betwixt both nations. Upon news yet, that our ambassadors were well us'd in Spain, Hugo de Mendoza was not only set at liberty, but persuaded by some, that the defiance which Clarenceaux had made unto Charles, was by him hastned, at the motion only of the French ambassador. For which presumptuous act, he should therefore suffer death, as soon as he return'd to Calais. Hugo de Mendoza, glad hereof, sends a dispatch by post into Spain, acquainting Charles with all these particularities. But as the courier past by Bayonne, the governour thereof open'd and copy'd these letters, which afterwards he shew'd Clarenceaux, as he return'd homewards. Clarenceaux, at first, seem'd much astonish'd, but, at last, considering he had good warrant from the cardinal, for all his proceedings, he recollects himself, and continues his journey. He did not think fit yet to come to Calais, but, taking ship at Boulogne, and landing at Rye, he secretly posted to Hampton Court, where the king was ; using such means there, that he obtain'd speedy access to him, shewing, among other things, three letters from the cardinal, authorizing this defiance to Charles. He assur'd him also of the good usage he had receiv'd there ; insomuch, that (notwithstanding all these rough passages,) he had been rewarded with a chain of 700 ducats. Lastly, he shew'd the copy of those letters the governour of Bayonne had intercepted ; which so startled the king, that he protested against the cardinal, as one, that not only usurp'd too much upon the regal authority, but represented things much otherwise than they were, unto him. The king hereupon sent for the cardinal, and lays these insolencies and presumptions to his charge in such a manner, that, howsoever the cardinal excus'd himself, the king was observ'd to mistrust him ever afterwards. The matter hereupon was brought to the body of the council ; where, notwithstanding the cardinal alledg'd that nothing was done, but what was conformable to the king's intentions, as he conceiv'd them ; yet, because in a matter of this high consequence, he had proceeded too singly, without advising with the king and council, he was reprov'd. In sequence whereof also (notwithstanding this design'd war) some overtures were made for keeping the commerce betwixt us, and the Low Countrymen, still open, if it could be fairly done. Therefore, the Dutchmen were licens'd to depart home, the Spaniards yet being not permitted to go, till it appear'd, how our merchants were us'd there.

The Lady Margaret, regent of the Low Countries, being inform'd hereof, doth in exchange of this courtesie, dismiss our English likewise,



yet retaineth their goods, until she might hear how the Spaniards were us'd in England, but together assures them, that when she is satisfied thereof, all things should be safely restor'd. And now our merchants (who us'd not the trade to the many northern and remote countries they now frequent) foreseeing the consequence of these wars, refus'd to buy the cloths that were brought to Blackwell-hall in London, whereupon the clothiers, spinners and carders in many shires of England began to mutiny. For appeasing whereof, the cardinal commands our merchants to take off these cloths, at a reasonable price, from the poor men's hands, threatening, otherwise, that the king himself should buy them, and sell them to strangers. But the sullen merchants, little mov'd herewith, said, 'they had no reason to buy commodities they knew not how to utter.' Therefore, whatsoever was propos'd for staples at Calais, or Abbeville, our merchants did not, or at least would not understand it. But this discontentment did equally extend to the inhabitants of the Low Countries, and especially to Antwerp, where the chief mart was. The Lady Margaret considering this also, and fearing lest any insurrection might follow, sends over, by the advice of the emperor's council, the provost of Casselles, and one other, to join with Don Hugo de Mendoza, for the obtaining, if nothing else, yet of a truce and abstinence from war. These ambassadors having obtain'd audience of the king, March 29. 1528. Don Hugo de Mendoza said unto him.

'Sire, the emperor's majesty doth acknowledge himself so much bound to your grace for the many favours receiv'd from you, ever since his minority, that he will by no means take the defiance given by your herald, as a peremptory denunciation of war, till he hath heard further of your pleasure. Therefore, his council hath appointed these two noble persons and myself, to know your determinate answer, and final resolution herein.' The king, pausing a while, as one that in his heart lov'd Charles, and yet was bound, by his late treaty, to oppose him, answer'd; 'Of war I am nothing joyful, and of war I am less fearful, I thank God, as having both men and money in readiness, which I know other princes lack, for all their high words; and therefore to war I could soon agree. Yet, before I make you a determinate answer herein, I shall declare some part of my mind to you, and tell you accordingly, that, although your master be a great emperor, and mighty prince, I cannot, nor may not, suffer him to bear down and destroy the realm of France, which is our true inheritance, and for which our brother and ally, the French king, pays us yearly a great pension and tribute; wherefore we, of justice and equity, must maintain that land, out of which we have so fair a rent, and such a profit.' The Provost of Casselles replying hereunto, told the king; 'That the ancient love and friendship which hath been betwixt your realm and the house of Burgundy, Flanders, and the

‘Low Countries, is now so confirm’d and rooted in their hearts, that I assure your grace, that, next their sovereign lord, they would soonest live and die with you. In which regard he hop’d, that no new alliance could corrupt and change this so long settled and inveterate amity. Which yet we say not out of fear, as being well furnish’d for war, but out of that true affection, which we have ever born you. Therefore, though we offer you choice of war, or peace, yet the emperor intends no more herein, than to leave you the arbitrement of both. And thus much I will confess out of my instructions, that if you chuse war, we have yet commission in fitting terms to sue for peace; and if you chuse peace, we have likewise commission to thank you for it, and to offer both us and ours at your command.’ Hugo de Mendoza, to second this, said, ‘That, of very right, the emperor and his dominions ought to have your love and favour before the French king, and his nation; since the French had never apply’d themselves to you, but in the time of their necessity; whereas the love on our part hath been ever inviolable.’ This was an age, in which much honour, and some good nature was to be found. Therefore our king, returning to his former affection to Charles (and the rather, for that he found so much was deferr’d to his mediation, in the affairs of Francis, as is above related) and, besides, having an eye on the businesses of Scotland (as will appear hereafter) and, howsoever, being desirous to conserve his stile and dignity of arbiter, told them, that, as he well perceiv’d the intent of their coming, so he would be well advis’d, how to make them a fitting answer; saying, that, ‘in the meanwhile, he was content there should be a truce for a time;’ wherewith the Flemish ambassadors return’d home, well satisfy’d that they had obtain’d this respite. The king hereupon adviseth with his counsellors; among whom, though those who adhered to Woolsey, did persuade a war, yet the greater part (who did secretly disaffect the cardinal) told the king, ‘That the resultance of war in the Low Countries could be nothing but a grievance to his subjects, a decay of trade, a diminution of his customs, and addition to the greatness of Francis, who would have the advantage of all that was undertaken in this kind.’ Which being duly consider’d, it was thought fit to make an abstinence from war for eight months, and untill it appear’d (upon consultation betwixt the emperor’s ambassadors and his) how a general peace might be made. Hereupon letters were sent, not only to Spain and Flanders, but to France, manifesting the reasons, why the king had, for a while, suspended this war. In which estate also, the business continued, till answer was brought from foreign parts.

The Bishop of Bayonne, resident here on the part of the French king, was no sooner advertis’d hereof, but he demanded audience; which being obtain’d, he saith, ‘That though he doubted not but his highness did well remember the late league, concluded betwixt him and his

'brother the French king, which also was ratified and confirm'd by the 'three estates of the realm of France, by virtue whereof you have an 'annual pension and tribute to a great value paid to you, in considera- 'tion whereof, you have promis'd to defend the said realm against all 'persons; yet, because it is well known to many, that the emperor's 'ambassadors have labour'd the contrary, disposing your highness ' (all they could) to infringe the said league, I thought it my part to 'put your highness in mind thereof, assuring your highness, for the 'rest, that, whensoever you should begin to make a war upon the 'emperor and his subjects, it would be a perpetual obligation, not only 'on him, but on the whole French nation.' The king reply'd hereunto, that, 'though it were more easie to enter into wars, than to end them 'with honour and profit, yet that he would preserve inviolable the 'league and amity betwixt his brother of France, and himself. So 'that the king, your master, needs not doubt, but that I will defend 'his country to the uttermost of my power; though, I must tell you, 'that, when I could procure him an honourable and advantagious 'peace, I should think I had deserv'd as well of him this way, as any 'other.' Wherewith the ambassador departed well contented, yet so, as he was in some more uncertainty concerning the intended war. Therefore he sollicitates the cardinal, as his master's best friend, to hasten the forces, which our king had now in readiness for a war with the Low Countries: but, as the favour of the cardinal began now somewhat to decline, so found he not that expedition which he was wont to receive in his addresses. Howsoever, the war betwixt the French and Flemings continu'd. In which this memorable accident is recorded. That a French ship lying at Margate, being set on by a Fleming, and finding herself too weak, the wind being fair for the river of Thames, packs on all her sails, and makes for London. The Fleming, as eagerly pursuing her, overtakes and boards her near the Tower-wharf; which Sir Edmund Walsingham, lieutenant of the tower, perceiving, calls his men together, and seiz'd on them; where, though the Fleming boldly challeng'd his prize, yet the king's council, considering, that (in this place) both of them were under the king's protection, it was thought fit to dismiss them freely on either side.

It appears before how Guyenne, king of arms, charg'd himself with a message from Charles the emperor unto the king his master, containing an affront and kind of challenge, which the said Charles had formerly declar'd to the Archbishop of Bourdeaux. Guyenne having now perform'd his part, Francis could no longer forbear to take notice of it. Yet, because it seems he did not sufficiently apprehend the relation which the said Archbishop of Bourdeaux made thereof, he requires of him more ample and clear information. The archbishop hereupon writes to Charles, and craves, that, under his hand, he would set down what he told him by word of mouth; for the rest making



some excuse, that he did not remember it better. Charles answers him, and repeats the words; shortly after which, Francis dispatches Guyenne with a cartel, in the delivery whereof I shall set down the forms were us'd, the example being so rare.

Guyenne having obtain'd a safe conduct from Charles, who also commanded one Montalvo, a gentleman, for his more security, by the way, to accompany him, comes to Monzon in Arragon, where Charles then was, 7th of June, 1528. Having gotten audience the next day, Charles sitting in his throne, and being well attended by his prime nobility and prelates, expects him. Guyenne coming hereupon to the lower end of a great hall, puts on his coat of arms, and after five low obeysances made, casts himself on his knees before Charles, and speaks thus.

'Sire, I beseech your majesty, that, continuing the good usage I 'have receiv'd hitherto, you will give me leave to perform that, that 'belongs to my office, and that, this being done, I may have leave 'safely to return.' Charles answer'd, 'King of arms, do thy duty; 'and my will is, that thou be always well treated.' Then Guyenne, rising up, said;

'Sire, the king my master, being advertis'd of the words you commanded me to tell him, and of that which, before and after, you have 'spoken against his honour, desires so much to justifie it, before all the 'world, (as in truth he may,) that he hath commanded me, for answer, 'to present you this writing, subscrib'd with his own hand, which 'when your majesty shall please to peruse, you will find, how intirely 'he satisfies all. Moreover, your majesty will be pleas'd to give me 'leave to return to the king my master, for I have no further commission.' This being said, he seem'd to offer a paper unto Charles. Before yet Charles would take it, he said, 'King of arms, hast thou 'commission from thy king to read this writing thou bringest?' Guyenne answer'd, 'that he had.' Then Charles said, 'King of arms, 'I have heard that which you have said, and will look on the writing 'which you have brought, and will do in such sort, that my honour 'shall be preserv'd. And, for the king your master, he will have 'enough to do to keep his, it being a thing in a manner impossible; 'as for that which concerns my justice, my chancellor here shall 'deliver it.' Then the chancellor said, 'His majesty, holding himself 'to the protestations made heretofore on his part, protesteth here 'again, that, for any thing that either now, or hereafter, he shall say, 'or do, he doth not intend to prejudice or derogate from the rights 'that belong unto him by the capitulation of Madrid; and that, notwithstanding any breach on this particular occasion, it shall remain 'in full force and effect. And that this protestation shall be understood, as distributed and reported in all the proceedings that shall 'hereafter pass in this matter.'

When the chancellor had spoken this, the emperor said; 'King of arms, although, for many reasons, the king your master be not capable of doing any act in this kind, either against me or any else, yet, for the good of Christendom, and avoiding of more effusion of blood, and for giving an end to these wars, and for no other reason, I do enable him for this purpose;' wherewith he took the paper that Guyenne held in his hand. Then Guyenne said to him; 'Sire, if the answer that your majesty shall send to the king my master be the security of the field, or fighting-place, and that you please to give it me, I have commission to bring it, and nothing else. Therefore your majesty will be pleas'd not to force me to anything else, but the said security of the field, in which the king my master will assuredly present himself, with those arms with which he intends to defend himself. And for me, your majesty will be pleas'd to let me depart.' Charles answer'd, 'Your master ought not to prescribe me what I am to do; I will do what I have said; for which cause, as well as that something may be in this paper, to which I may reply by some particular messenger, I charge you to procure him a safe conduct, since you would not come without mine;' which Guyenne promis'd: wherewith the emperor calling Juan Aleman, his secretary, charg'd him to record all that had been done there. After which Guyenne (who seem'd to have taken his leave) said, 'Sire, I have another paper to present your majesty by the hands of Seigneur Aleman your secretary, if your majesty be pleas'd to command him to receive;' which Charles likewise permitted. Whereupon all the principal persons present, and lastly Guyenne also, subscrib'd their names unto the record. This being done, the emperor commanded his secretary Aleman to read in an high voice the cartel deliver'd by Guyenne.

*The Cartel of Francis the French King, to Charles the Emperor.*

'WE Francis by the grace of God King of France, Lord of Genoïa, etc. to you Charles, by the same grace, chosen Emperor of the Romans, King of Spain. We let you know that being advertis'd, how, in certain answers given to our ambassadors and kings of arms, (which for negotiating a peace we sent unto you) you, desiring without reason to excuse yourself, have accus'd us, saying, that you have our faith plighted to you, and that hereupon contravening our promise, we are departed out of your hands and power. For defending of our honour, which herein is, much against truth, impeach'd, we have thought fit to send you this cartel; by which although we say, that no man under restraint can plight his faith, and that, though this excuse is very sufficient, yet, as we desire to give satisfaction to every one, and as well to our own honour, which we have kept, and will keep (God willing) to the death; we let you know, that, if either you have already, or shall hereafter lay to our charge any thing which may touch our faith,

'our liberty, or that we have done any thing, which a cavalier that loves his honour ought not to do; we say unto you, that you have ly'd in your throat; and that as many times as you shall say it, you lye; being resolv'd to defend our honour to the last period of our life.

'And since, against truth, you have laid this imputation on us, write not to us any more, but assure us the field, and we will bring the arms; protesting that, if after this declaration, you write to any part, or speak any words against our honour, the shame of delaying the combat shall be yours, since, being come to these terms, all cause of writing ceaseth.

'Dated in our good town and city of Paris, Mart. 28. 1527. before Easter.'

Underneath which was plac'd the little seal of Francis in wax.

This being the substance of Francis his cartel, was communicated beforehand to our king, who advis'd him only (as I find in our records) not to give the emperor that harsh word of the lye. In the paper deliver'd to the secretary Aleman, a relation was made of some passages between Francis, and the Seigneur de Granvele ambassador of Charles, residing in the French court, in which Francis pretended to excuse his breach of promise, by the constraint and necessity he was in, saying, among other things, 'That he yielded not himself to the emperor, and therefore that he could not accuse him of breach of faith.' It was also declar'd there, how Francis caus'd the cartel above-mention'd to be read publicly before the emperor's ambassador. Moreover, Francis labour'd to avoid the imputation laid on him by Charles for defying him now, when yet he had made six or seven years war without sending any such defiance. To which therefore he answer'd, 'That the ambassadors of Charles had defied him first at Dijon, and therefore it would not seem strange if he defended himself.' The rest was little more than some protestations against the late imprisonment of the pope, the detaining of his two sons for hostages, some complement of Henry King of England, and some excuses for not having answer'd this business sooner; among which, the following, being somewhat extravagant, seems worth the relating; for, whereas, Charles objected against him, that he kept his promise in Madrid better to Francis, than Francis had done to him; he said, he did not remember to have promis'd any thing there; for, concerning the concord of Madrid, he said, it was set down in writing; howsoever that he held himself sufficiently discharg'd from it, in regard he was not at liberty when he sign'd it, nor afterwards set free upon his word, (which, in that case only, he thought himself bound to observe :) for the rest, professing he could call to mind nothing that might oblige him, but only that he said he would in



person assist Charles against the Turk, which he was ready to do likewise with all his forces ; assuring farther, that Charles should not so soon have his foot in the stirrup for this purpose, but he would be before him in the saddle. To all which the said ambassador reply'd, ' he had no commission to bear, or treat of these businesses, and therefore desir'd leave to depart, and safe conduct, the emperor his master ' having recall'd him.' Whereunto Francis answer'd, ' that the emperor ' his master had forc'd him to these courses, and that he did esteem ' him so gentile a prince, that, when he should understand this answer ' I make him, he would answer thereunto like a gentleman, and not like ' a lawyer : because, if he did otherwise, he would send a reply to his ' chancellor, by an advocate, a person of his quality, and an honest ' man than he. For your particular, I have thought fit to let you know, ' that I shall cause you to be accompany'd to the frontiers of my ' dominions, to the intent that I may receive my ambassadors at the ' time that I dismiss you.' This was sign'd by Robertet, secretary to Francis.

Hereupon Charles resolves, by Burgundy his king of arms, to send his reply unto Francis, bearing date June 28, 1528.

*The Cartel and Reply of Charles the Emperor, to Francis the French King.*

' CHARLES by the Divine clemency emperor of the Romans, King of ' Germany and of Spain, etc. I do let know to you Francis, by the ' grace of God King of France, that, upon the 8th of this month of ' June, I receiv'd by Guyenne, your king of arms, your cartel, dated ' Mar. 28. which from a remoter place than Paris might have come ' hither in a shorter time ; and conformable to that which on my part ' was said to your king of arms, I answer to that which you say, That ' in certain answers given by me to the ambassadors and kings of arms, ' whom for negotiating a peace you sent unto me, in which you alledge, ' that, for excusing my self, without cause, I have accus'd you, I reply, ' that I have not seen any king of arms on your part, but him that came ' to Burgos to denounce war against me. And as for my self, having ' err'd in nothing, there is no need to excuse my self. But for you, it is ' your own faults that accuse you. And whereas you mention the ' plighting of your faith to me, you say true, when you understand ' thereby the capitulation of Madrid ; where it appears, by certain ' writings subscrib'd with your own hand, that you would return to be ' my true prisoner, in case you did not accomplish all, which by the ' said capitulation was promis'd. But, that I should say, as you mention ' in your cartel, that you, having plighted your faith unto me, did, contrary to your promise, go away, and escape my hands and power, ' they are words which I never said, because I never pretended to

'hold your faith, so, as not to go away, but to return in the form that was agreed. And if you make this good, you should neither be wanting to your children, nor that which you owe unto your honour. And to that you say, that, for defence of your honour (which in this case should, much against truth, be impeach'd) you have thought fit to send your cartel, by which you say, that although no man under ward or restraint can plight his faith, and that this excuse is very sufficient ; notwithstanding, as you desire to give satisfaction to every one, and as well unto your own honour, which you say you have kept, and will keep (God willing,) unto the death, and thereupon do let me know, that, if either I have already, or shall hereafter lay to your charge any thing which may touch your faith or liberty, or that you have done any thing which a cavalier that loves his honour ought not to do, you say that I have ly'd in my throat, and, as many times as I shall say it, that I lye. And that you are resolv'd to defend your honour to the last period of your life.

'To this I answer, that, considering the form of the capitulation, your excuse for being under restraint can have no place ; but since you make no small account of your honour, I do not wonder that you deny yourself to be oblig'd to accomplish your promise ; for your words cannot vindicate your honour. Therefore I have said, and will say (without lying,) that you have done laschement and meschamment, in not keeping the faith you gave me, according to the capitulation of Madrid. And, in saying this, I do not charge you with things secret, or impossible to prove, since they appear by writings, sign'd by your hand, which you can neither excuse nor deny : and if you will affirm the contrary, (since I have releas'd and enobled you only for this combat) I say, that for the good of Christendom, and for avoiding the effusion of blood, and for putting an end to this war, and to defend my just demand, I shall in my person maintain against yours, that, that which I say, is true. But I will not return to you the language you give me, since both your actions (without that I or any else speak of them) make you a lyar, and that it is more easy afar off to talk in this manner, than near at hand. And, as far as that which you say, that, since, against truth, I have laid this imputation on you, that from henceforth I should write no more, but that I should assure you the field, and that you will bring the arms ; I say, you must have patience a while, till I have laid your actions open to you, and until I have writ you this answer, by which I say, that I accept the appointing of the field, and that I am content to assure it on my part, by all the reasonable ways that can be devis'd : and, for this effect, and for the better expedition thereof, I do now name the place for the said combat, to be upon the river, which passeth between Fuentarabie and Andaja, in that part, and after that manner, which by agreement on both sides, shall be thought most secure and

'convenient. And, it seems that in reason you ought not to refuse  
 'this, or say it is not secure enough, since there you were set free, upon  
 'giving your sons for hostages, with your faith and promise to return.  
 'And considering as well that in the same river you did entrust  
 'your person and your children ; you may be confident now to hazard  
 'your own only, since I will as well hazard mine. And means shall  
 'be found out, that notwithstanding the situation of the place,  
 'neither of us shall have advantage of the other. And for this pur-  
 'pose, as well as for the election of arms, (which I pretend of right  
 'to belong to me, and not to you) and because in the conclusion of  
 'this business no trifling or delay may be admitted, we may send  
 'gentlemen on both parts to view the said place ; with sufficient power  
 'to treat and agree, as well concerning the security of the field, as the  
 'choice of arms, the day of combat, and the rest that belongs here-  
 'unto. And if, within the space of XL days after the delivery hereof,  
 'you neither answer nor advertise me of your intention herein, it will  
 'sufficiently appear, that the delay is on your part, which therefore shall  
 'be imputed, and laid to your charge, together with the default of  
 'not having accomplish'd that which you promis'd in Madrid. And  
 'whereas you protest, that if, after this declaration, I say or write  
 'words contrary to your honour, that the shame of delay of combat  
 'shall be mine, since when matters are brought to these terms, all  
 'cause of writing ceaseth ; your protestations might have been well  
 'spar'd, since you cannot forbid me to say truth, though it grieve you.  
 'And that as well I am assur'd that the shame of delaying the combat  
 'will not rest on me, since all the world may witness the desire I have  
 'to see an end thereof.

'At Monzon in Arragon, June 28. 1528.'

This also was certified under the hand and seal of Burgundy, king  
 of arms, who, together carry'd, in a paper, the fourth article of the  
 concord of Madrid. And, moreover, in a public writing, declar'd, that  
 his imperial majesty commanded him, with all speed, to enquire an  
 answer thereof. And that he should offer his service for bringing of  
 it, if Francis so thought fit. Yet if the said king would not send it but  
 by another, then that he should assure Francis, on the part of his im-  
 perial majesty, that the said messenger might come securely ; and  
 that a safe conduct should be made him if he desir'd it ; although his  
 imperial majesty did not think it necessary for a king of arms, as  
 being a privileg'd person. And, besides this, that he the said Bur-  
 gundy should give to Robertet, secretary to the King of France, or any  
 other, whom the said king should appoint, an answer, in writing, to  
 that which Guyenne gave in presence of his imperial majesty, and, by  
 his consent to the secretary Aleman. The tenor of which writing  
 being long, and containing little in it, but what is formerly set down,



I shall pass over. And the rather, for that it took no more effect. Nevertheless, I must not omit to say that the excuse of Francis was not generally approv'd, nor his cartel thought just. For if a prisoner of war may avoid his promise, because he is under constraint, it would follow, that few or none would be taken, but rather kill'd upon the place ; which would make the war not only more bloody and barbarous, but even destroy a principal part of that *jus gentium*, which in these cases hath been inviolably observ'd in all times. So that, if Francis had excus'd his not returning, by being a public person ; and had said, that his obligation by oath, when he was crown'd, unto his people and kingdom was a greater tye than that of his particular honour ; and, together, had alledg'd, that he could not obtain their consent, either to perform his promise for restitution of Burgundy, or otherwise to go single out of this kingdom ; it was thought, by some, he might have vindicated himself in great part, and, indeed, laid some imputation on Charles, for demanding things impossible to perform. But I come to that which ensu'd ; according to an act which Burgundy gave under his hand and seal, as authentick, for the justifying of the emperor his master's reputation.

This Burgundy, coming to Fuentarabie, sends a trumpet, 1 July 1528. to Monsieur de St. Bonet Governor of Bayonne, for the safe conduct which Guyenne had promis'd. The governor excus'd himself, as not having commission ; yet as Burgundy persisted in his demand, the said governor, about eight days afterwards, sent him word, that his safe-conduct was ready, if he brought security of the field to Francis ; requiring further to know if his commission extended to any thing else. To which Burgundy answer'd, about seven days after, that the emperor his master had commanded him not to declare his message to any but Francis : and that therefore, he had dispatch'd a courier to his imperial majesty to know what answer he should make : who hath commanded me, hereupon, to let you know, that I do bring security of the field, and other things that concern the combat, and answer to the cartel of the king your master. To which, the next day following, the governor answer'd again, that, if he brought the security of the field, and nothing else, he should advertise him, and he would presently send a gentlman to conduct him to the king, his master. To which, about nine days after, Burgundy answer'd, that he did bring the security of the field, and the rest did concern only the combat, and the hastening thereof ; which being so, he said he ought not to be deny'd, or prohibited to do his office, since it was a thing never known, that any should speak to one, and yet not hear his answer ; as if it were enough, for defending of one's honour, to send a cartel, without doing or suffering any thing else. For which reason, and because the emperor is desirous to show that he is in earnest, he did require him this time for all, that, without more delay, he might receive his safe-conduct, as

Guyenne had in the like case ; and that, if he were delay'd, he protested that he had done all that was convenient for the discharge of the dignity of the emperor his master ; which you know of what importance it is : and so expected his speedy answer. No answer being return'd hereunto in the space of nine days more, (notwithstanding that the governor had promis'd to send a trumpet with an answer) Burgundy thought fit to remember him of that promise, and therefore sends a trumpet again ; to which, (as the Spanish history hath it) St. Bonet made no other answer, but bid him return no more, and that *Fuesse con el diablo*, yet, as Burgundy would not depart, so at last the governor of Bayonne sent him a letter dated August 17, 1528. which declar'd, that the king his master was offended with him, for having deferr'd the giving him safe-conduct so long, which therefore he promis'd to send him when he desir'd it ; which Burgundy requiring out of hand, the governor sent him. Whereupon Burgundy (who put on his coat of arms as soon as he was in the French territories) came to Bayonne, where he protested to the governor, that the demanding safe-conduct should be no derogation to his privilege belonging to him as king of arms ; and so, continuing his journey, he came to Estampes, 2 Sept., where Guyenne attended him ; staying yet there seven days, before he was permitted to go to Paris, the king passing all that time in hunting.) Being at length conducted to Paris, he would have worn his coat of arms, but was not suffer'd, it being told him, it was *Cosa de un San Nicholas de Aldea*, which I interpret, a thing not to be shew'd but upon holy-days, or in a country-church.

But Burgundy protesting against this usage, (as being contrary to the privileges of his place) those who conducted him went to the king, who after some space, return'd, bringing with them two notaries, to record what pass'd ; before whom they said, that, if he desir'd to enter into Paris in his coat of arms, he would be in great danger of the people ; and therefore if any inconvenience follow'd, he must not lay it to their charge. Notwithstanding which, some persons being sent to secure him, he put on his coat of arms, and, the next day, obtain'd audience of the king ; who in a great sale (or hall) sate on his throne, being attended by many princes, prelates, and gentlemen ; our ambassadors also being present, to whom (as I find in our records) he then shew'd the order of the garter upon his leg, saying to them, that, seeing he went about an act, wherein consisted the honour of knight-hood, he thought he could not use a better remembrance, than the said garter. Burgundy now beginning to make his obeysance, the king without giving him time to speak, said, 'King of arms, hast thou perform'd thy office as thou ought'st hitherto ? Thou knowest what thou hast written in thy letters ; dost thou bring me security of the field according to that which in my cartel I writ to the emperor thy master ?' He reply'd, 'Senior, si,' or 'yes, will you be pleas'd that I perform my

'office, and say what the emperor commandeth me?' The king answer'd hereunto, 'No, unless you give first a patent sign'd with your hand, that may contain the security of the field, and nothing else. For thou knowest well the contents of thy safe-conduct.' The herald there beginning to speak, and saying, 'Sire, the sacred majesty of the emperor'—— The king interrupted him, and said, 'I tell thee, that thou must not speak to me of any thing, because I have nothing to do with thee, but with thy master ; yet when thou shalt have given his patent, and that the field may be well assur'd me, then will I give thee licence to say what thou wilt, and not otherwise.' Then he said, 'Sire, it was commanded me that I should read it, and afterwards give it you, if you be pleas'd to give me leave so to do ; or that having given it you first, I should afterwards do what I am commanded.' Then the king rose suddenly from his throne, speaking angrily ; 'What? Does thy master think to establish new customs in my land? I will none of these hypocrisies.' He answer'd then, 'Sire, I am assur'd that the emperor will do all that a brave and virtuous prince ought to do.' The king reply'd hereunto, 'That he thought so well of him, he did believe he would do so.' Wherewith Monsieur de Montmorency, who was the grand maistre, began to say somewhat to the king, which the said king of arms understood not ; but the king passionately reply'd, 'No, no, I will not give him leave, unless I have the surety of the field ; without which (he said) he should return as he came ;' and so bids the king of arms speak no more unto him. Yet he reply'd, 'Sire, if you will not suffer me, I cannot do my office, nor give you the cartel of the emperor, without your leave, which once again I ask : and if you will not give it me, because I may not err in my relation, I pray you give me by writing, that you deny it, reserving me yet your safe conduct to return.' Then Francis said, 'I will that it be given you ;' wherewithal the herald departed. He then solicited Montmorency, the grand maistre, to obtain leave for him once more to deliver the emperor's cartel. Notwithstanding which, he receiv'd no other answer, but that the king would grant him no audience, since his commission was expir'd : therefore that he might depart when it pleas'd him. Then Burgundy protested that the fault was not in him, and much less in the emperor his master, and that the emperor his master would publish this in all places where he thought fit. Then the secretary offered him a relation of the business, which yet he would not receive, in regard some passages were omitted, and particularly the harsh words, which the king gave him. Wherewith Burgundy return'd, and, at his coming to court, deliver'd this relation to the emperor under his hand and seal. Which also I have follow'd, not that I would shew any partiality to either side, but that it is the most particular, that I could meet with, among the several relations extant, and for the most part agreeing with them.

Charles now considering what remain'd to be done for discharge of



his honour, brought the business to his council of state and war ; who all agreed, that the refusal of Francis to hear the reply to his cartel had given end to this business ; and, for the rest, that it was sufficient to certify certain principal persons, both at home, and abroad, of all these passages.

And this was the end of the cartels and *points d'honneur* betwixt these two great princes ; not for want of courage, (in which both undoubtedly abounded) but for not being able to agree sufficiently between themselves concerning the laws of duel ; of which therefore men spake, in that age, diversly, according to their several affections ; yet so, as few disinterest'd persons denied, but that (notwithstanding the punctualities of Francis) Charles had behav'd himself like a gentile cavalier.

Whilst our king and the French were in that good intelligence which is above-mention'd, it might seem probable that Scotland should be quiet : their best support ever coming from that country. Yet such was the power of the Douglasses at that time, that they seem'd to sway all things. For as they held a strict guard about the king, they made use of his authority for their own ends. And particularly the Earl of Angus their chief. Nevertheless, as Queen Margaret had lately obtain'd at Rome a divorce from the said earl, and thereupon marry'd (1526.) Henry Stuart, (shortly after created Lord Messen) she drew many of the prime nobility against him. Who yet (July 20.) attempting the king's delivery by force, were defeated near Lithgou, and the Earl of Lenox slain. Howbeit the king by night slipping away from Angus, to the castle of Sterling, resolves to summon a parliament, and exauctorate the Douglasses ; sending (1527.) a letter also to our king, to this purpose, as our records tell us) that the Earl of Angus, being made one of the chief about his person, had wrought the exclusion of the rest, and got the whole guiding of his person for two years ; in which time many evil adventures happen'd. Moreover, that he conspir'd his slaughter. This being done, he appoints the parliament to be held Sept. 4. Where the Douglasses being now depriv'd of their publick offices and places, not only refus'd to come, but endeavour'd by all means to dissolve this meeting. Therefore, hearing the king was departed out of Edinburgh, they sent some troops of horse to seize on it ; which likewise they had perform'd, but that Robert Maxwell, by the king's command, prevented (July 25.) them. Hereupon Angus retir'd to his own castle, being about thirteen miles distant. The king understanding hereof, comes (Sept. 4.) to Edinburgh ; where, by vote of the parliament, the Earl of Angus, George his brother, Archibald his uncle, and Alexander Dromond their dear friend, were condemn'd, and their goods confiscate, and proclamation sent forth, that whosoever receiv'd them in house, or otherwise reliev'd them, should be subject to the same punishment. Shortly after which, William (another brother of the earl, and Abbot of Holyrood)

languish'd, and at last dy'd of grief: into whose place succeeded a man, who, to avoid the crime of being a Simoniac, us'd this notable trick, as Buchanan hath it; for, hearing that the said William was at the point of death, he lays a great sum of money, as a wager, with the king, that he should not have the donation of the next abbey that fell. The king (though young) understood his meaning; and as he wanted money at that time, was content to win the wager, and lose the abbey. The Douglasses despairing now of mercy, spoil and forage the country, even to the gates of Edinburgh; nor was all their prey by land; for a ship, laden with precious merchandise, being driven by a tempest on that coast, was rifled by them, and the chief merchandise taken away; among which, some quantity of cinnamon, which was left in the bottom of the ship, being taken, the vulgar sort, not knowing the use thereof, burnt it for fuel in their houses, as Buchanan hath it. The more discontented sort of the kingdom hearing that the Douglasses were thus in arms, join with them. The king understanding this, and together finding that their numbers and power did daily increase, advis'd to raise forces for taking a castle of the Douglasses, (for which purpose he got ordnance and munition from Dunbar) in which John Duke of Albany, the late viceroy, held garrison. He could not yet take the castle.

Our king hearing of these stirs, sends some ambassadors in Oct. 1528. to treat of an accommodation. Neither was Francis averse, as desiring to dispose our king to a war against Charles. The difficulties yet were such, that all that could be obtain'd, was a truce for five years more, upon condition, that the Douglasses should deliver their castles up, the king giving them some other conditions; which yet being not in all points observ'd, they were forc'd to forsake their country, and fly into England, where our king entertain'd them with a pension, and, at all occasions, mediated their restitution; which at last (but not till the death of James V.) he effected, (as will appear:) howbeit Alexander Dromond was receiv'd into favour; though, whether for his own merit, or to divide him from the Douglasses, is uncertain; for James Coluit, one of their friends, and the late abbot of Holy-rood, (notwithstanding his bought title) were banish'd from court.

The businesses of Ireland passed thus. The Earl of Kildare formerly mention'd, being restor'd to his place of deputy, was yet still prosecuted by the Earl of Ossory, upon pretext of favouring the Earl of Desmond; who, upon the treaty he made first with the French king, and afterwards with the emperor, to attempt Ireland, was declar'd, traitor. This prevail'd so far, that Kildare was sent for to the council-table, 1527, where the cardinal, his old enemy, declaim'd against him. But he wittily and boldly defended himself, as our history, and especially Campion, hath it at large. Howbeit he was committed, and more accusations produced against him; and particularly, that the invasion

his brethren had made upon the Earl of Ossory, now the king's deputy, proceeded from him ; whereof also being convict, he was condemn'd, and repriev'd in the Tower. At which, the cardinal offended, sends the lieutenant a warrant for his execution. But the lieutenant, favouring Kildare, acquainted our king therewith ; who thereupon not only repited his death, but some while after pardon'd and sent him home to his country ; checking the cardinal in the mean time not a little, for his presumption.

I shall now return to speak of the affairs of religion in Germany, which Luther more than any of the other reformers did govern ; which credit also that he might dilate and conserve, he had a good while (1525.) since written to our king a kind of apology for the disrespectful answer made to his book ; ' offering, for satisfaction, in some publick ' writing to acknowledge (together with his own presumption) the king's ' singular worth. In this letter, among other things, he says he understood that the king was not the author of the book, which, under his ' name, came forth against him ; but certain sophisters, who, to insinuate ' themselves into his favour, had put forth the work under his name ; ' and then calls the cardinal, *Anglicæ pestem*.' He added also, ' that he ' was informed, to his great contentment, *ipsum et fastidire genus illud ' perditorum hominum et ad veri cognitionem animum adjicere* : ' after which, he inserts ' a brief remonstrance of his doctrines, and begs a ' favourable answer.' Our king having receiv'd this letter, answers it sharply, ' laying inconstancy and levity to the charge of Luther, and ' defending his own book, and the cardinal, whom, he saith, he should ' love the better henceforth ; and then objects to him his late *incestum ' matrimonium* with a nun.' This answer also being sent the pope, and printed, Luther, who took nothing so ill at this time, as that he should be thought to change any of his tenets and opinions, lays the fault on Christiern King of Denmark, who had given him hope, that our king, being treated gently and respectfully, would embrace the reformed doctrine ; but now that he repented himself of this easy language, though it were not new to him to lose his labour in this kind ; for having written submissively and humbly heretofore to the Cardinal Cajetan, George Duke of Saxony, and Erasmus, he had found no success thereof, but that they were so much the fiercer against him. Howsoever, as his doctrines had made no little progress in Germany, and that divers who did not manifestly declare themselves his followers, did yet concur secretly in many of his opinions, Charles, for repressing those tumults, (which alteration of religion doth commonly produce) thought fit to call an assembly of the princes of the empire, to be held at Spire. For though the decree made (1521.) at Worms (where Luther was condemn'd) did yet stand in force, the determinations did not yet appear so conclusive and satisfactory, that either side seem'd quieted therewith.



The princes meeting at Spire in June 1526, the emperor's letters (dated from Sevil, March 23.) were read to them. Wherein (June.) he declared, 'That he would shortly go to Rome to be crown'd, and talk 'with the pope concerning a council : in the mean time forbidding 'them to innovate ought in religion, but conform themselves to the 'decree of Worms.' But the reformed cities answer'd, 'That the execution of the decree of Worms would hazard a sedition among the 'people ; and that the pope now gathering forces against the emperor, 'there was little hope of obtaining from him a general council.' Therefore, they desir'd the emperor 'to permit a national council of Germany, 'for the settling of religion ; or, if not, at least to suspend the decree 'of Worms till a general council be call'd.' Things thus tending to an open dissension, the Turk invading Hungary on the one part, and the French and Italians confederating against Charles on the other, Ferdinand (the emperor's deputy in this diet) thought fit to condescend to a decree to this effect : that there was great need of a council, either general, or of the German nation ; and that it should begin within a year, which the emperor was to be intreated to grant. As concerning religion, and the decree of Worms, that, till one of those councils be call'd, every prince and state so behave themselves, as they may give a probable account of their actions to God, and the emperor. After this, a violent war betwixt the emperor and French, the sacking of Rome, and captivity of the pope, (as is before related) discomposing all things, the Lutherans (or as they stil'd themselves the Evangelicks) increas'd in Germany, without that Charles thought it convenient to endeavour their suppression. Till at length, returning to good terms with the pope, and an overture being made for an accord with the French, he returns to the care of religion, and, by letters dated at Valledolid, August 1. 1528. appoints a diet at Spire, to commence in February 1529. where though (he said) he could not, for his great occasions, be present, yet he had intreated his brother Ferdinand, Frederick the Palatine, and some others to appear for him. This diet yet did not begin till March following ; to which the discreet and peaceable Melancthon, was, with much honour, brought by the Elector of Saxony. Many other princes and great persons also came thither ; among which not a few were unresolved enough in either belief, till controversies in religion were better disputed, whereof yet they could find no end. For as long as in any angle of the world there was either a new opinion to examine, or ancient error to reform, they wanted not a just exercise for their curiosity. At last the former decree of Spire, 1526. was examin'd ; in which, because it was then agreed, that, as concerning the decree of Worms, and matter of religion (in the mean time) till one of these councils were held, every prince and state should so behave themselves, as they may give a probable reason of their actions to God and the emperor ; the emperor now alledging it was misunder-

stood by divers, and desiring that this might be interpreted, propos'd the settling thereof in this manner.

'That all, who have obey'd the emperor's edict at Worms hitherunto, 'should continue to obey it, until a council were call'd, which was 'promis'd with all speed possible. That they who had so far enter-'tain'd any new doctrine, that they could not without danger leave it, 'should yet stay there, without multiplying opinions, or printing new 'and offensive books, (according to the decree at Noremberg, 1524.) 'That the ancient tenet about the eucharist and the mass should be 'held. That they who would go to the mass should not be hindred. 'That preachers follow that interpretation of the Scriptures which the 'Church hath receiv'd and approv'd ; abstaining from controverted 'points, which shou'd be determin'd by the council. In the mean 'while, that difference of opinion in matters of religion should not be 'a breach of peace, or occasion of wrong on either side. That no 'prince should receive the subjects of the other into his protection. 'That they who did otherwise should be under the bann, (or pro-'scrib'd.) But the Anabaptists were more shrewdly dealt withal, it being agreed, that they, who with pertinacy did maintain that doctrine, should be put to death.

Many things yet were dislik'd herein by the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Dukes of Lunenburg, the Landtgrave of Hessen, and divers others. Therefore they (April 19. 1529.) protested against it ; and first they said, 'That the former diet of Spire was more favourable, 'as permitting every one the exercise of his religion, till a council in 'Germany, or, otherwise, a general council were call'd ; and that there 'was no reason to vary from it, unless another more convenient were 'accorded. That, in the assembly of Noremberg, they had deliver'd 'many grievances to the pope's legat, for which yet no remedy was 'given, nor indeed could be expected, until the said council were 'call'd. As for the mass, that it was sufficiently convicted by the 'ministers of their churches, and the eucharist after the true manner 'restor'd. Wherefore, that they could by no means admit, that either 'they or their subjects should be present at the mass : since, when the 'use thereof might be receiv'd in their churches, yet if two Divine 'services, so discrepant, should be celebrated in the same place, much 'ill example and scandal must follow. And for the point of the 'eucharist, that though there were difference among the reformed, yet 'that none ought to be condemn'd unheard. As for the article, which 'prescribeth the Gospel to be interpreted according to the ordinary 'and receiv'd doctrine of the Church, that it was well stated, when the 'true Church was first defin'd, until which, they would labour to inter-'pret one place of Scripture by the other. That the last decree of 'Spire was made for the sake of peace and concord, but not this ; 'and therefore, that they altogether protested against it. In the mean

‘while (until this general or provincial council for Germany were ‘call’d) they promis’d to do nothing, that might justly be reprov’d. ‘As for keeping of peace, the taking of that which belongs to others, ‘Anabaptists, and printing of books, they said, they knew very well ‘what was to be done.’

This protestation of the princes being communicated to the chief towns of Germany, (among which Strasburg, Noremberg, Ulm, Constance, Roteling, Winseim, Memingen, Lindaw, Kempten, Hailbrun, Norlingen, Sangal, and divers others are number’d) they all join’d so together, that the name of Protestants took thence its original; which name therefore (properly taken) seems to imply no more, than one resolv’d to embrace the above-mention’d tenets, till some lawful council, either general or provincial, determin’d the contrary. Ferdinand, finding matters thus not to sort to that effect he desir’d, departs out of the assembly betimes, though much entreated by the Elector of Saxony and the rest to stay, which he refusing, they appeal’d to the emperor, and future council.

Let us now see what was done in Italy this while; the pope, though escap’d, was (Jan. 1528.) not yet suddenly provided with counsel or money. For as the obligation he had to comply with the league, form’d in his defence, as well as desire of revenge, made him correspond with Lautrech, so fear of returning again to imprisonment, caus’d him to proceed so warily, that one might doubt his intentions. Therefore he kept Lautrech still in much suspence; saying one while he desir’d an universal peace, then excusing himself for want of men, money, and authority. Nevertheless, if the seat of war might be transferr’d out of the patrimony of the Church, he said he would advise what was to be done. But here also, he knew not how to resolve. For as the war of Milan was in a manner ended, so himself had an eye upon the kingdom of Naples; and for Florence, it was his native country. Besides, he was sufficiently inform’d, that Francis, when he might have hope to recover his children by fair means, would not assist him. All which reasons made him to temporize, even to the giving suspicion of deserting the league, whereof himself was author. Hereupon Lautrech staid at Bononia, attending both men to reinforce his army, and further instructions. But as Charles and Francis came to no agreement, so he was commanded to proceed with his army; in which Sir Robert Jerningham, gentleman of the bed-chamber both to King Henry and Francis, had the command of 200 horse, paid by our king. Whereupon the imperialists, knowing how much it concern’d them to defend the kingdom of Naples, retir’d thither (Feb.) with a small remnant of their army: where they had enough to do, both as they were to resist the French, and as the people, desirous of novelty, (after their giddy manner, when either they think themselves oppress’d, or that otherwise they hope for a milder government) were ready to



revolt, which also appear'd so much, that, long before Lautrech came to divers towns, they yielded themselves, sending their keys a day's journey before them. The first that made head against them was the Prince of Aurange. But as his forces were much inferior to the French, he at last retir'd to Naples, where yet he was so hated by Hugo de Moncada, and the Spaniards, that he was in danger of having the gates shut against him. Lautrech now, pursuing his good fortune, besieges Melfi. But as a number of labourers and husbandmen, unapt for war, were shut in it, so their fears and noises, while the soldiers defended the walls, made them retire to the Castle, as thinking they had other enemies within. Whereof the French taking advantage, enter'd and sack'd the town, making the Prince of Melfi, his lady, and children prisoners. After which, divers other places yielded to the French, till they came to Naples, which was April 17, or as others say, May 1. 1528. And now their army seem'd terrible, both as it was reinforc'd by some regiments of Swiss, and as the inhabitants of Naples favour'd them. While that of the Spaniards was no greater, than what the walls of Naples, and some little places in the confines thereof did hold. Howbeit, as Lautrech consider'd, that divers brave commanders for the imperialists were of this number, he did not think fit to invest the town by land, till he had blockt it up by sea. Therefore Philippino Doria, lieutenant to Andrea Doria, was commanded, with eight galleys, to ride before the haven. This troubled much the besieg'd; for all the hope they had either of victuals or relief, was on that part. Hugo de Moncada, considering this, puts forth with a few galleys in that port against Doria, and begins a furious fight; the success whereof was, that he lost, at once, both victory and life, and about 700 more with him; Alfonso de Avalos Marquis del Vasto, Ascanio de Colonna, and some others of note, being taken prisoners. This as it added great courage to the French, so it occasion'd some benefits to the imperialists, both as it took away the competition betwixt Moncada and the Prince of Aurange, (who now commanded in chief,) and as it open'd a way (as shall appear afterwards) for gaining Andrea Doria unto the emperor's service.

The siege continu'd yet four months; Lautrech, as being master of the field, desiring rather to take the city by famine, than by the sword. And now the victuals were almost all consum'd; when the Prince of Aurange thought fit to send Hernando de Gonzaga with about 5000 foot, and 700 horse, with divers carts, to forrage and get provision, but they also were defeated, and the carriages taken from them. Howbeit Naples held out still.

This while Antonia de Leyva recovers Pavia, Novarra, and Baigras, and divers other places, taken by Lautrech; and so join'd with the Duke of Brunswick, who came with 15,000 Germans, and 500 horse, to serve the emperor. These two agreeing together to besiege Lodi,

found such gallant resistance, that they were at last constrain'd to desist, and the rather, because they heard, the Count de St. Paul, with a strong army of Swiss and French, was on his way to relieve it. Besides, the Germans, who came with Brunswick, having not their pay at the time appointed, did for the most part return; so that the French, by joining with the Duke of Urbin, made themselves quickly masters of the field, recovering again all the places Antonia de Leyva had taken, and together with them the fatal Pavia. But see upon what engines fortune now turn'd! Philippino Doria, victorious and triumphant, being come to Surrento, to cure his hurt soldiers, and repair his galleys, Lautrech sends Giovanni Joakim to require the prisoners, as being taken in the name, and for the service of the king his master. Philippino, though receiving this message with great indignation, yet dissembled it for the present, saying only, he could determine nothing, without acquainting his uncle Andrea Doria, whose lieutenant he was. But this was only to get time: for he expected a reward, before he would leave his prisoners. Which also, or at least the hope of it, Lautrech should have given, before he demanded them. This error therefore cost dear. For Philippino, who took pay chiefly to give proof of his virtue, and therefore would serve but for a time (now almost expir'd) was not to be treated in this fashion: as the French found soon after. For, employing his thoughts at this present more how to gain his own liberty, than to leave his prisoners, he found means to retire himself to a place of more surety; where, upon private conference with his prisoners, he found, that he could make more profit of them from the Spanish, than the French side. In conclusion, Andrea Doria also being solicited by the Prince of Aurange to change master (as soon as his term was out,) he begins to listen; and the rather, for that so good conditions were offer'd him from Charles; and, particularly, an estate in the kingdom of Naples. He would not yet leave the French abruptly, nor before he had gotten some pretext for it. Therefore he sent to the French court, to demand satisfaction for the ransom of the Prince of Aurange, taken before Marseilles, and others during the siege of Pavia. He also requir'd that Genoa might be restor'd to its superiority over Savona. Which demands being brought to the Chancellor du Praet, and dislik'd, it was thought fit to send Antoine de la Roch-Fouchalt, with commission to seize on the person and galleys of Andrea. Notice whereof being secretly given him, Doria, leaving the French galleys to their new commander, withdrew himself with his own, to the emperor's service; who, for obliging him the more, promis'd to restore Genoa, his native country, to its former liberty, and to make him general of the imperial navy. Thus did the French lose Doria, only because they knew not how to use him according to his condition, it behoving them, as he was generous, to have dealt more gently with him; and as mercenary, more

cautiously; especially, when he might make so much benefit by revolting to the other side.

While this treaty was on foot, Pedro Lando, (June 10.) with thirty Venetian galleys, blocks up Naples by sea: so that now it seem'd impossible for it to hold out. Yet the hand of God is above all. For a kind of pestilence (which Sandoval calls *nigra* or black) so universally seized on the French, that they diminish'd daily in great numbers, and among them Sir Robert Jerningham (Apr. 25.) whose company therefore was given to Master John Carew, his lieutenant, who yet dy'd there of the same disease. At last also Lautrech himself, (Aug. 15.) (a brave commander, but withal noted to be so opinionative, that he would, alone, have the glory, or shame of all his actions) dy'd of the disease, and huge numbers of others; which so disheartned the French, that the weak remainders, wanting (besides their health) money, victuals, etc. rais'd the siege, and retir'd homewards. And thus successively were two great armies consum'd with the plague, without other force; as it usually happens, when people, not acquainted with the temper, wines, and fruits of a country, live licentiously. They could not yet retire so quietly, but that the imperialists follow'd them, and took divers prisoners, and, among others, the old and weak Pedro Navarra. The Marquis Saluzzo, who undertook (after Lautrech) the government, yet held Aversa for some while; though, at last, he was constrain'd to yield it together with himself. In sequence whereof, all other places the French held in those parts were surrendered, save a few the Venetians fortified. Genoïa also was constrain'd to yield it self, and shake off the French yoke, by the means of Andrea Doria, who hearing that the plague had chas'd almost all the inhabitants thence, enters it by sea, and forceth Theodoro de Trivulci to a composition, by which he was to forsake the town. The Genoësi, hereupon, were restor'd to their former liberty, and Savona, not long after, taken by them. The Count St. Paul, finding affairs thus to go ill on the French side, thought to repair them by surprising Milan, upon intelligence with certain citizens there. But bringing provision of victuals only for twenty four hours, and no artillery, he gave off his enterprize, and retir'd to Alexandria, with intention to pass there the rest of the winter, 1528.

As the plague destroy'd the French in Italy, the sweating sickness consum'd very many in England; it seeming to be but the same contagion of the air, vary'd according to the clime. It was first know in England, 1486. then 1507. then 1517. and now 1528. when it so rag'd, as it kill'd ordinarily in five or six hours space; invading even the king's court, where not only Sir Francis Pointz, Sir William Compton, and Mr. William Cary (two of the king's bed-chamber,) dy'd of it; but the king himself was not without danger.

In Germany also it did much harm, killing many, and, particularly,



interrupting a conference at Marpurg, betwixt Luther and Zuinglius, concerning the eucharist.

I shall now come to the business of the divorce ; so much vexed by our writers, that, for satisfaction of the reader, I have extracted so full a relation thereof out of those originals, and authentick records, that I shall presume to recommend it, for more than an ordinary piece of history.

Our king had now, for many years enjoy'd the vertuous queen Katharine, without that either scruple of the validity of their match, or outward note of unkindness had past betwixt them. Nevertheless, as, presently after the birth of the princess (who alone of all their children surviv'd) Luther and others, controverted the authority, and extent of the papal jurisdiction, so, in this kingdom, the dispensation of Julius II. for the aforesaid marriage being privately question'd, many of our learned men concluded it void, as being granted in a case prohibited *jure Divino*, and therefore indispensable. This again, whisper'd in the ears of many, begot such a muttering, as, being brought to the king, made him think what he was to do. For though he knew that a keeping of the succession doubtful was one of the ill arts by which princes conserve themselves, yet, as a desire to have posterity, which might succeed him in the crown, prevail'd over all other considerations, he resolv'd to clear this point by all fitting degrees ; and the rather, in that he knew the same objections had been made (though wrongfully) to Edward IV. and his children. And certainly (as it appears to me by many circumstances,) it was, in the beginning, as much as he could, in favour of the princess his daughter. So that, although the Bishop of Tarbe (being sent by Francis, 1527. to conclude the alternative formerly set down,) did object openly against her legitimation, as being got by the king upon his brother's wife, it did not much move him. But, seeing it now grown a publick doubt, he thought it more notorious than could be suppress. Neither did he believe that Charles would be greatly scandaliz'd at it ; since, to avoid the treaty of Windsor, himself had alledg'd some things to this purpose. All which again (as Polydore relates) was secretly fomented by Longland, Bishop of Lincoln (his majesty's confessor,) at the instigation of the cardinal ; who both hated the emperor, and was averse from the queen, by reason of her reproving his loose, and inordinate life. Though (whatever Polydore saith,) it will appear hereafter, that Woolsey endeavour'd not, finally, the divorce. Howsoever, on some or all of these causes, the king was much perplext, as knowing how deeply this affair concern'd himself, his posterity, and kingdom. And because it was easie to collect of what consequence any rumor of this kind might be, he not only sent to our ambassadors in Spain, as is said before, to silence the noise thereof, but us'd all means possible both to appease those violent jealousies the queen had conceiv'd, and

to satisfie his people, at least until himself had look'd further into the business. In which certainly his intentions privately were to proceed ; for besides his dispatching his secretary William Knight, doctor of law, to Rome, (whom yet he commanded to advise with our cardinal by the way, being then in France,) he took information sometimes about his present condition, and sometimes (it is probable also) about such ladies as might furnish him a choice for a genial, and second bed. In which number the Dutchess of Alanzon, sister to Francis, is the first I find mention'd, whose picture (as Hall saith) was sent over, about this time. Neither did the cardinal, being certified of these passages, omit to comply at least in appearance with him, and therefore writ to the king, that the best way to obtain his desire, was, to tell the emperor plainly, that, unless he set the pope free (at this time in prison, as is formerly mention'd) he would proceed in the divorce upon his own, and his clergy's authority. After which, he sent for (Aug. 30.) John Clark, Bishop of Bath, (then resident ambassador in France) and commended him to the king, as a person to whom he might discover himself ; and, together, deliver'd his opinion : 'first, That, because the party would appeal, the business could not be determin'd in England, 'unless the pope would give him absolute authority *in omnibus casibus*,' (a minute whereof to be sent to Rome, I have seen.) 'Secondly, that she should be persuaded, *ad ingressum religionis*. And, lastly, if 'neither of those could be effected, it should be thought of, *quid posset clam fieri quoad forum conscientie ?*' Concerning which points, the Bishop of Bath at his return speaking, (as I find in an original from the said Bishop to Woolsey) the king reply'd, 'My Lord of Bath, the bull is good, or it is naught : if it be naught, let it be so declar'd ; 'and if it be good, it shall never be broken by no by-ways for me.' Whereupon, the bishop represented, 'that the pope's captivity hindred 'all suits in that court, and, howsoever, that the process would be so 'slow, as it could not be determin'd in six or seven years. Besides, 'that there must be three distinct sentences given in it, by three divers 'judges, the two last to be chosen for the adverse party. Lastly, that 'after all this, the sentence may be recall'd ; *quia sententia contra matrimonium, nunquam transit in rem judicatam* ;' adding, in conclusion, as the knot of the business, that the party would appeal. To which the king answer'd, 'he thought she would not appeal from the 'Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Rochester, Ely, and 'London : as for the tediousness of the suit, since he had patience 'eighteen years, that he would stay yet four or five more ; since the 'opinion of all the clerks of his kingdom, besides two, were lately 'declar'd for him ; adding, that he had studied the matter himself, and 'written of it, and that he found it was unlawful, *de jure Divino*, and 'undispensable.' Businesses standing thus, and no probability of the queen's fruitfulness since the Princess Mary's birth, appearing ; and

the rather, that Spanish women are observ'd to be seldom mothers of many children ; he resolves to have recourse to the pope ; comforting himself, for the rest, that no other difficulty appear'd in removing all these inconveniences, than the obtaining a dispensation to dissolve that marriage, which a dispensation only had at first made. He knew the same key that lockt, could unlock. Therefore he thought fit to send to Rome, both to represent the dangerous condition of himself, his issue and kingdom, and to sollicite the pope for a license to marry another. And the rather, for that so many circumstances had made the bull and breve, upon which the first marriage was grounded, to be suspected. The prosecuting whereof therefore (in a dispatch dated Dec. 25. 1527.) was recommended, by the cardinal, to Sir Gregory Casalis, an Italian ; which also he was requir'd to urge so far, as to say, that our king could impute the punishment God had laid on him in taking away his issue male, upon nothing so much, as the unlawfulness of this marriage ; which learned men did also generally so detest, as they held it to be more than the pope could dispence with (as I find they declar'd afterwards in a book, which was sent thither.) Wherefore, that he should procure a commission for hearing and determining this cause, to be directed to the cardinal ; or, if that were refus'd, to Bishop Staphylæus, Dean of the Ruoota, who had been lately in England. And that he should furthermore say, that he doubted not, but the pope would easily grant it, though against the will of Charles ; since he had granted Charles a dispensation and absolution from the oath which he had taken to marry the Princess Mary, without so much as demanding the consent of our king. For facilitating of which business, letters of exchange, to the value of 10,000 ducats were sent him ; as also certain instruments for the pope's signing, which were,

1. A commission, in ample form, to hear, and determine the case in England.
2. A decretal, wherein the pope, upon probation of carnal knowledge between Arthur and Katharine, should pronounce the marriage void.
3. A dispensation for the king to marry another.
4. A pollicitation, that the pope will not recall any of these acts.

But it was an ill time for Sir Gregory to negotiate with the pope ; he being (as I find by an original dispatch of Doctor Knight, dated from Rome, Sept. 13. 1527.) so aw'd by Hernando de Alanzon, that he durst neither give the said knight a publick audience, nor so much as admit a private message from him, but by the intervention of the Cardinal Pisani. So that, what wisdom or piety soever our king might pretend herein, the coijuntura certainly was no way auspicious. And the rather, because the pope, during his imprisonment in the castle of St. Angelo, had been requir'd in the emperor's name (as I find by a dispatch (Jan. 1. 1528.) of Doctor Knight's from Orvieto) not to grant any act concerning the divorce, nor so much as suffer the cause to be heard before any judge in our king's dominions. I find also in the same



letter, that Lorenzo Pucci, Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, being chosen by the pope for dispatching our king's businesses, had told Doctor Knight, that the commission penn'd here in England, for the pope's signing, might not pass, but that he had minuted another, which the pope (though with some reluctance) had granted; earnestly intreating our king nevertheless, not to put it in execution, till the Spaniards, and Almains were gone out of Italy, and himself left in his full liberty. To confirm which grant also, the same Doctor Knight, by a letter (dated Jan. 9. 1528.) did certifie, that the king's dispensation was obtain'd under lead, as amply as the minute sent from England did contain; and the commission for the lord legate likewise was granted sufficiently, though not according to the form propos'd; and that it was drawn by the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor. Moreover, he tells (as in the pope's name) that if Monsieur de Lautrech were come, the pope thinketh he might, by good colour, say to the emperor, that he was requir'd by the English ambassadors, and Monsieur de Lautrech to proceed in the business. All which particularities I have the rather set down, that it might appear how the difficulties that the pope made in this business, seem'd to proceed chiefly from humane considerations. Which also is much confirm'd by a dispatch from Gregory Casalis, 13 Jan. 1528. where (on the pope's part, and in his name) he saith, that if the king's conscience be satisfied (which he alone can best tell) his course were, *Ut statim committat causam, aliam uxorem ducat, litem sequatur, mittatur pro legato*, etc. and, that this was the only way for the king to attain his desires: though yet he intreated this advice might be taken, as proceeding from the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, and Simonetta, and not from himself. And this, certainly, as it may be thought a politick advice, so would it have prov'd safer and easier for both, than a commission for two legates; which as it took up more time on the king's part, so it caus'd a like danger and inconvenience to the pope. Howsoever, it appear'd afterwards, that the king, either out of tenderness of conscience, or consideration of the hazard he should run, if the pope would not confirm this act, thought not fit to allow thereof; but chose rather to demand a larger commission than that which Doctor Knight obtain'd; the procuring whereof also he committed to Stephen Gardiner, doctor of law, and secretary to Woolsey, and Edward Fox, provost of King's College in Cambridge, not neglecting in the mean time, both to instruct the pope in his cause, and do him all the good offices he could with Christian princes, and states, and particularly the Venetians, concerning the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia; though yet it took not such effect as was hoped. Neither did our king forget, (Jan.) by a letter of Cardinal Woolsey's to the protonotary John Casalis, to desire him to acquaint the pope with some domestick and private passages; which (though out of the respect I bear to that vertuous queen's memory) I cannot but mention some-

what unwillingly, yet must not omit, both for the sake of that truth that ought to be in history, and as it seems to contain some motive of the king's intentions. I shall set down the words in Latin as they are extant in our record. '*Sunt nonnulla secretò Sanctissimo Domino nostro exponenda, et non credenda literis, quas ob causas, morbosq; nonnullus, quibus, absque remedio, Regina laborat, et ob animi etiam conceptum scrupulum, Regia majestas nec potest nec vult, ullo unquam posthac tempore, ea uti, vel ut uxorem, admittere, quodcunq; evenèrit.*' There are besides some particular reasons to be laid before his holiness in private, but not proper to commit to writing, upon which account, as well as by reason of some distempers which the queen lies under without hopes of remedy, as likewise thro' some scruples which disturb the king's conscience, insomuch that his majesty neither can nor will for the future look upon her, or live with her as his wife, be the consequence what it will.

Gardiner and Fox, receiving their instructions in Feb. 1528. repair'd first to Francis, from whom they readily obtain'd a promise to co-operate puissantly with the pope, for effectuating the king's desire, as also a persuasory and menacing letter in case of refusal to the pope; for complying wherewith also the Bishop Staphylæus was (Feb. 28.) sent by him to Rome not long after. Our ambassadors having given the king account hereof, proceeded in their journey to Italy, and coming at last to Orvieto, where the pope then was, they found him lodg'd in an old and ruinous monastery, his outward chamber altogether unfurnish'd, and his bed-chamber-hangings, together with his bed, valu'd by them (as the original letter hath it) at no more than 20 nobles. The pope yet receiv'd them lovingly; though not without the anxiety of one who could neither safely grant, nor deny the request of a king, to whom he so much ow'd whatsoever liberty he enjoy'd. Their instructions for the present, were only yet, to thank him for the commission and dispensation granted in this business to Doctor Knight, and after intrusted to Gambara his agent here (successor unto Melchior Langus, who was first authoriz'd by the pope, to give Queen Katherine notice of this affair, together with the pope's secret intention therein.) They added further, that by Gambara, as also by Sir Gregory Casalis, our king had gladly understood, how all defects, upon due remonstrance, should be supply'd and amended. They were charg'd also, from the cardinal, privately, to protest in his name, that he was no author of this counsel. After which they were desir'd, by him, to proceed to the merit of the cause, and qualities of the gentlewoman (being, as I take it, Mistress Bolen.) The perplex'd pope, who knew well how much the Spaniard was interested herein, heard them at this time with more fear, when at another time he would have granted their requests. Therefore, together with an ambiguous answer, which he gave them by word of mouth, he sent in cipher a letter to our king, of so much irre-

solution, that it needed no other cover. Howsoever, as the commission of our ambassadors was to stay till further order was given, they seem'd to take all in good part. At last our able negotiators, urging the afore-said and many other motives to the pope, and he again finding the French and confederate army puissant and victorious in the kingdom of Naples at that time, made no difficulty to grant a full commission to two legates, to hear and determine the cause in England, being (according to the king's desire) Woolsey and Campejus (not long since made Bishop of Salisbury.) Besides, it seems he granted this following pollicitation, or promise, dated at Viterbo, July 23. 1528. which yet, being no original-piece, but an ancient copy extant among Sir Robert Cotton's records, I shall mention but according to the credit it may deserve from the equal reader; only I must not omit to say, that, as divers original dispatches, both before and after, give some touches of it, and that the date for the rest is added, so it may challenge better credit than to be thought a minute, and much less a counterfeit and suppos'd piece, which also is the more probable, in that the pope granted ampler testimonies than this, in favour of the divorce; howsoever they were either controll'd again, or detain'd in the hands of his ministers, after that sort, that our king might well take notice, but neither copy nor advantage of them.

*The Pollicitation.*

‘Promissio Pontificis in Negotio Regis.

‘CUM nos Clemens, divina providentia illius nominis Papa septimus modernus, justitiam ejus causæ perpendentes, quam charissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex illustris, Fidei Defensor, et Dominus Hiberniæ, de ejus matrimonii nullitate, tanquam notorium, publicum, et famosum, apud nos exposuit, quod cum charissima in Christo filia nostra Catharina, claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Hispaniarum Regis Catholicæ filia, nulliter et de facto contraxisset, et consummasse affirmat, leges tam divinas quam humanas in ea parte notorie transgrediendo, prout revera sic transgrediebatur, ad dilectos nobis in Christo filios, Thomam, et Laurentium miseratione divina Sanctæ Cecilie, et Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim respective titulorum, nostri et apostolicæ sedis in regno Angliæ prædicto Legatos de Latere, commissionem sub certa tunc expressa forma, (quam pro hic inserta, et expressa haberi volumus, et habemus) emisimus, ac eosdem nostros in ea parte vicegerentes ac competentes judices deputaverimus, prout sic etiam tenore præsentium effectualiter et plenissime conjunctim et divisim committimus, et deputamus, quo animi nostri eidem Henrico Regi in justitia illa quam celerrime administranda propensionem certius et clarius attestemur, securioremque redamus de judiciorum labyrintho longo varioque ambitu in causis, (ut



‘nunc sunt mores) justissimis, non una fere ætate explicabili, denique  
 ‘ut processus per eosdem deputatos nostros juxta et secundum tenorem  
 ‘dictæ commissionis habitus et factus, fiendus aut habendus, validus et  
 ‘firmus ac inconcussus maneat : Promittimus, et, in verbo Romani  
 ‘Pontificis, pollicemur, quod ad nullius preces, requisitionem, seu in-  
 ‘stantiam, merove motu, aut aliter ulla unquam literas, breviam, bullas,  
 ‘aut rescripta, aliave quæcunque per modum vel justitiæ, vel gratiæ,  
 ‘aut aliter quæ materiam emissarum antehac in causa prædicta com-  
 ‘missionum commissionisve prædictæ, processusve per hujusmodi de-  
 ‘putatos nostros juxta et secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum  
 ‘commissionisve prædictæ habiti et facti, habendive aut fiendi, inhibi-  
 ‘torium, revocatorium, aut quovismodo præjudiciale quacunque ; ra-  
 ‘tione contineant, quæve dictarum commissionum commissionisve seu  
 ‘processus hujusmodi plenam perfectam, finalem, et effectualem execu-  
 ‘tionem remorentur, impediunt, aut in aliquo contrariantur, illave aut  
 ‘eorum aliqua revocent, aut eisdem vel eorum aliquibus in toto vel in  
 ‘aliqua parte eorundem præjudicent, concedemus ; sed datus à nobis  
 ‘eisdem deputatis nostris commissiones et commissionem hujusmodi,  
 ‘processumque ; per hujusmodi deputatos nostros juxta et secundum  
 ‘tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionisve prædictæ habitum  
 ‘et factum, habendumque ; et fiendum sua plenissima vi, autoritate,  
 ‘robore et efficacia realiter et cum effectu conservabimus, rati habe-  
 ‘bimus, tuebimur, et defendemus. Denique ; omnes tales literas, breviam,  
 ‘bullas, aut rescripta, quæ dictarum commissionum commissionisve  
 ‘processusve antedicti executionem, aut ejusdem virtute decreta, de-  
 ‘finita, et pronunciata per eosdem deputatos nostros confirmare pos-  
 ‘sint aut valeant, absque ; mora, recusatione, aut difficultate quacunque ;  
 ‘de tempore in tempus realiter et cum effectu valida et efficacia dabi-  
 ‘mus et concedemus. Et, insuper, promittimus, et in verbo Romani  
 ‘Pontificis pollicemur, quod præmissa vel eorum aliqua nullatenus in-  
 ‘fringemus, nec aliquid contra ea vel eorum aliqua directe vel indirecte,  
 ‘tacite vel expresse, principaliter vel incidenter, quovis quæsito colore  
 ‘vel ingenio, nisi vi vel metu coacti, vel dolo aut fraude ad hoc inducti,  
 ‘attentabimus aut faciemus ; sed ea omnia et singula firma, valida, in-  
 ‘concussa et inviolabilia patiemur, et permittimus. Ac insuper, si  
 ‘(quod absit) aliquid contra præmissa vel eorum aliqua quovismodo  
 ‘faciamus aut attentemus, illud pro casso, irritum, inani et vacuo om-  
 ‘nino haberi volumus et habemus, ac ex nunc prout ex tunc, et ex tunc  
 ‘prout nunc, cassamus, annullamus, et reprobamus, nulliusque roboris  
 ‘aut efficaciam fore vel esse debere pronunciamus, decernimus, et de-  
 ‘claramus. Datum Viterbio, die xiii. Julii millesimo quingentesimo  
 ‘vicesimo octavo ; pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

‘Ita est Clemens Papa septimus antedictus.’

‘WE Clement, by the providence of God the seventh pope of that

'name, having duly weigh'd with how much justice our well beloved  
 'son in Christ, Henry VIII. King of England, Defender of the Faith,  
 'and Lord of Ireland, hath laid before us, as a thing notorious, pub-  
 'lickly known, and of evil report, his case concerning the nullity of a  
 'marriage, which he did both contract, and *de facto*, consummate with  
 'our most dear daughter in Christ, Katherine, daughter to the most  
 'catholic king, Ferdinand of Spain, of glorious memory, contrary to  
 'the laws both of God and man, which he thereby grievously trans-  
 'gress'd; and having thereupon issu'd out our commission in form and  
 'manner there express'd (which commission we do hereby confirm and  
 'ratifie, as much as if here again express'd and inserted) to our beloved  
 'sons in Christ, Thomas and Laurence, by the Divine grace, cardinals,  
 'Sanctæ Cecilæ, and Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim, our legats *de*  
 '*latere* in the kingdom of England, from the apostolical see; whereby  
 'we did constitute and appoint them (as we do by the tenor of these  
 'presents, most fully and effectually constitute and appoint them either  
 'together or asunder) in our stead to examine, and finally to determine  
 'as competent judges in this cause; that we may give the more mani-  
 'fest and evident token of our tenderness and affection to the aforesaid  
 'King Henry, in speedily administring justice, and freeing him by our  
 'immediate sentence; from that tediousness and vexation wherewith  
 'the most just causes (by the corruption of the present times) are so  
 'far embarrass'd, as scarce to be finish'd, and finally determin'd in an  
 'age: and being desirous that the process carry'd on, or to be carry'd  
 'on according to the tenor of the said commission, may be firm, valid  
 'and irreversible, we do engage, and, upon the word of a pope, promise,  
 'that we will never by the entreaty, request or instance of any person,  
 'or from our own mere motion, or otherwise, at any time grant any  
 'letters, breves, bulls or writs of any sort, either under shew of justice,  
 'as acts of grace, or on any other pretence whatever, to inhibit or re-  
 'voke the matter of the commissions heretofore in the above-mention'd  
 'cause issued out, of the foresaid commission, or of the process by  
 'these our delegates, according to the tenor of the former commissions,  
 'or said commission, either yet form'd and made, or to be form'd and  
 'made hereafter, whereby any prejudice, hindrance or interruption  
 'may be given to the full, perfect, final and effectual execution of the  
 'said commissions, commission or process, or whereby all, or any of  
 'them, may in any wise be revok'd, oppos'd or retarded in the whole,  
 'or in any part of them; but we will preserve entire, ratifie, confirm  
 'and defend to all purposes with our utmost power and authority, most  
 'effectually the commissions and commission granted by us to our  
 'foresaid delegates, and the process which the said delegates accord-  
 'ing to the tenor of the said commissions or commission, by their  
 'plenary power and authority have or shall form and carry on. Lastly,  
 'we will effectually make valid, and without refusal, delay, or any

‘difficulty whatever, grant all such letters, breves, bulls or writs, which  
 ‘may serve any ways to strengthen or confirm the execution of the said  
 ‘commissions, commission or foremention’d process, or to ratifie and  
 ‘establish any things by virtue thereof, by our foresaid delegates decreed, determin’d, or adjudg’d. And we do furthermore engage and  
 ‘promise, upon the word of a pope, that we will in no wise (unless by  
 ‘force and violence compell’d, or by fraud and treachery surpriz’d)  
 ‘injure all or any of the foresaid particulars, or act or attempt any  
 ‘thing contrary to them, or any of them directly or indirectly, tacitly  
 ‘or expressly, mediately or immediately, upon any colour or pretence  
 ‘whatsoever; but will support and preserve all and every of them firm,  
 ‘valid, fix’d and inviolable. And farther, if (which God forbid) we  
 ‘should act or attempt any thing in any wise against the premises, or  
 ‘any of them; we do hereby for that time, will and declare as effectually as if this our declaration were at that time made, that every  
 ‘such act and attempt shall be null and void; and it is hereby made  
 ‘null and void, and is declar’d, pronounc’d and adjudg’d to be of no  
 ‘force and efficacy.

‘Given at Viterbo, July 13. 1528. in the fifth year of our pontificat.

‘Clement V.’

This while, the queen, who understood well what was intended against her, labour’d with all those passions which jealousy of the king’s affection, sense of her own honour, and the legitimation of her daughter could produce; laying, in conclusion, the whole fault on the cardinal; who yet was less guilty than the queen thought, or Polydore would make him. I will not deny yet, but, out of due regard to his master’s interests (so nearly concern’d in this great affair,) as well as care of giving satisfaction to his conscience, which seem’d much troubled, he might comply with the king’s desires; but to be the single author of a counsel, which might turn so much to his prejudice, when the king should die, is more than may easily be believ’d of so cautious a person as Woolsey. And this innocence, perchance, was the reason that he neither suspected himself to be so much abhorr’d of the queen, nor to stand in that danger of her practices, which yet procur’d at last his ruine. The first who gave the cardinal notice of the queen’s displeasure (as I find by a letter of his dated at Feversham, 5 July 1527. then in his journey towards France,) was the Arch-bishop of Canterbury; the consequence whereof he so much apprehended, that he thought fit to use all means for satisfying her. Therefore he presently labour’d with the arch-bishop to persuade the queen, that whatsoever she heard in this kind, was intended only for clearing the surmises of the Bishop of Tarbe, formerly mention’d. He writ also to our ambassadors in Spain, to quench all rumors there, upon the same pretext.



But the queen had sent those agents abroad, (and amongst them, one Abel, her chaplain) who both inform'd her of all that pass'd, and engag'd the emperor to assist her to the uttermost of his power. Therefore the pope stood more and more suspended. The pace of Campejus (the promis'd legate) also appear'd staggering and slow; and all that might frustrate the king's intentions, was secretly practis'd. This while the cardinal, (who out of the king's designs would ever produce and subrogate some particular end of his own, whereof, either in point of glory or profit, he might make advantage) had so dispos'd this of the divorce, as thereby to mediate the pope's entire delivery, not only from the guards, but even fear of the emperor. Again, as, during the pope's restraint, he had, (under pretence that it was the best expedient for the king's propos'd divorce) projected a meeting of cardinals at Avignon, for settling the government of the Church, where he himself intended to be present; so, now, since the king lik'd not that course, and that the pope was free, he persuaded him to erect some cathedral churches in England, at the price of throwing down more monasteries. Whereby it appears, both how busie this cardinal was, and how much he studied his own ends. For as he knew this would please the king (who began to think that religious persons might serve God as well in defending the kingdom, as praying for it,) so he assur'd himself the authority thereof would be deriv'd on him chiefly; and the pope, in the mean time, obnoxious, while he could not but fear how far those innovations might extend. When this project therefore was mov'd to the pope, I find by a letter of the protonotary John Casalis, Oct. 30. 1528. that he answer'd, gravely, he lik'd the design well; but that he would proceed deliberately, because it was *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*. Therefore he desir'd the two legates (for Campejus was by this time come) might be join'd in determining this business, and that all the revenues of the monasteries, might be conferr'd on the new bishops; and that the two legates, having advis'd with the pope hereof, should afterwards nominate them. So that it seem'd the pope held it fitting to comply with the king a little at this time, since Gardiner told him plainly, that (Nov. 2.) he had in his instructions these words to tell him, *Necesse est suppressi pro serenissimi regis collegio monasteria cujuscunque ordinis*: in conclusion, a bull was granted for applying the revenues of some small monasteries for maintenance of the king's colleges in Cambridge and Windsor Castle; the copy whereof is extant in Sir Robert Cotton's library. It may be doubted yet, whether these apprehensions, that were now, in more than one kind, given the pope of our king's declining the absolute authority of the Church of Rome, did dispose the pope more to oblige or disoblige him. For, though the pope had reason to fear, lest he should lose his ancient jurisdiction in this kingdom, if he deny'd; yet he might doubt as well, that in adhering too much to that side, he might offend the emperor so far, as to

hazard the loss of his own. He therefore, at once, treats with the emperor of a perfect peace and amity, and together of recovering Cervia and Ravenna, and of effecting certain other designs which he had in Florence ; and grants (as is abovesaid) in appearance a large commission to Woolsey and Campejus ; yet, in effect, so restrain'd, as the emperor might see it was not out of his power to check or revoke it. And this was all that Sir Gregory Casalis and Stephen Gardiner, after much importunity, could obtain. They mov'd the pope also to canonize Henry VI. (which I find was (1494.) formerly propos'd to Alexander VI. by Henry VII.) to which the pope answer'd, 'That if 'the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of Winchester (who had 'examin'd the matter in partibus) did send the process thither, as their 'commission requir'd, the canonization should follow shortly after.' Businesses standing thus, our king thought fit to send (Nov.) Sir Francis Bryan, Knight, and Peter Vannes (an Italian, and his secretary, for the Latin tongue) to Rome ; their instructions in general, (being sign'd with the king's own hand) were to dissuade the pope from entring into any league with the emperor, whose design was (he said) to divest the pope of his means and authority, by the forcible bringing in of one Angelo, a cordelier, to the pope, who should not intermeddle with secular jurisdiction, and the patrimony of the Church ; which therefore the emperor would take to himself and usurp. For preventing whereof, the king wish'd him to keep a guard, offering in his own and Francis's name, to contribute thereunto. They were commanded also, to search privately for a certain pretended breve, in Rome, (said to be a supplement or confirmation of the bull of Julius II. and authorising the marriage with Queen Katherine) since it was not to be found in the king's records. Furthermore, they were requir'd to discover (in the name of a third person) whether, if the queen enter'd a religious life, the king might have the pope's dispensation to marry again, and the children be legitimate, and what precedents were for it ? Secondly, whether if the king (for the better inducing of the queen thereunto) would promise to enter himself into a religious life, the pope might not dispense with his vow, and leave her there ? Thirdly, if this may not be done, whether he can dispense with the king to have two wives, and the children of both legitimate ? Since great reasons and precedents, especially in the Old Testament, appear for it. All which they were to do with that secresy and circumspection, that the cause might not be publish'd, propounding the king's case always therefore as another man's. Lastly (as in all other instructions) some kind of menaces were to be added. But persuasions and terrors wanted not on the other side ; which did so much more prevail with the pope, as the danger was more immediate and pressing on the emperor's part, than on our king's. Therefore our ambassadors were so far from obtaining any thing, but what was formerly granted in the commission to Cardinal Woolsey and

Campejus, that they found the pope now more than ever dispos'd to favour the emperor : insomuch that they observ'd daily new delays and restrictions in him. Some whereof (besides the evidence in our records) Sanders doth confess, while he saith, that the pope, by four several messengers to Campejus (now on his way) gave him in charge : first, that he should make easie journeys. Secondly, that when he came to England, he should labour all he could to reconcile the king and queen. Thirdly, that if this could not be effected, he should persuade her to enter a monastery, and take on her a religious life. Lastly, that when this could be obtain'd, he should give no definitive sentence for the divorce, without express commandment from him, *et hoc* (saith he) *summum et maximum sit tibi mandatum*. Campejus thus instructed, protracts all things ; whereat tho' our king seem'd scandaliz'd, as suspecting it came from unwillingness, yet, being an active prince, he made use of that time to negotiate in Spain for recovering the breve, (of which above) commanding the Bishop of Worcester, and Doctor Edward Lee, by all means to procure it. At length (and not before the beginning of October, 1528.) Campejus coming thro' France, and being conducted thence into England, by John Clark, Bishop of Bath, our king's ambassador there, came to London : where being by our cardinal presented to the king, he publicly acknowledg'd in the name of the pope, cardinal, clergy, and people of Rome, that our king was *liberator urbis*. Shortly after, obtaining audience of the queen, he took occasion both to acquaint her with her danger, and to persuade her thereupon to renounce the world, and enter into some religious life. For which many pretexts wanted not, (as I find in our records) she having been observ'd, since the commission obtain'd, to allow dancing and pastimes more than before. And that her countenance not only in court, but to the people, was more chearful than ordinary ; whereas (it was alledg'd) she might be more sad and pensive, considering the king's conscience was unsatisfy'd, and that he had refrain'd her bed, and was not willing the lady princess, her daughter, should come in her company. But the offended queen replying peremptorily, 'That she was resolved both to stand to that marriage the Roman Church had once allow'd ; and, howsoever, not to admit such partial judges as they were, to give sentence in her cause.' Campejus writes to Rome, both to inform the pope hereof, and to desire farther instructions : the answer whereunto the pope yet so long deferr'd, that very near six months pass'd before the two cardinals sat in their commission.

This while the Bishop of Worcester, and Doctor Lee, having given the emperor an overture of the divorce, did (by a letter dated at Saragosa, April 5. 1529.) return our king this answer, on the emperor's part. 'That he was sorry to understand of the intended divorce, adjuring our king (for the rest) by the sacrament of marriage, not to dissolve it. Or, if he would needs proceed therein, that the hearing and deter-



'mining of the business yet might be referr'd to Rome, or a general 'council, and not be decided in England.' Adding further, 'That he 'would defend the queen's just cause.' Wherewith, the pretended original breve was produc'd, and a transumpt or copy thereof (sign'd by three bishops) offer'd them, to send to England ; but the breve it self was deny'd, for fear (as he said) of miscarrying. To which our ambassadors answer'd, that our king was a prince of that piety, that he ought not to be adjur'd ; and for the breve, that it was a jewel belonging to the king and his queen only, and not to be detain'd by any other from them. And for appealing to Rome, it needed not ; since authority of determining that business was already given from thence to Cardinal Woolsey and Campejus. Besides that, in causes matrimonial, the presence of the parties to be examin'd, being requir'd for the most part, the emperor might easily imagine how unfit it was for the king and queen personally to go to Rome, especially at that time. After this, the emperor commanding the breve to be read, the ambassadors requir'd a notary to be allow'd them, for setting down the whole passage of this business, together with their protestations. But no notary but the emperor's being permitted, the ambassadors were forc'd to accept him, desiring notwithstanding their allegations might be set down apart. Hereupon the emperor told the ambassadors, that he would send an express messenger to our king, to intreat him to continue his match, and, in case of refusal, to protest against the divorce. Our ambassadors yet persisted still in urging the emperor, for his own sake, to send the breve for England ; lest the judges, wanting sight thereof, should proceed against the queen, or otherwise, that he would send the said breve to the pope. The emperor reply'd, that therefore he would not send it. For if it miscarry'd, the judges might then proceed as they would ; but for sending it to the pope he would advise. And that, if matters were now as they were heretofore, he would not fear to send it to England. By a letter also, April 20. 1529, they certifie the king, 'That the emperor intended to send both to England and Rome, to 'make his protestations against this divorce ; and that he would not 'send the original breve. Furthermore, that he requir'd our king, according to an article of a former treaty, to fall upon Francis, as a 'perturber of the publick peace. Lastly, because the said ambassadors 'had hear'd, and consider'd, at large, the breve, they sent their objections against it.' Which, being one of the grounds of the king's proceeding in this great affair, I have thought fit punctually to set down, as they are extant in the original letter, written in cipher, and thus to be read, as I find decipher'd in our records.

That where it is pretended the bull and breve to be impetrate in one day, either they were impetrate in one suit, and by one man ; and then it is not to be thought, but that this suit, being of so great importance, was committed to such a one, as could perceive, that the bull, not con-

taining so large dispensation as the breve, is superfluous, (supposing the breve to be necessary.) If the one were impetrate after the other, and the suits made by one man, it is hard to think that one man, being instructed in the suit for both, would put the dispensation of less moment in a bull, and of greater moment in a breve, seeing the one might be as facily impetrate as the other, and that the dispensation in lead is more durable to remain ; and, that the two kings were bound to impetrate bulls, and not breves, whereof he or they that had such commission (Aug. 17.) (as it seemeth) could not be ignorant. And if these suits were made by divers persons, and by several commissions, there is no reason can be alledg'd, (the impetration being in one day) why to two several persons several commissions should be given herein, the thing requiring no haste, the marriage following five or six years after ; but more likely it is, if the breve were then obtain'd indeed, that it was procur'd by secret practices not known to all parties *quorum intererat scire et consentire* ; for, both the parties consenting, I think there can be no sufficient cause alledg'd, why, the thing being done by common consent, the breve rather than the bull should have larger dispensation ; for what needed two divers suits, with divers commissions, if both the parties were agreed upon the suits ? Especially the impetration of both being in one day.

II. Supposing it to be true, that Master Abel saith, the queen to have sworn, *quod nunquam fuit cognita à Principe Arthuro*, the cause of the impetration for so much is vain, (*viz. quod Regini cum Arthuro Principe matrimonium carnali copula consummaverit.*) If this be true, it appeareth that he that su'd the breve had no commission of the parties, for they would not give him commission to impetrate dispensation for cause not true.

III. Supposing it to be true, that Master Abel saith to me, that the queen never heard of such breve, before the emperor's orators there presented it to her ; how can it stand, that is reported in the breve, *quod impetratum est breve ad Regine instantiam* ?

IV. If your highness had made instance and supplication for the same breve, it is not to be thought that it should be so far out of your remembrance ; the causes of impetration being such, as your highness might and could, anon, reduce it to the same.

V. If it were impetrate at the instance of your highness, and of the queen's grace, no cause is why it should be sent into Spain to King Ferdinando (as the emperor's folks first said, but now swerve) and not to your highness, and the queen's grace. If any will suppose that it was done by your consent, no reason agreeth why you should consent thereto, and not rather keep it in your own hands, than send it to the custody of another. And yet, if you did consent, it cannot be thought, but that it should remain in your remembrance, as the firmity of your marriage, and discharge of your conscience, with other things, touching highly your succession, standing therein : and it may be supposed

moreover, that some writing of the deposite thereof should remain there, which is not found.

VI. Considering that the king of most noble memory, your father then alive, your highness not being at the date of the breve past xv. or xvi. years of age, [for so the cipher is ; though as King Henry was then but xii, and something more, I conceive these figures were ciphers only, signifying his true age : unless perchance the cipherer or decipherer did otherwise mistake it ;] it may be well supposed that your highness was not then much to solicit the impetration of such things. And that, if any such breve should have been impetrate that time, that rather it should have been done at the instance of the king your father, than of your highness. And although then it might have been impetrate in your highness's name, yet it could not have been done there without knowledge and consent of the king your father, and also at his setting forth. And, if any his intervention and consent had been in this matter, he would not have bound King Fernando, and likewise have been bound himself, to get bulls of dispensation. And surely it may be thought, that, if the king your father consented, Don Fernando of Spain did the same ; so that it cannot be doubted, but that as they say here, they have two bulls reserv'd in their archives, so should also this breve have been, which indeed was not there found, as hereafter shall be shew'd, nor any such is found in your highness's archives. Wherefore it may be well reckon'd, that there was no such obtain'd by the consent of the king your father.

And so, VII., maketh the breve suspect, that the emperor's folks first said, that it was found in *archivis regum Hispaniarum*, as appeareth in my lord cardinals graces letters ; and now, forgetting themselves, the emperor's chancellor and Perinot have confessed to us, that it was found among the writings of Doctor de Puebla, which was orator of Spain, in England, in the king's days of most noble memory your father. Which contrariety maketh to appear, that they do not upright. Of a nephew of Doctor Puebla's being there, I have written in our common letters the fifth of April, and now do again ; by whom peradventure some light might be had.

VIII. Whoso considereth the high renown'd wisdom of the king your said father, and his great sage council, men of singular wisdom and learning for all purposes, may well conceive that, or ever any dispensation for marriage to be had between your highness and the queen were sent for, that her grace was examin'd *an esset cognita à Principe Arthuro an non ?* And that, *si fassa est*, that the two kings would have provided therefore *dispensationem in bulla*, as they were bound. And on the other side, *si negavit se fuisse cognitam, nihil erat opus brevi quoad*, etc. And for the second part of the breve, I cannot suppose that your highness, in that time which the date of the breve pretendeth (your highness being then not much more than xii.



or xv. years of age, and the king your father living) need any dispensation in that party. And if none needed then, why should your highness then make instance for any, which is suppos'd in the breve?

IX. If this breve were impetrate in the days of Doctor de Puebla; the being thereof so long in his hands, and the manner of keeping of the same, giveth new conjecture that it is a thing cassat; for the thing being of so much importance, touching so nigh your highness and the queen, why should he keep it; specially so long? for he liv'd in England after the date of the breve five or six years, and dy'd there, not long after the king your father. Who can think that such a king, and such a council, would have suffer'd the breve to be out of their hands, in his hands, all that time, if the breve had been known to them necessary for this matrimony, and of any value? And, as I said, the manner of keeping thereof seemeth to confirm the same; which manner of keeping I conjecture of two things: one, that it was not kept in a case of tin, after the manner of breves; for only in a paper they did exhibit it to us twice. Another, that in the superscription it appear'd slubber'd, by reason of often handling, peradventure lying among so many his writings and old letters; wherefore, although it were then impetrate, yet it seemeth that he took it as cassat, and void, peradventure as surreptitiously obtained of his own head, without any commission or consent of the parties.

X. Another suspicion is, that, although the emperor's chancellor and Perenot say, they have divers letters and writings of the said Puebla's, concerning both the first marriage, and second of the queen's; yet, because they utter'd not that they have any thing specially concerning this breve, (which they would not have forgotten to say, for so much as it maketh for their purpose, if there had been any such) moved upon that suspicion, I demanded of them, and divers times to the same, whether they had any special letters concerning the breve? They could not, ne did say that they had; but the emperor's chancellor answer'd, that the breve was enough. Whereupon may be gather'd, that this answer imply'd, that they have none other.

XI. If any such breve were impetrate at that time, by the knowledge and consent of both the kings, likely is, that either of them should have one. Let them then here bring forth the *breve ex archivis suis*. If they will say, this is it; what likelihood is it, that it should be sent into England, to come into Spain? For this breve, if it were in Doctor de Puebla's custody, came out of England after his death, with other his writings; which I think his nephew there (if he confess that it was found amongst other his uncle's writings) will also confess. I say, why was it sent into England? It is not to be doubted, but Don Fernando had an ambassador in the court of Rome, which might easilier and nearer way have sent it into Spain. Wherefore, if they cannot, out of their archives, bring forth any such breve, their dili-

gence in custody of such things suppos'd, and well deprehended in the custody of two bulls, (for some of the secretaries said to me that they have two) they may, of this, gather (themselves) that there is no such, ne any otherwhere, of any effect and value.

XII. The suspicion against the breve is in itself; that, whensoever it was impetrate, it was not duly impetrate, may be gather'd of divers things in the same, and about the same; the hand of some learner, and not of one exercis'd in writing of such things; and some defaults in the writing; such, as my Lord of Worcester saith, he hath not seen committed in any breve. And, as he trusteth to prove, the date shall utterly condemn the breve. And these exceptions were, as I find in another letter, dated (April 20.) from the same ambassadors to the cardinal: first, that there were rasures in it. Secondly, divers hands. Thirdly, names false written; as Artherus *pro* Arthurus. Fourthly, the date false; as being Dec. 26. 1503. which, according to the date of breves, beginning Dec. 25. was almost a year before Julius II. was pope. It was observ'd likewise, that the seal swell'd in the middle, and appear'd like some old seal newly clap'd on. And thus much out of these dispatches of those able negotiators, the Bishop of Worcester, and Edward Lee the king's almoner; who, sending the transumpt of the breve to the king, April 23. by a letter the twelfth of June following, also certify'd our king of the sending of Gonzales Fernando, the emperor's chaplain, to the Earl of Desmond in Ireland, (which hath relation to that I have formerly said of him) together with the return of a chaplain of the said earl's in his company; the emperor seeming to take this intended divorce so much to heart, that he thought fit to give our king this jealousy. Shortly after (Aug. 19.) which, I find also the Bishop of Worcester repeal'd.

This while, the common people, who with much anxiety attended the success of this great affair, seem'd, betwixt pity to Queen Katherine, and envy to Anne Bolen, (now appearing to be in the king's favour) to cast out some murmuring and seditious words; which being brought to the king's ears, he thought fit to protest (Nov. 8.) publickly in an assembly of lords, judges, etc. call'd to his palace of Bridewell, 'that nothing but desire of giving satisfaction to his conscience, and care of establishing the succession to the crown in a 'right and undoubted line, had first procur'd him to controvert this 'marriage; being (for the rest) as happy in the affection and vertues 'of his queen, as any prince living.' To confirm which also, he caus'd Anne Bolen to depart the court, in such an abrupt and discontented fashion, that she determin'd to absent herself altogether. Neither could she be induc'd (as Sanders hath it) to come to the king any more, till her father was commanded (not without threats) to bring her thither. Who by representing the common danger to them both, obtain'd at length (though not without much difficulty) the consent of

his unwilling daughter to return ; where yet she kept that distance, that the king might easily perceive how sensible she was of her late dismissal.

It was now mid-May 1529. when our king, understanding how the pope intended a strict league with the emperor, and judging wisely also, that Francis, upon the restoring of his children, might easily be drawn from him, did resolve, without relying any longer on either of their promises, to take the best course he could, for giving a conclusion to this business. And the rather, in that matters seem'd daily more and more indispos'd for that conclusion he desir'd. For though Campejus, according to the order he had from the pope (as I find by a dispatch of John Casalis, dat. Dec. 17. 1528.) did both persuade the queen to a divorce, and dissuade the king from it, as having either way the end he propos'd : yet he fail'd in both. Nor would he (as I find in the same dispatch) let go out of his hand the decretal bull mention'd before, being the absolute decision of the cause, (the dispensation being relative to the queen's entering into religion, or other dissolution of the marriage ;) in regard (as the pope pretended) it was got by the importunity of Cardinal Woolsey, with intention that it should be shew'd to the king and cardinal only, as an arrha or token of his good will, and afterwards burat ; protesting nevertheless to the said Casalis, that he desir'd the cardinals should proceed according to their commission, but that the *bulla decretalis* should by no means be shew'd to any of the king's counsellors, or other person whatsoever, though upon oath of secresie ; it being sufficient that the king and cardinal had seen it already, in Campejus's hand. How our king yet was satisfied with this evasion of the pope's, appears not to me by any record, more, than that he still solicited the pope, that it might be exhibited publickly. Howbeit the pope, who had far other thoughts, told our agents, that he kept the *bulla decretalis* secretly, as well from all his cardinals ; as fearing lest the emperor should call him to a council for it. For the more caution, taking order that the memory of it should be raz'd out of all his archives. And, not staying here, (as I find by our records) he commanded one Francisco Campana (Dec. 15. 1528.) (his servant) into England, on pretence to confer with the king and cardinal, but indeed to charge Campejus to burn the decretal. For colouring of all which, he finally objected to our king, that he had not kept promise with him, about the restitution of Cervia and Ravenna. Our king conceiving hereupon, that all these difficulties the pope made, proceeded from the fear which he had of the emperor, sends to Sir Francis Bryan, and Peter Vannes again, to renew his offer of a guard of a thousand or two thousand men, to be kept at the cost of the French king and his, whereof the Comte de Turenne, and Sir Gregory Casalis should be captains ; and, in the mean while, that a general peace should be treated of. But whether the pope, as being late



enough offended with the guard which the emperor put on him, would not now accept them from any other prince ; or that he thought them too slender to defend him ; or that it would argue partiality to do any thing on these terms ; or that otherwise he had made his private peace with the emperor, (which certainly was the truth ;) I do not find the pope accepted this offer. Howsoever, he seem'd still to fear the emperor ; insomuch, that by a dispatch from Gregory Casalis, dated Jan. 3. 1529. I find the pope for the better making both his own, and a general peace, especially betwixt Charles and Francis, (which also follow'd at Cambray this year,) declar'd to Cardinal Woolsey, he thought it necessary to go himself in person into Spain, and that Cardinal Woolsey should go along with him: not yet as pope and cardinal, but as two legates, or ambassadors, for concluding a peace. But this journey (if at least it were really intended) was interrupted by the sickness of the pope, which was thought so desperate, that our cardinal, Feb. 7. wrote to Stephen Gardiner (then at Rome) that, by all means, he should procure the papacy for him, being (as affairs then stood) the most indifferent and equal that could be found in Christendom. To which purpose also, besides our king's recommendations, the cardinal had obtain'd the French king's letters, written with so much earnestness for him, that though the convalescence of the pope did frustrate this design, Stephen Gardiner yet was wish'd to keep the letter *in omnem eventum*. I find also, order was given, that if Woolsey could not be chosen, the cardinals which were for him (being a third part of the whole number) should put in a protestation, and departing the conclave, should in some secure place proceed to an election, notwithstanding any to be made at Rome. But, whether the pope having notice of this untimely ambition of our cardinal, were now offended with him, or that otherwise his ingagement to the Spaniard (whereof, in a dispatch from the pope to the emperor, July 21. 1528. that came to our king's hands, there is mention) did hold him off ; I find after this time the pope more averse than ever. Therefore, notwithstanding a design of his, that Cardinal Woolsey and Campejus, having finish'd the business of the divorce, should afterwards go to conclude an universal peace, yet all that past in this affair afterwards (on his part) was little more than illusion. Which (May 5.) Sir Francis Bryan discovering, in a dispatch to our king, plainly told him, no good was to be done ; which our king also believing, had commanded Gardiner to threaten the pope with his sollicitation of the princes of Almaine. Among whom I find particularly George Duke of Saxony (the Lutherans in vain opposing it) to have persuaded the divorce. Gardiner, hereupon, useth more than one menace ; though so much in vain, that, for a conclusion, he advis'd our king to proceed upon the commission given to the legates, the pope being (as he alledg'd, April 21. 1529.) so aw'd by the Cesareans, as he had rather suffer much

in another's name, than do anything in his own. To encourage him the more also, Gardiner calls the breve false and counterfeit, as being not to be found in the registers at Rome. Moreover, for seconding this advice, Gardiner, by another letter, May 4. says there was danger of recalling the commission given to Woolsey and Campejus ; which was confirm'd by divers other letters from our agents. Whereof Gregory Casalis, in a dispatch of 13 June following, gives a reason, in these words of the pope ; who, being at that time more slackly reliev'd from the confederates than he expected, and divers of his subjects (for the rest) in arms against him, said, *Malle sese in præceps dari, et Cæsari à stabulo, nedum à sacris inservire, quam inferiorum hominum, subditorum, vassalorumq; rebellium injurias sustinere.* The remedy whereof he expected only from the emperor. So that not only fear, but even hope making him obnoxious, he did, for more than one reason, encline to the emperor. Our king also, being well inform'd hereof by certain excusatory letters from Rome, and that a treaty betwixt the pope and emperor (whereof there shall be mention) was already upon term of conclusion, and an interview appointed ; gave order first to recal Gardiner and Bryan ; yet so as he neglected not, at the same time to send William Bennet, doctor of law, to Rome, to hinder the advocacy of the cause ; whereof he was so jealous, that he intercepted not only those dispatches which were sent to Rome from Campejus, or any else, but even those intelligences which Queen Katherine should give to her aunt the Lady Margaret, governess of the Low-Countries. So that now our king, finding his conscience unsatisfied, his nobility in suspense, and the people murmuring at these procrastinations in an affair that so much concern'd the succession, charg'd the two cardinals to proceed ; as being satisfied by a particular discussion of this business before Archbishop Warham, and divers the learnedst men of both universities, at Lambeth, that his cause was fair.

And now, publick notice of a solemn hearing (Jan., Feb., Mar.) being given, the court was appointed to sit ; the queen chusing Archbishop Warham, and Nicholas West Bishop of Ely, doctors of the law, and John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Henry Standish Bishop of St. Asaph, doctors of divinity, her council, etc. according to the permission the king gave her in that behalf. The passages whereof, out of an ancient and authentic record in parchment, subscrib'd by the three notaries (us'd in this business, and remaining in the custody of that great antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman, Knight,) I shall set down, with as much particularity, as the context of my history will suffer.

The place appointed for hearing and determining the cause, was a great hall in Black-Fryers in London, (commonly call'd the Parliament-chamber.) The time, May 31. 1529. The judges, the two cardinals above-mentioned, whose commissions I have thought fit to set down at large.

‘Clemens Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis Thomæ  
 ‘Sanctæ Cæcilie Eboracen. et Laurentio Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtibe-  
 ‘rim de Campejo nuncupatis presbyteris cardinalibus, in regno Angliæ  
 ‘nostris et apostolicæ sedis legatis de latere, salutem, et apostolicam  
 ‘benedictionem. Sane ad aures nostras ex plurimorum fide-dignorum  
 ‘relatione frequenter perlatum est, de validitate illius matrimonii quo  
 ‘charissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus Angliæ Rex illustris,  
 ‘Fidei Defensor et Dominus Hiberniæ, cum charissima in Christo filia  
 ‘nostra Catharina Regina, sedis apostolicæ dispensatione prehensa,  
 ‘contraxisse et consummasse dignoscitur, subortam nuper in partibus  
 ‘illis quæstionem, quæ licet in publicum ecclesiæ judicium deducta  
 ‘hactenus non fuerit, causa tamen tam magni gravisque momenti exi-  
 ‘tus, viz. quem justitia et æquitas dederit, animos istic omnium sic  
 ‘habet suspensos, ut celerem ac maturam definitionem requirat, non  
 ‘sine maximo discrimine proteland. Cum itaque nos, quos ad justi-  
 ‘tiam in judicio et veritate, omnibus ex æquo subministrandum ser-  
 ‘vum servorum Deus constituit, facti veritatem per nos ipsos inquirere  
 ‘ac causam hanc examinare non valemus, considerantes præterea  
 ‘quod factum, ex quo jus oritur, illic certius quam hic, tum etiam citius  
 ‘expeditusq; cognosci poterit, cupientesq; præsertim in regno illo  
 ‘sedi apostolicæ semper devotissimo, omnem dissensionem materiam  
 ‘extingui, et dulcissimum illum pacis amorisq; intestinum concentum  
 ‘felicissimamq; charitatis harmoniam multos jam annos constantem  
 ‘retineri, ac in posterum conservari, dictamq; proinde super præfato  
 ‘matrimonio causam in judicio, justitia, et veritate decidi, certumq;  
 ‘firmum, validum, et maturum, quod maxime expedit, finem sortiri;  
 ‘circumspectioni vestræ ad audiendum ea omnia et singula quæ dicti  
 ‘matrimonii vires, dispensationisve apostolicæ cujuscunq; coram vobis  
 ‘producendæ aut exhibendæ validitatem aut invaliditatem contingant,  
 ‘deq; et super omnibus illis ac aliis quibuscunque materiis, allega-  
 ‘tionibus et causis dictum matrimonium aut dispensationem concer-  
 ‘nent, seu tangentibus cognoscend. nec non in causa dicti matrimonii  
 ‘et validitatis dispensationis, vocatis partibus, summarie et de plano,  
 ‘sine strepitu et figura judicii procedendum, dispensationes quascunq;  
 ‘apostolicas, prout illas validas, efficaces, et sufficientes, invalidasve,  
 ‘inefficaces, minus sufficientes, surreptitias, aut arreptitias, aut alio  
 ‘quocunque modo enervat. inveneritis, tales illas esse, et haberi debere  
 ‘pronunciandum et declarandum, dictumq; matrimonium similiter, si  
 ‘ab alterutra parte petatur, prout animo conscientiaque vestræ juris  
 ‘ratio persuaserit, validum, justum, et legitimum, ac firmum esse, aut è  
 ‘contra invalidum, injustum, et illegitimum, nullumque fuisse et esse;  
 ‘pro valido justo, legitimo et firmo, aut è contra, invalido injusto et  
 ‘illegitimo, nulloque, haberi debere, definiendum, sentiendum. et de-  
 ‘cernendum; ac in eventum improbatæ dispensationis et declarationis  
 ‘nullitatis matrimonii, summarie et de plano sine strepitu et figura



‘judicii, ut præfertur, sententiam divortii judicialiter proferend. deniq;  
‘tam Henrico Regi, quam Catharinæ Reginae præfatis, ad alia vota  
‘commigrand. Licentiam in domino et facultatem tribuendum. Vobis  
‘conjunctim, et altero vestrum nolente aut impedito, divisim, citra  
‘omnem personæ aut jurisdictionis gradum, omni recusatione et ap-  
‘pellatione remotis, vices et omnem auctoritatem nostram committimus  
‘et demandamus. Vos etiam conjunctim, et altero vestrum nolente,  
‘aut impedito, divisim, ut præfertur, ad ea omnia quæ in hac commis-  
‘sione continentur duntaxat exequenda, expedienda, ac plenæ finali;  
‘executioni demandanda, vices-gerentes nostros etiam ex certa nostra  
‘scientia creamus, et deputamus, ita, ut in præmissis, quod nos autho-  
‘ritate, et potestate nostra facere possemus, id etiam vos facere possitis.  
‘Vobis quoque tam prolem ex primo matrimonio susceptam, si id ita  
‘expedire visum fuerit, quam ex secundo matrimonio suscipiendam,  
‘legitimam decernend. pronunciand. et promulgand. legitimitatem  
‘etiam utriusq; prolis, censuris et pœnis ecclesiasticis quibuscunque,  
‘per modum decreti aut sanctionis perpetuæ, muniendi et vallandi om-  
‘nibus validioribus et efficacioribus modis et formis quæ de jure concipi  
‘et excogitari poterint, ex certa nostra scientia, auctoritate apostolica,  
‘tenore præsentium, potestatem pariter et auctoritatem concedimus,  
‘non-obstantibus conciliis generalibus, apostolicis constitutionibus, et  
‘ordinationibus editis, cæterisq; contrariis quibuscunq; Dat Viterbii,  
‘anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo oc-  
‘tavo. Sexto Id. Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.’

‘Clement Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our beloved sons  
‘Thomas Archbishop of York, Cardinal Sanctæ Ceciliæ, and Laurence  
‘Campejus Cardinal Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim, our legats *de latere*  
‘from the apostolical see to the kingdom of England, health and apos-  
‘tolical benediction. The relation of very many persons of undoubted  
‘credit hath reach’d our ears, concerning the validity of that marriage  
‘which our beloved son in Christ Henry King of England, Defender of  
‘the Faith, and Lord of Ireland, (a dispensation of the apostolical see  
‘being first had) was known to have contracted and consummated with  
‘our dearly belov’d daughter in Christ Queen Katharine, from whence  
‘in those parts a controversie hath arisen which hath so perplex’d the  
‘minds of men, and held them in suspense and expectation, whæt just-  
‘ice and equity will determine in a case of so peculiar a nature, and of  
‘so great moment, not yet try’d in any publick court of ecclesiastical  
‘judicature, that it is but necessary to proceed to some quick and  
‘speedy determination herein, to avoid that danger which must una-  
‘voidably ensue upon deferring it. But since we, whom God has ap-  
‘pointed servant of His servants, to administer to all men impartial  
‘justice in judgment and truth, are not able in our person to inquire  
‘into the truth of the fact, and examine this cause our selves: con-

'sidering likewise that the fact, concerning the right of which the  
 'present debate is, may with more certainty, speed and expedition be  
 'inquir'd into and examin'd, there than here ; farthermore, being de-  
 'sirous, that in that kingdom, which has always shewn the greatest  
 'affection and obedience to the apostolical see, all matter of dissention  
 'may be taken away, the bond of peace and love be strengthened, and  
 'the blessed harmony of mutual charity, which has so many years con-  
 'tinu'd, may still flourish, and be convey'd down to posterity ; and a  
 'decision may be made of the above-mention'd cause, concerning the  
 'foresaid marriage, according to the rules of justice, judgment and  
 'truth, whereby this dispute may, as 'tis most expedient it should, ob-  
 'tain a firm, valid, certain and speedy conclusion and end. For these  
 'purposes, we do hereby give and grant a plenary authority, and most  
 'ample power and commission to your eminences in our own stead,  
 'either both jointly, or in case of unwillingness, or any other impedi-  
 'ment, to either of you singly ; that, being subject to the authority and  
 'jurisdiction of no court or person whatever, nor liable to any appeal  
 'or question concerning your jurisdiction ; you do hear and examine  
 'all and every thing which may relate to the validity or invalidity of  
 'the said marriage, or of any apostolical dispensation whatever, to be  
 'exhibited and produc'd before you, and all other things, matters, cir-  
 'cumstances, allegations and causes, which may any ways relate to,  
 'and concern the said marriage, and the said dispensation : and that  
 'you do proceed judicially, without tumult or disturbance, summarily  
 'and plainly to examine all parties concern'd and knowing in the case  
 'of the said marriage, and of the validity of the said dispensation ; and  
 'if it shall to you appear, that any such apostolical dispensations shall  
 'be sufficient, effectual and valid, or invalid, ineffectual, insufficient,  
 'surreptitious or arretitious, or on any account null and void, such  
 'you shall pronounce and declare finally that they are, and ought to  
 'be held ; and in like manner concerning the said marriage, you shall,  
 'if by either party requir'd, define, determine, and finally sentence the  
 'same to be valid, just, lawful and firm, or on the other side unjust,  
 'invalid, and unlawful, and thereupon that it is and ought to be void  
 'and null, and is therefore by you there declar'd invalid, unjust, unlaw-  
 'ful, void and null, on either side pronouncing sentence, as shall ap-  
 'pear most just according to the laws of reason, and the dictates of  
 'your own consciences ; and if it shall thus appear that the dispensa-  
 'tion is invalid, and the marriage null, that you do judicially, delibe-  
 'rately, summarily and clearly, as aforesaid, pronounce a sentence of  
 'divorce, and grant a faculty, and license in the Lord to the foresaid  
 'King Henry and Queen Katherine to marry again. And we do hereby  
 'create and depute you jointly, or (if as abovesaid any ways hindred)  
 'separately in our stead to execute, finish, fully and finally to deter-  
 'mine all or any of the things contain'd in this commission in so ample

'a manner, that whatsoever we by our power and authority could have done in the premises, all that you are hereby enabled to do as fully and effectually. We do likewise of our own certain knowledge, by our apostolical authority, and by the tenor of these presents, grant you power and authority to pronounce, sentence and publish, if it shall to you seem convenient, that the children by the first marriage as well as by the second are legitimate; and that you do confirm and establish the legitimacy of both sorts, either by censures and ecclesiastical punishments to be inflicted on the gainsayers, or by way of decree and perpetual sanction, or by any other more valid and effectual method or form that can be thought of, or contriv'd to strengthen, and effectually support the same: any general councils, apostolical canons, publick ordinances or decrees whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

'Given at Viterbo in the year of our Lord 1528. 6th of the Ides of June, in the fifth year of our pontificat.'

After the commission was read, our chronicles say, the king was call'd, and appear'd (May 31.) personally in court, at whose feet the queen prostrated her self, demanding justice, right, and pity, etc. But now to come to the authentick record. I find the king and queen were by Bishop Longland, the king's confessor, cited to appear upon 18 June next ensuing. The king (for observing his time,) gave Richard Sampson, dean of his chapel, and John Bell, doctor of the decrees, a commission seal'd in green wax, and dated at Greenwich, 15 June; by which he constituted them his proctors, with authority to refuse or accept the court and judgment of the two cardinals, and, if need were, to appeal; allowing them also to substitute other proctors; binding himself finally *sub hypotheca et obligatione bonorum*, to ratifie what they should do. But the queen using a shorter way, appear'd in person, protesting yet against the cardinals, as incompetent judges; requiring further, that this her protestation might be recorded, and so departed presently out of the court. This while the cardinals, who took into their commission John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln; John Clark, Bishop of Bath and Wells; John Islip, Abbot of Westminster; and Doctor John Taylor, Master of the Rolls; sent unto the queen letters monitory; declaring, if she appear'd not, they would notwithstanding proceed to execute their commission; for which purpose the above-mention'd Bishop of Bath and Wells, was employ'd; but she, refusing, is (June 25.) pronounc'd contumacious.

Certain articles were then put in by the legates, against our king and Queen Katherine, the principal substance whereof was, that Prince Arthur did marry, and carnally know Queen Katherine, confirming also this marriage by cohabitation with her till his death. After which,



King Henry being his brother, did marry the said Lady Katherine, An. Dom. 1509. *in facie ecclesia*, and had children by her ; which marriage yet being as well *divino* as *ecclesiastico jure* prohibited, and (unless it may be otherwise made good) to be reputed in its self *nullum omnino et invalidum*, had caused huge scandal both in the clergy and people of England, and of many other places, insomuch that it hath come to the pope's ears, who taking notice hereof, gave commission to those cardinals to hear and proceed in this business, according to the importance of it.

This being done, the queen is cited (June 28.) a second time to appear ; which she refusing, is pronounc'd again contumacious. This hinder'd not the court yet to proceed, and appoint Doctor Taylor, Archdeacon of Buckingham, to examine (July 5.) the witnesses ; while themselves calling for the dispensations that were alledg'd in favour of this marriage, a certain bull and breve were exhibited, which I have thought fit to set down at length as they are extant in the same record.

The bull being *sub plumbo, more Romanæ curiæ*, was an original ; but the breve was only a copy subscrib'd and sign'd with the hand of Juan Vergara, a canon of Toledo, and publick notary, *authoritate apostolica* ; and with the seals of Balthazar de Castiglione the pope's nuncio, and of the reverend father in God Alfonsus de Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo.

### THE BULL.

' JULIUS Episcopus servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Henrico charissimi  
' in Christo filii Henrici Angliæ Regis illustris nato, et dilectæ in Christo  
' filiæ Catharinæ charissimi in Christo filii nostri Ferdinandi Regis ac  
' charissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Elizabeth Reginæ Hispaniarum et  
' Siciliæ catholicorum natæ illustribus, salutem et apostolicam benedic-  
' tionem. Romani pontificis præcellens autoritas concessa sibi desuper  
' utitur potestate, prout personarum, negotiorum et temporum qualitate  
' pensata id in domino conspicit salubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis  
' nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, quod cum alias tu  
' filia Catharina, et tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus charis-  
' simi in Christo filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustrissimi primogen-  
' itus, pro conservandis pacis et amicitiae nexibus et fœderibus inter  
' charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ferdinandum, et charissimam  
' in Christo filiam nostram Eliz. Hispaniarum et Siciliæ Catholicos ac  
' præfatum Angliæ regem et reginam, matrimonium per verba legitime  
' de præsentī contraxissetis illudque carnali copula forsan consumma-  
' vissetis, Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujusmodi matrimonio non sus-  
' cepta decessit, cum autem sicut eadem petitio subjungebat, ad hoc ut  
' hujusmodi vinculum pacis et amicitiae inter præfatos reges et reginam  
' diutius permaneat, cupiatis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime

'de præsentì contrahere, supplicari nobis fecestis, ut vobis in præmissis  
 'de opportuna dispensationis gratia providere de benignitate apostolica  
 'dignaremur; nos igitur, qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim  
 'catholicos reges et principes, pacis et concordie amœnitatem vigere  
 'intensis desideriis affectamus, vosque et quemlibet vestrum à quibus-  
 'cunque excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdict. aliisque eccles-  
 'iasticis sententiis, censuris et pœnis, à jure vel ab homine, quavis oc-  
 'casione vel causa, latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodati existitis, ad  
 'effectum præsentium duntaxat consequendum, harum serie absol-  
 'ventes, et absolutos fore censentes, hujusmodi supplicationibus incli-  
 'nati, vobiscum, ut impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis  
 'proveniente, ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis cæteris-  
 'que contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, matrimonium per verba legi-  
 'time de præsentì inter vos contrahere, et in eò, postquam contractum  
 'fuerit, etiamsi jam forsàn hactenus de facto publice vel clandestine  
 'contraxeritis, ac illud carnali copula consummaveritis, licite remanere  
 'valeatis, autoritate apostolica tenore præsentium de specialis dono  
 'gratiæ dispensamus, ac vos et quemlibet vestrum, si contraxeritis (ut  
 'præfertur) ab excessu hujusmodi ac excommunicationis sententia  
 'quam propterea incurristis, eadem autoritate absolvimus, prolem ex  
 'hujusmodi matrimonio sive contracto sive contrahendo susceptam  
 'forsàn vel suscipiendam legitimam decernendo. Proviso quod tu  
 '(filia Catharina) propter hoc rapta non fueris; volumus autem quod  
 'si hujusmodi matrimonium de facto contraxistis, confessor, per vos et  
 'quemlibet vestrum eligendus, pœnitentiam salutarem propterea vobis  
 'injungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nihil ergo omnino hominum  
 'liceat hanc paginam nostræ absolutionis dispensationis et voluntatis  
 'infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire, si quis autem hoc attentare  
 'præsumperit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et  
 'Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursum. Dat Romæ apud  
 'Sanctum Petrum, anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quin-  
 'gentesimo tertio. Septim. Cal. Januarii, pontificatus nostri anno  
 'primo.'

'JULIUS Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our beloved son  
 'Henry, son of our most dearly beloved in Christ Henry King of  
 'England, and to our beloved daughter Katharine, daughter of our  
 'most dearly beloved in Christ Ferdinand and Elizabeth, most catho-  
 'lick King and Queen of Spain and Sicily, health and apostolical bene-  
 'diction. The supreme authority of the pope exercises its power  
 'granted from above, as it shall seem most wholsom and expedient in  
 'Christ, according to the difference of persons, things and times.  
 'Your petition lately exhibited to us did set forth that you, daughter  
 'Katherine, and Arthur (eldest son of the most illustrious and our most  
 'beloved son in Christ Henry King of England) since deceas'd, for the

'better preserving and continuing the leagues and treaties of peace  
 'and friendship between our most dear son in Christ Ferdinand, our  
 'most dear daughter in Christ Elizabeth, most catholick King and  
 'Queen of Spain and Sicily, and the foresaid King and Queen of  
 'England, did lawfully contract a marriage in words *de præsenti*, and  
 'did perhaps consummate it by carnal knowledge, which Prince  
 'Arthur dy'd, leaving no issue by the said marriage : now whereas your  
 'petition did further set forth, that to the end that the said amity and  
 'good friendship may be still strengthen'd and continu'd between the  
 'foresaid kings and queen, you did desire that a marriage might be  
 'contracted between you, in order to which you did supplicate that we  
 'wou'd of our apostolical grace and favour grant you a sufficient dis-  
 'pensation on account of the premises ; we therefore out of our hearty  
 'inclination and earnest desire that peace and concord should ever  
 'flourish and remain among all the faithful in Christ, but more espe-  
 'cially among all catholick kings and princes, hereby absolving you and  
 'either of you from all sentences of prohibition, suspension, excommu-  
 'nication, and all other ecclesiastical censures and penalties on any oc-  
 'casion or pretence whatever, either by any person or law inflicted  
 'upon you, or that in the case foremention'd may be, by suit yet depend-  
 'ing ; and as we do hereby judge you absolved, so in compliance with  
 'your so reasonable request, by our apostolical authority, out of our  
 'meer and special grace and favour, by the tenor of these presents, we  
 'do dispense with you, so that any impediment thro' the foresaid  
 'affinity between you, any apostolical constitution, ordinance or pre-  
 'tence whatsoever notwithstanding, you may lawfully contract mar-  
 'riage together *per verba de præsenti*, and when it is so contracted,  
 'altho' it should already have been either publicly and openly, or pri-  
 'vately and clandestinely contracted, and perhaps by carnal know-  
 'ledge consummated, that you therein may lawfully continue and  
 'remain, and we do by the same authority absolve and free you and  
 'either of you from all censure and sentence of excommunication,  
 'which you may have incurr'd by having de facto enter'd into this con-  
 'tract of marriage before this dispensation ; and we do further pro-  
 'nounce all the children legitimate, either already or yet to be born  
 'from the said marriage, either now or to be hereafter contracted.  
 'Provided that you (daughter Katharine) have not by force and violence  
 'been hereto compell'd ; provided also, that if you have already actu-  
 'ally contracted the said marriage, your confessor, to be by you both  
 'or either of you appointed, do therefore lay upon you some wholsom  
 'penance, which you are hereby oblig'd to do. Let therefore no mortal  
 'man presume to infringe this our sentence of absolution and dispen-  
 'sation, or with rash boldness to contradict our will herein ; and if any  
 'one shall be so presumptuous as to attempt any thing contradictory  
 'hereunto. let him take notice that he shall therefore incur the ven-



'geance of the Almighty God, and of his blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.

'Given at St. Peter's in Rome in the year of our Lord 1503.

'Seventh of the calends of January, in the first year of our pontificat.'

The BREVE, together with the asseverations of those who subscrib'd it.

'Nos Balthazar de Castiglione Mantuan, apostolicæ sedis notarius, in Hispaniarum regnis, terrisque et locis temporali dominio serenissimorum Principum Caroli in imperatorem electi et Johannæ regis et reginæ catholicorum subjectis ejusdem sedis nuncius, et Alfonsus de Fonseca miseratione dominica Archiepiscopus Toletan. Hispaniarum Primas, ac regnorum Castell. Archicancellarius, universis et singulis ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint, et quos nôsse fuerit opportunum, salutem in domino. Noveritis, quod literas quondam sanctissimi in Christo patris fe. re. Julii Papæ secundi in forma brevis sub annulo piscatoris, sanas et integras, non vitiatas, non cancellatas, nec aliqua parte sui suspectas, sed omni prorsus vitio et suspicione carentes, pro parte Sa. Cæs. et catholicæ majestatis Caroli divina favente Clementia E. Ro. Imperatoris, et in ejus præsentia nobis præsentatas cum ea qua decuit reverentia recipimus. Quarum quidem literarum tenor erat in exteriori superscriptione talis. Dilecto filio Henrico, charissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illust. nat. illust. et dilect. in Christo fil Cathar. charissimi etiam in Christo filii nostri Ferdinandi et char. in Christo filiæ nostræ Elizabeth Reginæ Hispaniarum et Siciliæ catholicorum natæ illust. interius vero talis.

'Julius Papa secundus : dilecte fili et dilecta in Christo filia, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem ; Romani pontificis præcellens auctoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout (personarum, negotiorum et temporum qualitate pensata) id in Domino conspicit salubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, quod cum alias tu filia Catharina, et tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus charissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustris. primogenitus, pro conservandis pacis et amicitiae nexibus et fœderibus inter præfatum Angliæ et charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ferdinandum Regem et charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Elizabeth Reginam catholicos Hispaniarum et Siciliæ, matrimonium per verba legitime de præsentī contraxeritis, illudque carnali copula consummaveritis, quia tamen Dominus Arthurus, prole ex hujusmodi matrimonio non suscepta, decessit, et hujusmodi vinculum pacis et connexitatis inter præfatos reges et reginam ita firmiter verisimiliter non perduraret, nisi etiam illud alio affinitatis vinculo confirmaretur et confirmaretur : ex his, et certis aliis causis, desideratis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præsentī contrahere :

‘sed quia desiderium vestrum in præmissis adimplere non potestis, dispensatione apostolica desuper non obtenta, nobis propterea humiliter supplicari fecistis, ut vobis providere in præmissis de dispensationis gratia et benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim catholicos reges et principes; pacis et concordiae amœnitatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus, his et aliis causis animum nostrum moventibus, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut aliquo impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente non obstante matrimonium inter vos contrahere, et in eo, postquam contractum fuerit, remanere libere et licete valeatis, autoritate apostolica per præsentis dispensamus: et, quatenus forsam jam matrimonium inter vos de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac carnali copula consummaveritis, vos et quemlibet vestrum ab excessu hujusmodi, excommunicationis sententia quam propterea incurristis, eadem autoritate absolvimus, ac etiam vobiscum ut in hujusmodi matrimonio sic de facto contracto remanere, seu illud de novo contrahere inter vos libere et licete valeatis, similiter dispensamus, prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio sive contracto sive contrahendo suscipiendam legitimam decernend. volumus autem, si hujusmodi matrimonium de facto contraxistis, confessor, per vos et quemlibet vestrum eligendus, pœnitentiam, quam adimplere teneamini, propterea vobis injungat. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die xxvi. Decemb. millesimo quingentesimo tertio. Pont. nostri anno primo.

‘Sigismundus.

‘Quibus quidem literis diligenter per nos Balthazarem de Castiglione tanquam nuncium apostolicum, et Alfonsum de Fonseca tanquam loci ordinarium, inspectis, et perlectis, quia eas sanas et integras, ac omni prorsus vitio et suspitione, (ut præmittitur carentes invenimus, ideo, ad requisitionem expressam præfat. Cæsar. et Catholicæ Majestatis, tam suo quam conjunctorio nomine Serenissimæ Dominæ Catharinæ Reginæ Angliæ suæ charissimæ materteræ et consanguineæ, asserent. ipsius requirent. et prædict. reginæ interesse, ob æternitatis memoriam, et ne vetustate prædictum originale depereat, utque de illius tenore ubi opus fuerit edoceri possit, et in locis in quibus, ob bellorum viarumque discrimina, non liceat tuto ipsum originale dispensationis transmittere aut committere, ejusdem majestatis requisitioni, [tanquam justæ et rationabili, annuentes, easdem literas exemplari et transumi ac in publicam formam redigi mandavimus; decernentes et volentes ut huic præsentī transumpto publico plena fides deinceps adhibeatur, in locis omnibus ubi fuerit opertunum, perinde ac si originales ipsæ literæ exhiberentur. Quibus omnibus uterque nostrum autoritatem nostram interposuimus, et decretum. Et, ad ampliorem evidentiam

'præmissorum, præsens instrumentum manu nostra uterque signavimus, idemque sigillorum nostrorum jussimus appensione communiri. Dat. Toleti die duodecima Decemb. Anno à Nativitate Domini millesimo quingentesimo xxviii. Presentibus ibidem illustribus et generosis viris, Dominis Henrico comite a Nassau, Marchione de Zenete camerario supremo, Don Johanne Manuele, Don Laurentio de Gореudo comite Pontis vallium Militibus velleris aurei, Carolo de Popeto Domino de la Chaulx. Lodovico à Flandria Domino de Prato, et Nicolao Perrenot Domino de Grande villa, omnibus consiliariis prædictæ facræ Cæs. et Catholicæ Majestatis testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter atque rogatis. Balthazar de Castiglione Nuncius et Collector Apostolicus. A. Toletan. Et ego Johannes Vergara Canonicus Tolotan, in sacra Theologia magister, publicus Apostolica auctoritate notarius, qui præmissis omnibus, una cum prænominatis testibus interfui; hoc publicum instrumentum signavi, et subscripsi, in testimonium veritatis, per eandem Cæs. Catholicam Majestatem rogatus et requisitus.'

'WE Balthazar de Castiglione of Mantua, notary of the apostolical see, and nuncio of the said see, in the kingdom of Spain, and all other territories and places subject to the temporal dominion of their most serene majesties Charles elected emperor and Joan, most catholick king and queen, and Alfonsus de Fonseca, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain, and high chancellor of the kingdoms of Castile, to all and every one to whom these presents may come, and whom the knowledge thereof may any ways concern, health in the Lord. Know ye that we formerly received with all the reverence the letter of our most holy father in Christ, Pope Julius II. of happy memory, in form of a breve, under the seal of the fisher; which letter was shown us in the presence of his most sacred, most imperial, and most catholick majesty Charles, by the grace of God, elected emperor of the Romans, being whole and entire, no ways vitiated nor cancell'd, nor on any account or in part of it to be suspected, but free from all manner of suspicion or colour of deceit. The outward superscription of which letter was in this manner: To our beloved son Henry, son of our most dearly beloved in Christ Henry King of England, and to our beloved daughter Katherine, daughter of our most dearly beloved in Christ Ferdinand and Elizabeth, most catholick King and Queen of Spain and Sicily. And the contents of the letter within was to this effect: Julius II. pope, sends you, dear son and dear daughter in Christ, health and apostolical benediction. The supreme authority of the pope exercises its power granted from above, as it shall seem most wholsom and expedient in Christ, according to the difference of persons, things and times. Your petition lately exhibited to us, did set forth that you, daughter Katherine, and Arthur (eldest son of the most illustrious and our most beloved son in



'Christ Henry King of England) since deceas'd, for the better pre-  
 'serving and continuing the leagues and treaties of peace and friend-  
 'ship between our most dear son in Christ Ferdinand, our most dear  
 'daughter in Christ Elizabeth, most catholick King and Queen of  
 'Spain and Sicily, and the forsaid King of England ; did lawfully con-  
 'tract a marriage in words *de presenti*, and did perhaps consummate it  
 'by carnal knowledge ; now because Prince Arthur dying without issue  
 'by this marriage, in all likelihood this bond of peace and amity be-  
 'tween the said kings and queen would not last so firm, as if strength-  
 'en'd and supported by a new tie of affinity : you therefore, for these  
 'and certain other causes, desire lawfully in words *de presenti* to con-  
 'tract marriage ; which desire as you may not in the premises fulfil  
 'without our apostolical dispensation therein first had, you therefore  
 'have made it your humble request, that we would of our apostolical  
 'grace and favour vouchsafe you our dispensation in the premises.  
 'We therefore, out of our hearty inclination and earnest desire, that  
 'peace and concord should ever flourish and remain among all the  
 'faithful in Christ, but more especially among all Catholick kings and  
 'princes ; these and other reasons us thereunto moving, in compli-  
 'ance with your request herein, do by these presents of our apostolical  
 'authority dispense with you, so that it may be and is lawful for you,  
 'any impediment arising from your affinity by reason of the premises  
 'notwithstanding, to contract marriage together, and in it so con-  
 'tracted lawfully and freely to live and continue : and, inasmuch as  
 'perhaps you may have already publicly or clandestinely *de facto* con-  
 'tracted marriage, and consummated it by carnal knowledge, we do in  
 'such case by the same authority free and absolve you or either of you  
 'from censure and the sentence of excommunication, which you may  
 'thereby have incurred, and we in like manner dispense with you  
 'herein, that you may be empower'd freely and lawfully to live and  
 'continue in the marriage *de facto* thus contracted, or to contract it  
 'anew ; and we do declare and pronounce that all the children born or  
 'to be born from this marriage contracted or to be contracted, be, and  
 'be accounted legitimate. But our will is, that if this marriage was  
 'contracted *de facto* before this dispensation, that a confessor, to be  
 'appointed by both or either of you, do therefore injoin you some  
 'penance, which you are hereby bound to do. Given at Rome at St.  
 'Peter's under the seal of the Fisherman, December 26. 1503. in the  
 'first year of our pontificat.

'Sigismundus.

'Which letter being by us Balthazar de Castiglione as apostolical  
 'nuncio, and Alfonsus de Fonseca, as ordinary of the place, diligently  
 'read over and carefully examin'd, and because we found it as is afore-  
 'said perfect and intire, without any colour or suspicion of deceit, there-

'fore by the express desire of his said imperial and catholic majesty, 'both in his own, and in the name of the most serene Katherine Queen 'of England his most dear aunt and cousin, in as much as it greatly 'concerned both himself and the said queen, for the perpetual remembrance thereof, that the foresaid original may not be consumed by 'time, and that certain knowledge may be had of the tenor and contents of it as often as it shall be necessary, and in such places as by 'reason of wars or the hazard of carriage it may not be safe to transmit or trust the original dispensation, in compliance with the so 'reasonable and just request of his said most sacred majesty, we 'caused the said letter to be copied, transcribed and publickly attested; willing and decreeing that to this copy thus faithfully transcribed and publickly notify'd, as unquestionable credit shall, in all 'places where it is thought fitting to produce it, be given, as to the 'original letter it self. To all which both of us do give our authoritative decree and sanction. And for the fuller and more certain confirmation of the truth of these premises, we have both to this present 'instrument set our hands and seals.

'Given at Toledo this twelfth of December, in the year of our 'Lord, 1528.'

'In the presence of these most noble and most illustrious lords, Henry 'Count de Nassau. The Marquis de Zenete, Lord High-chamberlain. 'Don Juan Manuel, Don Laurence de Gorreudo, Knights of the Golden 'Fleece. Charles de Popeto, Lord of Chaulx. Ludovicus à Flandria, 'Lord of Prato. Nicholaus Perrenot, Lord of Grandville. All of the 'privy-council to his said most sacred, most imperial and most Catholic majesty, who were specially called and appointed witnesses 'hereto. Balthazar de Castiglione, nuncio and apostolical collector; 'Alphonsus, Archbishop of Toledo. I Johannes Vergara, Canon of 'Toledo, professor in divinity, and by the apostolical authority appointed publick notary, who was present at the signing and sealing 'of all the premises, and saw the said witnesses subscribe their hands, 'have signed this publick instrument, and set my name to it, in testimony of the truth, being thereunto called and requir'd by his said 'imperial Catholic majesty.'

Against these dispensations the following objections were (July 9.) us'd.

I. THAT the peace and unity betwixt England and Spain was firm before the granting of the dispensation, which yet was alledged as a cause.

II. That the said dispensation, as being grounded on this pretext, must be held surreptitious, Henry VIII. being then not above thirteen, and consequently unable for marriage, which also if the pope had

known beforehand, or that otherwise it had been represented to him, he would not have easily granted any such dispensation.

III. Because it was pretended that Henry VIII. had desir'd the match only for maintaining peace betwixt the two kingdoms ; whereas, (being then not above thirteen) he must be thought incapable of such thoughts.

IV. That though this dispensation might once be thought to have his force and vertue, yet seeing the motive of granting it was grounded upon the above-mention'd peace, and that one of the said princes dy'd before the solemnizing of the said marriage, the cause of the dispensation must be held void.

V. That, supposing the objection of affinity were taken away by vertue of the said dispensation, yet the objection *de publica honestate* was not clear'd.

VI. That the breve above-mention'd appears by the tenor of it to contain many falsehoods and suspicions, and particularly that the stile, inditing, as also many clauses and circumstances differ from the bull, so that it may be thought forged since the time of the questions moved concerning this matrimony ; as by comparing them together may be manifestly gather'd.

This also was urged by these reasons :

1. That in the register-book of the breves at Rome, no such breve is found, or any argument that such a breve was made.

2. That likewise neither in the chartophylacio, or paper-chamber of the king, no such breve is extant, nor otherways, in the private treaties of the marriage, any mention is made thereof.

3. That in the date (July 22.) of the said breve, as it is exemplify'd, the year of our Lord is discrepant from the vulgar account ; for whereas the stile of the court of Rome begins always from the nativity of our Lord, this seems to be a year before Julius was made pope.

All which objections were deliver'd to the king's proctor, that he might answer to them.

Whereupon witnesses being summon'd to appear July 12. Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Charles Duke of Suffolk, Thomas Marquis Dorset, George Earl of Shrewsbury, Thomas Viscount Rochfort, Robert Viscount Fitz-water, John Bishop of Carlisle, Sir David Owen, Sir John Hussey, Sir Richard Weston, Knights, with divers others, presented themselves to be examin'd, by the Archdeacon of Buckingham, above-mention'd.

In the mean while, these two articles were (July 14.) added to the former, as serving to strengthen the objections above-mention'd.

1. That the year for pope's breves begins Dec. 26. and the year for bulls the 25th of March.



2. That in all marriages contracted within the kingdom of England, the form hath been in words *de præsenti, ego accipio te*, etc.

Businesses being thus ripe for examination of witnesses, the depositions of two ancient ladies, who excus'd themselves by their infirmity from appearing in person, were (July 19.) publickly read.

1. The first, being Mary Countess of Essex, said little, but in general terms.

2. But Agnes, the old Dutchess of Norfolk, who was present at the marriage at St. Paul's in London, declar'd the age of Prince Arthur at the time of his said marriage to be about fifteen ; and moreover, did positively affirm, that she saw Prince Arthur and the Lady Katharine, alone, in bed together, the next night after their marriage. Which therefore, as also a following deposition of the Vicountess Fitz-walter, may serve to answer Sanders's tale, where he saith, a grave matron was put into the same bed with him, to hinder the prince from knowing her carnally.

3. George Earl of Shrewsbury deposed, the marriage was celebrated at St. Paul's, *decimo septimo Henrici Septimi*, 1501. adding further, that Prince Arthur was born at Winchester, *secundo Henrici Septimi*; and that he believ'd the prince knew his lady carnally, both as being able so to do, as also because himself knew his wife being not sixteen.

4. William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, being examin'd, protests not to reveal any secrets of the queen, as being her sworn counsellor. For the rest, as he answer'd warily to the questions propounded him concerning the validity of the match, insomuch that he referr'd himself therein to the judges, who were to determine it ; so yet he made no difficulty to confess that he approv'd it not at first ; which also he declar'd, not only in a contestation which he had with Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester, who persuaded it, but in certain words to King Henry VII. himself, whom he told plainly, that the marriage seem'd to him neither honourable, nor well-pleasing to God. Adding further, that because the said King Henry VII. appear'd not much inclin'd to the marriage, that he the said deponent intreated him to persuade his son Prince Henry to protest that he would not take the Lady Katharine to wife, and that he should renew this protestation when he came to the crown ; which also he the said deponent believeth was made. Notwithstanding, that when the bull of dispensation was granted, that he the said deponent contradicted it no more ; and that the murmuring of the people on that occasion was quieted, till the king's conscience being troubled, reviv'd it again.

5. Sir William Thomas, Knight, deposed, Prince Arthur and the Lady Katharine liv'd five months, partly about London, and partly at Ludlow, in houshold together as man and wife ; and that he heard Sir William Wodal, who was at the prince's christning, say, that he was

above fifteen at the time of his marriage, and the Lady Katharine was the elder.

6. Sir Anthony Poynes, Knight, deposed, that Prince Arthur was above fifteen at the time of his marriage.

7. Thomas Marquis Dorset deposed, he saw a register of the nativity of the king's children; by which he found the Prince Arthur born Sept. 20. 1486, and that at the time of his marriage (which was upon a Sunday, in Nov. (1501.) *decimo septimo Henrici Septimi*) he was of a good and sanguine complexion, and able as he suppos'd for that purpose.

8. Robert Viscount Fitzwalter deposed, the prince was then about fifteen, and Queen Katharine elder; and that, the next day after being in bed together, (which he remember'd after they enter'd to have been solemnly bless'd) he waited at breakfast on Prince Arthur, where Maurice St. John's did carve, and he the Lord Fitzwalter gave drink: at which time the said Maurice demanding of the prince how he had done that night? The prince answer'd, 'I have been in Spain this night.'

9, 10, 11. Thomas Lord Darcy, William Lord Montejoy, and Henry Guildeford, Knight of the Garter, said little, but by way of public report.

12. Charles Duke of Suffolk deposed, that he was in the Bishop of London's palace the morrow next following the day of marriage, and that he waited there upon the prince at breakfast, confirming moreover in effect the words of Maurice St. John, before set down. Furthermore, he added, that the Shrovetide following the marriage, (which was in November preceding) the said prince began to decay, and grow feeble in body; which grew, as the said St. John related, by reason the said prince lay with the Lady Katharine.

13. David Owen deposed, that Prince Arthur was born at Winchester, *secundo Henrici Septimi*; which he knew, because he was at the christening.

14. Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Lord Treasurer of England, deposed, that he being the day of the marriage in the Bishop of London's palace, and the morrow after, at the prince's breakfast, heard the prince's words to Maurice St. John, when he said, he had been that night in the midst of Spain; by which words, as also because Prince Arthur was a gentleman of a good complexion and nature, and above fifteen, he believes that he carnally knew his lady; because himself also at the same age did carnally know and use: and he believes this the rather, that he heard from credible persons, that the said Prince Arthur did lie with the said Lady Katharine five or six nights afterwards.

15. Anthony Willoughby, Knight, deposed, that being the morrow after the marriage in the prince's privy-chamber, the said prince spake afore divers witnesses these words, 'Willoughby, give me a cup of ale, 'for I have been this night in the midst of Spain:' after which he said,

'Masters, it is a good pastime to have a wife ;' which words he repeated also divers other times. Moreover, he heard say they lay at Ludlow together the Shrovetide next following.

16. Nicholas Bishop of Ely said, he could depose nothing concerning the *carnalis copula*, but that he doubted of it, because the queen often *sub testimonio conscientia suæ* said to this deponent, that she was never carnally known of Prince Arthur, though otherwise he must confess them both to be *legitimæ ætatis* at the time of their marriage. He doubted further, whether the cardinals were competent judges, an appeal being made from them.

17. Richard Sacheverel, Knight, deposed, the people said commonly, that it was unfit one brother should marry the other brother's wife.

18. Thomas Viscount Rochefort, deposed, that he heard divers of Prince Arthur's followers confirm the words he used, of his having been in Spain the night of his marriage. Moreover, he heard say, that King Henry VIII. was persuaded by his confessor, about two years since, to abstain from the bed of the Lady Katharine, lest he should offend his conscience.

19, 20, 21, 22, 23. Sir Richard Weston, and Sir John Hussey, Knights, deposed, the age of King Henry VIII. was thirty eight upon the eve of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul last ; which Viscount Rochefort also confirm'd, saying the place of his birth was Greenwich, and the year was 1491. and day the twenty-cighth of June ; which Robert Viscount Fitzwalter confirmed also, adding that King Henry VII. died two days before the feast of St. George, twenty years since ; with whom David Owen, servant and counsellor to King Henry VII. agreed, save only, that he said it was three days before the feast.

24. Thomas Duke of Norfolk deposed, that Pedro de Ayala or Allea, and Doctor de Puebla, ambassadors from Spain, were much in favour heretofore with Henry VII. and that Henry VII. died before the marriage betwixt his son Prince Henry and the Princess Katharine ; and Queen Isabel or Elizabeth her mother died also before that time.

25. William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, and counsellor to Henry VII. and Henry VIII. for thirty six years last past, deposed, that he conceived Henry VIII. to be under thirteen, at the time of dispensation granted ; because King Henry his father told him that he was *impubes*, after that time. Whereupon this deponent reply'd to the king, that any protestation he should then make, would be of no force, and therefore he should make it again one or two days after his coming to *annos pubertatis*.

26, 27. Charles Duke of Suffolk, and Thomas Marquis Dorset, examin'd again, said little but what was formerly set down.

28. Pedro Mates, Utriusque Juris Doctor, native of Barcelona in Spain, who had lived in the court of Rome thirty years, *in exercitio causarum*, deposed, that the date of years there is computed after



three divers manners, so that judgments, contracts, and last wills, bear date from the nativity 25 Decembris; *literæ apostolicæ sub plumbo* xxv. of March; *literæ apostolicæ per breve sub annulo piscatoris, ceræ rubæ impresso scribuntur simpliciter et absolutæ absque expressione ipsius domini aut nativitatis, aut incarnationis sed solum Anno M.D.* etc. Yet so that he conceived it began always à *nativitate, scilicet xxv Decembris*; neither doth he know any thing to the contrary, except the pope's secretary alter the stile.

29. Nicolaus Rusticus of Lucca in Italy, saith, that *Annus Domini in brevibus apostolicis* is computed from the nativity of our Lord.

30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36. Thomas Viscount Rochefort, Henry Guilford, Knight, Thomas Marquis Dorset, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, William Falke Notarius Publicus, John Taverner, and John Clampont, being examined, deposed, that the forms of marriages are always *in verbis de præsentî*, in England.

37. The Lady Elizabeth, wife to Viscount Fitzwalter, deposed, that she saw the Lady Katharine and Prince Arthur in bed together, which was blest, and that she left them alone together.

Hereupon the depositions were published, and (July 17.) the king's proctor summon'd to receive those acts and writings he deliver'd into the court; but he not appearing, is pronounced contumacious.

The commissioners yet proceeded to require the sight of the archiva, and record concerning this business; for which purpose Thomas Wriothesly, and Thomas Tong king of arms, had been employ'd: these men certified that Prince Arthur died in the Castle of Ludlow the second of April, 1502. and that his brother Henry was born the twenty-eighth of June, 1491. and that the marriage betwixt Prince Arthur and the Lady Katharine, was the fourteenth of November, 1501.

This being done, a deposition of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, taken by Doctor Woolman, April 5 and 6. 1527. was read. The most substantial part whereof was, that he conceived Doctor Puebla did first motion this match, and that more than one bull was impetrated for dispensing therewith, whereof two remained in England, one or two were extant in Spain, but all of the same tenor, and gotten without asking the consent of Henry VIII. Furthermore, that he did not remember that Henry VIII. when he came to age, did expressly consent to, or dissent from the intended marriage, yet that he believed that a protestation was made in the name of Henry VIII. to this effect: that notwithstanding any contract or tokens mutually sent, or cohabitation in the house of King Henry VII. he would not hold himself bound to ratifie this act done in his non-age; and that this protestation is to be found *inter protocolla Magistri Ryden*, then clerk to the council, before whom it was made. As for the person by whom this protestation was made, *Coram Magistro Ryden notario publico; credit quod vel ipsemet, vel Magister Thomas Rutha tunc secretarius domini regis, et postea*

*Episcopus Dunelm. vel Mr. Doctor West tunc consiliarius ejusdem domini regis et nunc Episcopus Eliens. fecit eandem protestationem nomine domini nostri Regis Henrici Octavi moderni; præsentibus tunc ibidem Comite de Surrey tunc Thesaurario Angliæ et postea Duce Norfolciæ ac domino Doctore Peobebla, et coram sæpe-dicta clarissima Domina Catharina, ut recolit, ac infra ædes Episcopi Dunelm. vulgariter nuncupat.* Duresme-place. Adding further, that our king was not present there, that he remembers. Furthermore, that upon conference had betwixt Henry VII. and himself, he found it was the intention of that king, that his son Henry should marry the said Lady Katharine, although he deferr'd the solemnization of this intended matrimony, by reason of some discord which was at that time betwixt him and the King of Spain, for the calling back of the dowry. He added moreover, that King Henry intended not (that he knew) to marry the mother of Charles V. but his aunt Margaret, Dutchess of Savoy.

This examination being compleat, and set down by Andrew Smith, notary, the said Doctor Woolman requir'd him to subscribe his hand; which was refus'd by the said bishop, both because he was blind of both eyes, as that he was not admitted to take any council or advice about it. But Doctor Woolman pressing him on the king's part, that he should subscribe his name, he at last assented, out of the reverence he bore to the king, and that he never contravened him in any thing. Whereupon he subscrib'd his name, April 8. the year above-mention'd, being 1527. After which also another instrument of this tenor was produc'd.

'Augustinus Spinola tt' sancti Cyriaci in thermis presbiter cardinalis, 'sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ camerarius, universis et singulis præsentibus 'litteras inspecturis salutem in domino. Rationi convenit et congruit 'honestati, ut de his quæ á Romanis pontificibus processerunt, et quæ 'in eorum archivis et registris scripta, et registrata sunt, cum ab aliqui- 'bus petitur, testimonium veritatis perhibeatur; hinc est, quod nos 'universitati vestræ tenore præsentium fidem facimus et attestamur, in 'libris et registris cameræ apostolicæ, viz. in libro registri brevium anni 'primi, secundi, et tertii felicis recordationis Julii papæ secundi, vidi- 'mus et legimus quasdam litteras apostolicas, in forma brevis ejusdem 'Julii papæ secundi (ut moris est) registratas, quarum tenor successive 'sequitur, et est talis. Charissimo in Christo filio nostro, Angliæ Regi 'illustri. Charissime in Christo fili noster, salutem et apostolicam 'benedictionem. Accepimus litteras tuæ serenitatis, in quibus nobis 'gratias agis, quod oratoribus tuis honorifice obviam proditum sit, quod 'nos eos benigne audierimus, ac liberali responso opportunisque gra- 'tiis et favoribus prosecuti fuerimus: facis (fili charissime) pro solita 'pietate, ut ea etiam tibi sint grata, quæ à nobis præteriri non solent. 'Declaravimus nostris bonis in te mentis affectum verbis et rebus qui- 'bus potuimus, declarabimus et quotidie magis, ita exigente tuæ sereni-

'tatis in nos et sanctam apostolicam sedem devotione et observantia  
 'singulari. De dispensatione matrimoniali nunquam negavimas, nec  
 'ullam suspensionem præbuimus, quo minus eam facere vellemus, ut  
 'aliqui minus vere dixerunt. Sed respondimus, nos expectare in illa  
 'concedenda tempus magis accommodatum, ut consultius et maturius  
 'fieret, cum hujus sanctæ sedis et utriusque partis honore. Eam itaque  
 'cum expediverimus, ut deliberavimus, ad tuam serenitatem (magni  
 'enim momenti est) per dilectum filium Robertum Shirbonnen. De-  
 'canum Sancti Pauli Londoniens. unum ex oratoribus tuis, qui maxima  
 'doctrina modestiam, fidem, diligentiamque præ se tulit, mittere cogi-  
 'tamus ; duplici ratione ; cum quod per eum secrete et tutissime per-  
 'ferretur, tum ut talem virum tantaque virtute et probitate præditum  
 'serenitati tuæ diutius præservemus, ut ejus fide et opera diutius frui  
 'possit. Romæ enim sine vitæ periculo diutius esse non potest, prop-  
 'ter aeris intemperiem et æstus intolerabiles, etc. Dat. Romæ  
 'apud Sanctum Petrum, VI. Julii, millesimo quingentesimo quarto,  
 'pontif. nostri primo.

'Augustinus Spinola priest, Cardinal St. Syriaci in Thermis, and  
 'High Chamberlain of the Holy Church in Rome, to all and singular  
 'to whom these presents may pertain, health in the Lord. It is not  
 'only agreeable to reason, but a point of honesty, that when enquiry is  
 'by any persons made into the processes of the popes which have been  
 'written, register'd, and enter'd into their books, and preserv'd in their  
 'archives, that a true and just account of them should be given : for  
 'which reason we do make known and testific to every of you, by the  
 'tenor of these presents, that in the books and registers of the apos-  
 'tolic chamber, to wit, in the book of the register of the breves of the  
 'first, second and third years of Pope Julius II. of happy memory ; we  
 'have seen, and read a certain apostolical letter in form of a breve of  
 'the said Pope Julius II. register'd according to custom, the tenor of  
 'which is to this effect. To our most dear son in Christ, the most  
 'illustrious King of England, health and apostolical benediction. Most  
 'dear son in Christ, we have receiv'd your highness's letters, in which  
 'you give us thanks for so graciously receiving your ambassadors, for  
 'granting them such ready audience, giving them such kind answers,  
 'and bestowing upon them other marks of our grace and favour. To  
 'esteem so highly, most dear son, which light favours, is the effect of  
 'that piety and gratitude you have never fail'd to shew. We have  
 'indeed already made manifest both in our words and actions, as far  
 'as we were able, our good affection to you, nor shall we ever be back-  
 'ward to manifest the same in more instances, it being but reasonable  
 'and just so to do, on account of your highness's great zeal for, and  
 'particular devotion towards us, and the apostolical see. As for the  
 'dispensation in the point of your marriage, it has never been by us



'deny'd, nor have we ever given any just cause to suspect that we would  
 'deny it, as some have basely suggested : on the contrary our answer  
 'has been that we wait only till a more seasonable and proper time  
 'shall offer it self, that it may be done more to the reputation of both  
 'parties, and to the honour of the holy see than now. When we shall  
 'find this more proper season to grant the dispensation, as we have  
 'determin'd to grant it, we do purpose to send it (as a thing of great  
 'trust and moment) by our beloved son Dr. Robert Sherbon, Dean of  
 'St. Paul's London, one of your ambassadors, who together with his  
 'extraordinary learning, has given evident proofs of his modesty,  
 'fidelity, and diligence ; and this we choose to do on two accounts, both  
 'that it may by him be convey'd with secrecy and privacy ; and besides  
 'that, we may farther recommend one of his great capacity and integ-  
 'rity, as a person whose fidelity and services may be of further use to  
 'your highness at home, since the disagreeableness of this air to him,  
 'and the excessiveness of the heat make it impossible for him to con-  
 'tinue longer at Rome without hazard of his life.

'Given at Rome at St. Peter's, July 6. 1504. in the first year of our  
 'pontificat.'

The rest having little material, save that mention is made how the  
 Cardinal Sancti Petri ad Vincula, the pope's nephew, was made protec-  
 tor of the English, I have purposely omitted, that I may insert another  
 letter of the pope's of Feb. 22nd. 1505. the tenor whereof is this :

'Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico Angliæ Regi illustris.  
 'charissime in Christo fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedict.  
 'Intelleximus à dilecto filio G. Cardinali Sancti Petri ad Vincula tui  
 'regni tui protectore, nostro secundum carnem nepote, et à venera-  
 'bili fratre nostro Silvestro Episcopo Wigorn. tuæ serenitatis apud nos  
 'oratore, literas dispensationis matrimonialis tant opere ab eis, nomine  
 'tuæ serenitatis, petitas, ex hispaniis ad te missas fuisse. Fili charis-  
 'sime, nos dispensationem illam instantibus cardinali et episcopo præ-  
 'dictis, tua potissimum contemplatione, concessimus, ac super ea, sub  
 'bulla plumbea literas expediri fecimus, ut ad tuum serenitatem per  
 'cardinalem et episcopum antedictos statuto tempore mitterentur. Sed  
 'cum claræ memoriæ Elizabeth Hispaniarum Regina catholica finem  
 'hujus mortalis vitæ sibi instare cerneret, impensa et maxima cum  
 'instantia per oratorem suum nobis humiliter supplicasset, ut pro con-  
 'solatione sua duplum dictarum literarum ei concedere dignaremur,  
 'quod hanc consolationem sibi dare vellemus ut de hujusmodi dispen-  
 'satione certior facta æquiori animo ab ipsa vita migraret : nosque  
 'pietatis christianæ et nostræ in illam charitatis paternæ esse putavi-  
 'mus non defraudare ipsam reginam jam-jam morituram desiderio  
 'hujus rei, in qua etiam subditis et regnicolis illis bonam spem conjunc-  
 'tionis tuæ serenitatis posset afferre, presertim quod idem orator rem

‘hanc secretam futuram pollicebatur, (quod ab eo non servatum molestissime ferimus) bullam igitur originalem apud nos servatam serenitati tuæ, una cum ense, quo te pro tua singulari virtute, et in sanctam sedem apostolicam pietate donand. merito duximus, per eundem Episcopum Wigorn. nobis probatum et charum decrevimus mittere, à quo serenitas ipsa tua uberius intelliget causas ejusdem bullæ hactenus apud nos retentæ, et nonnulla alia sibi per nos commissa negotia. Nec miretur majestas tua, si de hac re nihil cum ipsis cardinali et oratore communicavimus, nunquam enim putavimus fore, ut ab oratore dictæ reginæ deciperemur, et literæ dispensationis prædict. ad te ex Hispaniis mitterentur, quas ut solum reginæ tam periculose ægro-tanti pro solamine suo ostenderentur duplicari concesseramus. Nam, præterquam tuæ serenitati de nobis et sancta Romana ecclesia benemeritæ gratificari cupimus, ipsis cardinali et episcopo oratori tuo meritam fidei et diligentiae laudem in tuis negotiis promovendis dare debemus. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum die vigesima secunda Februarii, anno millesimo quingentesimo quinto, pont. nostri anno secundo.’

‘To our most beloved son in Christ, the most illustrious Henry King of England, health and apostolical benediction. We have been inform’d by our beloved son in Christ, the Cardinal St. Petri ad Vincula, the protector of you and your kingdoms, and our nephew according to the flesh; and by our venerable brother Sylvester Bishop of Worcester, your highness’s ambassador here, that the letters of dispensation in the point of your marriage, which they have so long solicited in your highness’s name to procure, have already been sent to you from Spain. Know therefore, most dear son, that at the instance of the foresaid cardinal and bishop, but in respect wholly to your self, we did grant the said dispensation, and in consequence appointed our bull under the seal of lead to be got ready to be sent to your highness in due time by the foresaid cardinal and bishop. But whereas Elizabeth, of glorious memory, most catholick Queen of Spain, perceiving her self to be now finishing the course of her mortal life, did with great earnestness, and most pressing instances by her ambassador, most humbly entreat us, that we would vouchsafe for her consolation, to grant her a copy of the said letter, that being by us fully satisfied of this dispensation, she might to her great comfort depart this life in peace; we thought it a piece of Christianity, and an indispensable part of our paternal love and affection toward her, to comply with the queen’s earnest request at a time she was expiring, in communicating to her the knowledge of a thing, which even to the commonest and meanest of her subjects, would give comfortable and cheerful hopes from the prospects of so near an alliance with your highness; especially when her ambassador promis’d the greatest

'faithfulness and secrecy herein (which promise we are greatly griev'd and troubl'd that he hath broken.) The original bull we judg'd meet and convenient, to keep by us till we have an opportunity to send it you, by the same our most dear and most faithful Bishop of Worcester, together with the sword which we thought fit to present your highness for your singular piety, and filial obedience to the holy apostolical see, at which time your highness will receive more perfect information, as well of the reason of our delaying hitherto to send the bull, as also in some other affairs with which we have intrusted him. Nor ought your majesty to wonder, that we have not communicated before any thing hereof to our cardinals, or your majesty's ambassador, since we could never have thought it possible, that the ambassador of her said majesty should have herein thus deceiv'd us, and that the said letters of dispensation should be transmitted to you from Spain, the copy of which we granted only for the consolation of the said queen, who thus lay at the point of death : and not denying them to your highness for want of inclination, which we with great reason have, to gratifie your desires herein, who have so well deserv'd of us, and of the holy Catholick Church, not out of distrust or disrespect to the said cardinal or bishop your ambassador, of whose fidelity and diligence in promoting your affairs, we are abundantly satisfy'd.

'Given at Rome at St. Peter's, Feb. 22. 1505. in the second year of our pontificat.'

And that these are true copies, Augustinus Spinola, at the instance of King Henry VIII. and by the commandment of the pope, did certifie under the hand and seal of his office Jan. 27. 1529.

In sequence whereof, the commissioners took oath of the kings of arms, that the copies they deliver'd were true, appointing further the next Wednesday, *ad concludendum*. Upon which day (being 21 July) the commissioners being sate, John Hughes, promoter, appear'd before them, and signified that there is found a certain protestation made by our king, when he came to ripe years, in the presence of notaries and witnesses, and subscrib'd with the hand of the said king (at that time Prince of Wales) and some counsellors of King Henry VII. which he said were much to the purpose of the business then in question. Whereupon the commissioners receiv'd the said protestation in *præsentia dicti Magistri Ricardi Sampson Procuratoris Regis, et in contumaciam Reginae*; commanding further, that it should remain *penes acta sua*. The tenor of which protestation is thus :

'In Dei nomine Amen. Coram vobis reverendo in Christo patre et domino domino Richardo Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia Episcopo Wintoniensi, ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps, Dux Cornubiæ, et Comes Cestriæ, dico, allego et in his scriptis propono, quod licet ego minorem ætatem agens et intra annos pubertatis notorie existens, cum



‘serenissima domina Catharina Hispaniarum Regis filia, matrimonium  
‘de facto contraxerim, qui quidem contractus quamvis obstante ipsa  
‘minore ætate mea de se jam invalidus, imperfectus, nullius efficacæ  
‘aut vigoris extiterit; quia tamen annis pubertatis et matura ætate  
‘mea jam supervenient. contractus ipse per tacitum consensum, mutuum  
‘cohabitationem, munerum aut intersignium dationem seu receptionem,  
‘vel alium quemcunque modum jure declaratum forsitan existimari seu vi-  
‘deri poterit apparenter validatus aut confirmatus; ea-propter, ego Henri-  
‘cus Walliæ Princeps prædictus, jam proximus pubertati existens, et an-  
‘nos pubertatis ættingens, protestor, quod non intendo eundem præten-  
‘sum contractum per quæcunque per me dicta seu dicenda, facta aut  
‘faciend. in aliquo approbare, validare, seu ratam habere; sed nunc in  
‘præsenti, non vi, dolo, nec prece inductus, sed sponte et libere, nullo  
‘modo coactus, contra hujusmodi contractum reclamo, et eidem  
‘dissentio, voloque et omnino intendo ab eodem contractu matrimo-  
‘niali prætenso melioribus modo et forma quibus de jure melius  
‘validius aut efficacius potero vel possim penitus resilire, et eidem  
‘expresse dissentire, prout in præsentī contra eundem reclamo, et eidem  
‘dissentio. Protestorque quod per nullum dictum, factum, actum, aut  
‘gestum per me aut nomine meo per alium quemcunque quandocunque  
‘aut qualitercumque imposterum faciendum, agendum, gerendum, aut  
‘explicandum, volo aut intendo in præfatum contractum matrimoni-  
‘alem, aut in dictam dominam Catharinam tanquam sponsam, aut  
‘uxorem meam consentire. Super quibus vos omnes testimonium  
‘perhibere volo, requiro, rogo, atque obtestor.

‘Per me Henricum Walliæ Principem.

‘Lecta fuit et facta suprascripta protestatio, per præfatum serenis-  
‘simum Principem Dominum Henricum, coram reverendo in Christo  
‘patre et domino domino Ricardo permissione divina Winton. Epis-  
‘copo, judicialiter pro tribunali sedent. et me notarium infra scriptum  
‘ad tunc præsentem in ejus actorum scribam in hac parte assumente,  
‘et testium infrascriptorum præsentis; anno Domini 1505. Indictione  
‘octava, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et Domini nostri  
‘Julii Divina providentia eo nomine papæ secundi anno secundo,  
‘mensis vero Junii die xxvii. quo die dominus serenissimus princeps  
‘proximus pubertati, et annos pubertatis attingens erat, ut tunc ibidem  
‘asserebat, in quadam bassa camera infra palatium Regium Riche-  
‘mondia, in parte occidentali ejusdem palatii situat. Super quibus  
‘omnibus et singulis præfatus serenissimus princeps me notarium  
‘præmemoratum instrumentum conficere, et testes infra nominatos  
‘testimonium perhibere requisivit instanter, et rogavit. In quorum  
‘omnium et singulorem fidem et testimonium, præfatus serenissimus  
‘princeps supra, et testes, ut præmittitur, rogati et requisiti, sua no-

'mina propriis manibus infra scripserunt. Ita est ut supra, quod ego  
'Johannes Read manu et signo meo manuali attestor.

'Giles Daubney, C. Somerset,  
'Thomas Rowthale, Nicholas West,  
'Henry Marny.'

'In the name of God, amen. In the presence of you the reverend  
'father in Christ, by the grace of God, and favour of the apostolical  
'see, Richard Lord Bishop of Winchester; I Henry Prince of Wales,  
'Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, do say, alledge, and by this  
'writing set forth; that although in my minority and being not as yet  
'arriv'd to ripeness of age for giving my consent, I have *de facto* con-  
'tracted a marriage with the most serene Lady Catherine, daughter of  
'the King of Spain; which contract, although it be of itself invalid,  
'imperfect, and of no effect and force, by reason of my said minority;  
'yet because this contract when I shall come to age and years of con-  
'sent, may appear and seem valid, and confirm'd by tacit consent,  
'mutual cohabitation, giving and receiving tokens and gifts, or any  
'other determinate way; for these causes, I the aforesaid Henry  
'Prince of Wales, now nearly arriv'd to maturity of age, and being,  
'just at years of consent, do hereby protest, that by any thing said or  
'to be said, done, or to be done, I do not intend to ratifie, confirm, or  
'make valid the said pretended contract of marriage; but by these  
'presents, being thereunto mov'd neither by force, craft, nor entreaty,  
'but voluntarily, freely, and without any compulsion whatever, I do  
'renounce and disclaim the said contract; and do resolve and intend  
'by the most powerful means, in the most significant terms, and most  
'effectual manner I can to renounce, disclaim, and dissent from the  
'said pretended marriage contract, as the same is hereby renounc'd,  
'disclaim'd, and dissented from. And I farther protest, that by any  
'word, deed, action or behaviour, said or done by myself, or by any  
'other in my name, or to be said, acted, done or perform'd by any per-  
'son at any time, or in any manner whatsoever, I do not consent to  
'the said marriage contract, or receive the said Lady Catherine as my  
'lawful spouse and wife; to all which premises, this my testimony is  
'given, set forth and publish'd by me,

'Henry Prince of Wales.'

'The above-written protestation was made and read by the most serene  
'Prince the Lord Henry, before the reverend father in Christ, Richard  
'Lord Bishop of Winchester, who then sat judge, and before me the  
'under-written notary publick, who took it in writing, in the presence  
'of the under-written witnesses, in the year of our Lord 1505. in the  
'eighth indiction, in the second year of the pontificat of our most holy  
'father in Christ, by the Divine Providence Julius II. pope, on the

‘27th day of June, on which day his most serene highness the prince, was entering upon years of maturity and age of consent, as he there asserted, in a certain ground room, under the Royal Palace of Richmond, situate in the western part of the said palace. Concerning all which, and singular the premises, his said most serene highness the prince, instantly order’d and demanded of me the said notary, to draw up this publick instrument, and the under-written witnesses thereto to bear testimony. In proof and evidence of all which things, and every of them, his said most serene highness the prince, and the witnesses, as is aforesaid, being thereunto call’d and requir’d, set their names subscrib’d with their own hands. The truth of all which, I John Read testifie, by setting thereunto my hand and seal manual.

‘G. Daubney, C. Somerset,  
 ‘Thomas Rowthale, Nicholas West,  
 ‘Henry Marny.’

Among whom Nicholas West, above-nam’d, now Bishop of Ely, in presence of the commissioners, acknowledg’d and confess’d, that this protestation was subscrib’d with his own hand. Whereupon the commissioners, in *contumacium regina*, did, in the presence of the above-mention’d proctor, continue and prorogue the court, till Friday next following, warning the said proctor also to be there. Upon which day, being July 23. the court being set, the promoter above-mention’d signify’d unto the commissioners, that all that was requisite for the instruction and information of their understanding and consciences, had been judicially propos’d and exhibited to them, and remain’d in their custody, and that therefore this day was assign’d and appointed for concluding the business. Notwithstanding because Cardinal Campejus alledg’d and protested in *verbo veri prelati*, that a certain general vacation, which he termed *ferias generales messium et vindemiarum*, was observed in the court of Rome every year, before the said Friday; and because he and his colleague were bound to follow the stile of the said court in the process of the above-mention’d cause; therefore the said judges, in the presence of the king’s proctor, and in *contumaciam regina*, did prorogue the conclusion of this business, until the first of October next following, warning the king’s proctor then to appear, and receive a conclusion of this business as should be according to justice. All which pass’d in the presence of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, the Bishop of Ely, and divers other persons.

And thus much out of the record formerly mention’d; which I have with more particularity set down, in that it is so rare and unusual a case to find a prince submit himself, in his own kingdom, to the judgment of two persons, whereof one was a suspected stranger, the other, in birth, but of the meanest of his subjects; and after all this, to receive no other fruit hereof, but delay and insatisfaction; as appears



not only by this abrupt dismissal, but by a certain advocacy of the cause, to the pope, inhibiting further proceedings here (as will appear shortly after;) the consequences whereof extended further yet than our king then thought, or the pope could easily have imagin'd.

These proceedings were subscrib'd by the notaries William Clayburg, doctor of both laws, Protonotarius Apostolicus, Florianus Montinus, and Richard Watkins, who acknowledg'd the rasures, interlineations and lines in the margin, together with the number of the leaves in the parchment book (being 69.) To which also letters testimonial from Nicholas Wotton, doctor of the laws, and the Bishop of London's official, having the seal of the office, were annex'd. After all which, a dispensation, written by a later hand, and in loose paper, was found in the said book. Though that alone should not have induc'd me to publish it, had I not seen it already printed in a book call'd 'Anti-Sanderus,' and met in our archives some dispatches that make it probable.

*The Tenor of the Bull is this.*

'CLEMENS Episcopus servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico Angliæ Regi illustri, Fidei Defensori, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Exponi nobis nuper fecisti, quod alias tu et dilecta in Christo filia Catharina, relicta quondam . . . fratris tui germani, non ignorantes vos primo affinitatis gradu invicem fore conjunctos, matrimonium per verba alias legitime de præsentì, nulla saltem canonica seu valida dispensatione desuper obtenta, quamvis de facto contraxistis, illudq; carnali copula consummatis, ac prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio suscepistis, excommunicationis sententiam incurrendo: et cum majestas tua in hujusmodi matrimonio absq; peccato remanere requeat, et ne diutius in hujusmodi peccato et excommunicationis sententia remaneat, desideret ab hujusmodi excommunicationis sententia à judice ecclesiastico competente absolutionis beneficium obtinere, ac matrimonium ipsum nullum et invalidum fuisse, tibiq; licere cum quacunq; alia muliere, alio non obsistente canonico, matrimonium contrahere, declarari, et ineventum declarationis nullitatis matrimonii hujusmodi tecum dispensari, ut cum quacunque alia muliere, etiam si illa talis sit, quæ alias cum alio matrimonium contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non consummaverit, etiam si tibi alias secundo vel remotiori consanguinitatis, aut primo affinitatis gradu ex quocunque licito seu illicito coitu conjuncta, dummodo relicta dicti fratris tui non fuerit, ac etiam si cognatione spirituali vel legali tibi conjuncta extiterit, et impedimentum publicæ honestatis justitiæ subsistat, matrimonium licite contrahere, et in eo libere remanere, et ex eo prolem legitimam suscipere possis. Quare pro parte tui, asserentis ex antiquis chronicis regni constare, in ipso regno quamplura gravissima bella sæpe exorta, et

Christianam pacem et concordiam violatam fuisse, propter impios  
 homines sua detestanda regnandi et dominandi libidine excitatos,  
 confingentes ex justis et legitimis quorundam progenitorum et ante-  
 cessorum tuorum Angliæ Regum nuptiis procreatos illegitimos fore  
 propter aliquod consanguinitatis vel affinitatis confictum impedimen-  
 tum, et propterea inhabiles esse ad regni successionem, inde mise-  
 randam principum ac procerum et populorum subditorum stragem  
 secutam fuisse; nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut regni tuo-  
 rumque subditorum tranquillitati et paci inprimis consulere et tantis  
 malis obviare, ac alias in præmissis, opportuna remedia adhibere de  
 benignitate Apostolica dignaremur. Nos qui omnium regum, præ-  
 sertim majestatis tuæ ob ejus quamplura immensa in nos et hanc  
 sanctam sedem, in qua permissione divina sedemus, collata beneficia,  
 dum ad iniquissimis pestilentissimorum hominum conatibus, qui eam,  
 partim viribus et scelerata audacia, partim perversa doctrina labe-  
 factare moliebantur, strenuissime cum viribus et gladio tum calamo  
 et eruditione tua vindicare indies non cessat, petitiones, præsertim  
 salutem animarum concernentes, quantum cum Deo possumus, ad  
 exauditionis gratiam libenter admittimus, eorumque; honestis votis  
 favorabiliter annuimus, ex præmissis et nonnullis aliis causis nobis  
 notis, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, tecum ut si contingat  
 matrimonium cum præfata Catharina alias contractum nullum fuisse  
 et esse declarari, teque; ab illius vinculo legitime absolvi, cum quacun-  
 que muliere, ipsaque mulier tecum, dummodo à te propter hoc rapta  
 non fuerit, etiamsi mulier ipsa talis sit, quæ prius cum alio matrimo-  
 nium contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non fuerit consumma-  
 tum, etiamsi illa tibi alias secundo aut remotiori consanguinitatis, aut  
 primo affinitatis gradu, etiam ex quocunque licito vel illicito coitu  
 proveniente, invicem conjuncta, dummodo relicta dicti fratris tui  
 non fuerit, ut præfertur, etiamsi cognationis spiritualis aut legalis et  
 publicæ honestatis justitiæ impedimentum subsistat et tibi con-  
 juncta existat, matrimonium licite contrahere, et postquam con-  
 tractum fuerit in eo sic contracto, etiamsi illud inter te et ipsam  
 mulierem jam de facto publice vel clandestine contractum et  
 carnali copula consummatum fuerit, licite remanere valeatis, au-  
 thoritate apostolica et ex certa nostra scientia et de apostolicæ po-  
 testatis plenitudine, tenore præsentium dispensamus, prolem inde  
 forsitan susceptam et suspiciendam legitimam fore decernentes. Non  
 obstantibus prohibitionibus juris Divini, ac constitutionibus et ordina-  
 tionibus aliis quibuscunque in contrarium editis, quibus, in quantum  
 apostolica autoritas se extendit, illis alias in suo robore permansuris,  
 quoad hoc specialiter et expresse derogamus. Districtius inhibentes  
 et in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ expresse mandantes, sub intermina-  
 tione divini judicii, ac sub pœna anathematis, aliisque ecclesiasticis  
 sententiis, censuris, et pœnis, quas ex nunc prout ex tunc et è converso

‘ferimus et promulgamus, in his scriptis, ne quisquam imposterum  
 ‘ullum impedimentum pro contractus matrimonialis non consummati,  
 ‘consanguinitatis in secundo aut ulteriori gradu, affinitatis primo ut  
 ‘præfertur, cognationis spiritualis aut legalis seu justitiæ publicæ  
 ‘honestatis impedimentis prædictis adversum liberos tuos quos ex  
 ‘quocunque matrimonio vigore præsentium contrahendo Dei benigni-  
 ‘tate susceperis palam vel occulte in judicio vel extra illud allegare,  
 ‘proponere, aut objicere, seu verbo vel facto diffamare præsumat, aut  
 ‘quocunque modo attentet. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc  
 ‘paginam nostræ dispensationis, decreti, derogationis, inhibitionis, et  
 ‘mandati infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem  
 ‘hoc attentare præsumperit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac  
 ‘beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursum. Dat.  
 ‘in civitate nostra urbevetan. Anno incarnationis Dominicæ mille-  
 ‘simo quingentesimo vicesimo septimo. Decimo sexto cal. Januarii.  
 ‘Pont. nostri anno quinto.’

‘CLEMENT Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our most dear  
 ‘son in Christ, the most illustrious Henry King of England, Defender  
 ‘of the Faith, health and apostolical benediction. You have caus’d to  
 ‘be laid before us, that heretofore you, and our beloved daughter in  
 ‘Christ Katharine widow of \*\*\* your own brother, knowing the rela-  
 ‘tion that was between you, of the first degree of affinity, did *de facto*  
 ‘contract marriage in words *de præsent*, and did consummate the  
 ‘said marriage by carnal knowledge, and from thence had children  
 ‘born, having no sufficient canonical dispensation granted you to that  
 ‘effect, incurring therefore the sentence of excommunication: and  
 ‘whereas your majesty, who cannot without sin live in the said mar-  
 ‘riage, does desire to continue no longer in the said sin, nor lie under  
 ‘the sentence of excommunication; but by some competent ecclesias-  
 ‘tical judge, to receive the benefit of absolution from the said sentence  
 ‘of excommunication, and that the marriage it self should be declar’d  
 ‘to have been, and still to be null and invalid, and that it is, and may  
 ‘be lawful for you to marry any other woman, any canon to the con-  
 ‘trary notwithstanding, and that in consequence of such declaration of  
 ‘the nullity of the said marriage, you may be dispens’d with, lawfully  
 ‘to marry any other woman, and with her in marriage freely to live,  
 ‘and lawful issue by her to have, although she may be one who has  
 ‘already contracted marriage with some other person, provided she  
 ‘hath not consummated it by carnal knowledge; and although she  
 ‘may be related to you in the second or more remote degree of con-  
 ‘sanguinity, or first degree of affinity, either from lawful or forbidden  
 ‘wedlock, provided she be not the widow of your said brother, and al-  
 ‘though she may be related to you by any other legal or spiritual  
 ‘affinity, whereby an impediment may otherwise lie against you there-



'in, in the common course of law and publick justice. And whereas  
 'your majesty has farther laid before us, that it is evident from the  
 'chronicles of your kingdom, that many grievous wars have often  
 'arisen in your kingdom, that all Christian peace and concord hath  
 'been violated and disturb'd by traiterous and malicious men, out of  
 'their detestable ambition, and wicked desire of power, but under pre-  
 'tence that some of the children, born in just and lawful marriage of  
 'some of your predecessors and forefathers, were illegitimate, on ac-  
 'count of some impediment in the said marriages, by reason of consan-  
 'guinity or affinity, whom under pretence of the said illegitimacy, they  
 'have gone about to exclude from the succession, from whence has  
 'follow'd most miserable destruction and bloodshed, both of princes  
 'and nobility, as well as of the common people; on which account  
 'your majesty has supplicated us, that of our apostolical grace and  
 'favour, we would vouchsafe herein to consult the peace and quiet of  
 'your kingdom and subjects, to obviate these great miseries, and apply  
 'fitting remedies to the aforesaid grievances. We who favourably  
 'listen to, and as far as with a safe conscience we may, chearfully  
 'comply with all petitions, especially those which concern the safety  
 'of their souls, which we at any time receive from Christian princes,  
 'especially from your majesty, by reason of the manifold marks of  
 'affection and kindness you have always shewn both to us and the  
 'apostolical see, over which by the Divine permission we preside,  
 'which you have not ceas'd most courageously to maintain and sup-  
 'port, as well with your power and sword, as with your learning and  
 'pen, from the most wicked attempts of nefarious men, who partly by  
 'force and open violence, partly by craft and subtle doctrines, endea-  
 'vour'd to undermine and overthrow it; for the foresaid, as well as  
 'some other reasons us thereunto moving in compliance with your  
 'petition, we from our apostolical authority, by our certain knowledge,  
 'and out of the plentitude of our apostolical power, by the tenor of  
 'these presents do dispence with you, that if your contract of marriage  
 'with the said Katherine, shall be declar'd to have been, and still to be  
 'null and invalid, and you to be lawfully freed from the bond thereof,  
 'that then it may be, and is lawful for you to marry any other woman,  
 'and any other woman to marry you, provided she be not thereto by  
 'you compell'd, although she should be one who has already contracted  
 'marriage with some other person, provided she hath not consum-  
 'mated it by carnal knowledge, and although she may be related to  
 'you in the second or more remote degree of consanguinity, or first  
 'degree of affinity, either from lawful or forbidden wedlock, provided  
 'she be not the widow of your said brother; and although she may be  
 'related to you by any other legal or spiritual affinity, whereby an im-  
 'pediment may otherwise lie against you therein, in the common  
 'course of law and publick justice: and if such marriage is contracted,

'that you may lawfully continue and remain therein, although it should be so, that this marriage was contracted *de facto*, by you either openly or clandestinely, and by carnal knowledge consummated before this dispensation was granted, determining farther, that all the children born, or to be born, from this marriage, be, and be accounted legitimate; any prohibitions of the Divine law, constitutions or ordinances whatsoever declaring the contrary notwithstanding, which we do, as far as by our apostolical power we may, disannul and rescind so far as they may affect this special particular matter now before us only, leaving them in all other regards, and to all other manner of purposes in their full force and power. Strictly enjoynng, and in virtue of their canonical obedience commanding, under the threat of Divine vengeance, and under penalty of anathema, and other ecclesiastical sentences, censures and punishments, which we do now for that time pronounce and publish, by the tenor of these presents, that no person whatever shall presume or attempt to alledge, propose or object either in open court or in private discourse, any impediment in the marriage which by the tenor of these presents you shall contract, or to speak or act, or attempt any thing in word or deed against the legitimacy of the said marriage, or the children which shall be born of it on any insinuation or pretence of marriage præcontracted, consanguinity in the second, and more remote degree or affinity as aforesaid in the first, or any other spiritual or legal affinity in the common course of law and publick justice judg'd an impediment. Let no mortal man therefore presume to contradict this our writ of dispensation, decree, ordinance, inhibition and command, or with presumptuous boldness in any wise to gainsay it. And if any one shall presume herein, let him know that he shall incur the vengeance of the eternal God, and of His holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.

'Given in our city of Orvietan, in the year of our Lord 1527. 16 calends of January, and in the fifth year of our pontificat.'

While these things pass'd thus in England, the queen found means to inform the Lady Margaret, Regent of the Low-Countries, of the whole process, who thereupon sends word of it to Charles and Ferdinand, intreating them to assist their aunt; which they accorded, dispatching their orators to the pope, whom also the queen constituted her proctors in the court of Rome; giving them commission to tender to the pope a copy of the bull, breve, and her declaration that she was never carnally known by Prince Arthur. Shortly after which, the said orators in the queen's name, made a protestation against the two legates now in England (every page subscrib'd with Queen Catherine's own hand) intreating the pope to advoke the cause, to annul the proceedings in England, to warn the king to desist his suit, or at least to try it at Rome, etc. or otherwise that they would seek their remedies

elsewhere. The pope being thus press'd at Rome, and having now concluded the treaty with the emperor at Barcellona, July the third, 1529. about three weeks before the cause was prorogu'd by Campejus, could no longer, either with the safety of his person or dignity, favour our king ; so that what excuses soever (in the frequent dispatches he made about this time) were given to our king, yet were they little more than complement and evasion, till, finally, declaring himself more openly for the emperor, he sign'd an advocation of the cause to himself, inhibiting further proceedings under great penalties. And herein (as our agents did observe) the pope's principal ministers did not a little concur ; that the benefit of deciding thereof might fall upon them. In vain therefore did our agents (being Sir Gregory Casalis and Doctor Bennet) both by representing the defection of our king from the Roman see, and the ruine of the Cardinal of York, labour to stay these proceedings. For the inhibition was brought into England, about the beginning of September, the king then being in his progress ; and because it was sent to the queen to make her benefit of it, the king (by Stephen Gardiner, now his secretary) sends to Woolsey, to persuade the queen to let this inhibition (or as he calls it, a citatory letter) sleep, it containing matter prejudicial to his person, and not to be publish'd to his subjects : and that it will be sufficient for the cessation of the process that the pope by letter to Woolsey (July 19.) hath signified his advocation of the cause. Nevertheless, if the queen will needs have the inhibition executed, then that it should be privily executed upon the two legates, (rather than be divulg'd in Flanders ; ) which it seems was done accordingly. Howbeit, shortly after the advocation was granted, the pope, conceiving that the censures and penalties mentioned in the inhibition would not be well taken by our king, dispatch'd a breve to him of August 29. which for the better satisfaction of the reader, I have thought fit to transcribe out of the original and insert here.

*'Angliæ Regi.*

'CHARISSIME in Christo fili noster, salutem, &c. Dudum vertente  
'causa inter serenitatem tuam et charissimam in Christo filiam nos-  
'tram Catharinam Angliæ Reginam illustrissimam, de et super fœdere  
'matrimonii ; nos, instantibus apud nos oratoribus tuis, causam ipsam,  
'dilectis filiis Thomæ Sanctæ Cecilie, et Laurentio Sanctæ Mariæ in  
'Transtiberim tt' presbyteris cardinalibus nostris et apostolicæ sedis  
'legatis de latere commisimus, in qua ad nonnullos forsan actus pro-  
'cessum est ; postmodum, charissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo  
'Hispaniarum rege catholico in imperatorem electo, et regina ipsa  
'ad nos reclamantibus, et aliis etiam legitimis causis animum nostrum  
'moventibus, causam ipsam ad nos advocavimus, et eam audiendam,  
'ac nobis et sacro venerabilium fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. Cardina-



‘lium Collegio referendam atque decidendam commisimus; in qua  
‘ad inhibitionem fortasse processum est. Cum autem nuper acceperi-  
‘mus inhibitionem ipsam sub censuris et pœnis fuisse factam;  
‘nos, quorum intentionis nunquam fuit neq; est personam tuam de  
‘nobis ac de apostolica sede semper optime meritam aliquibus censuris  
‘et pœnis quomodolibet innodari; celsitudini tuæ significamus, cen-  
‘suras ipsas præter mentem et intentionem nostram à iudice sive  
‘commissario emanasse: et propterea censuras et pœnas prædictas,  
‘quoad personam tuam, nullas nulliusque roboris vel momenti fuisse  
‘et esse decernentes. Causam verò ipsam usque ad festum nativitatis  
‘Domini nostri Jesu Christi proxime futurum jam suspendimus,  
‘prout per præsentis suspensam esse volumus. Fecimusque in illa,  
‘quantum pro nostra in te charitate, cum Deo facere licuit, ut, quum  
‘pro stimulo conscientiae causam te movisse cognoscimus, illam, quæ  
‘tanti est, eadem quoque ratione altius cogitando, posthabitis molestiis  
‘atq; odiis quæ nascuntur ex litibus, cum animi tui pace componere  
‘possis. In quo nos adjutores semper habiturus es, majestatem T.  
‘hortantes in Domino ut interim reginam ipsam pro ipsius conscientiae  
‘tuæ securitate maritali affectione tractare non definas, quemadmodum  
‘celsitudinem tuam pro virtute sua facturam confidimus. Dat. Romæ  
‘die 29. Augusti, 1529. Anno 6.’

*‘To the King of England.*

‘Most dearly beloved son in Christ, health, etc. A cause heretofore  
‘depending between your highness and our dearly beloved daughter in  
‘Christ, Catherine Queen of England, of and concerning your mar-  
‘riage contract; we at the earnest request of your ambassadors com-  
‘mitted the said cause to be determin’d by our beloved sons, Thomas  
‘Lord Bishop, and Cardinal Sanctæ Cecilie, and Laurence Cardinal  
‘Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim our legats *de latere* from the apos-  
‘tolical see, in which cause perhaps some process has been made;  
‘since which at the instance of our most dear son in Christ, Charles  
‘most Catholick King of Spain, and elected emperor, and his most  
‘Catholick queen, as well as for some other reasons us thereunto  
‘moving, we order’d the said cause to be brought before our own selves,  
‘and reserv’d the determination and decision thereof to our selves,  
‘and the sacred college of our most venerable brethren, their emi-  
‘nences the cardinals; on which account perhaps an inhibition has  
‘been given. Now whereas we have heard that this inhibition has been  
‘executed, and that therein are mention’d several censures and  
‘penalties; we whose intention it never was, nor is it to subject your  
‘highness’s person, who have so well deserv’d of us, and of the  
‘apostolical see, to any censures or penalties whatsoever; do hereby  
‘signifie to your highness, that those censures were inserted into the  
‘said inhibition by our judge or commissary without our knowledge,

‘and contrary to our inclination : which censures therefore, and penalties so far as they may concern your own person, we do hereby rescind, declaring them to be null, of no power, efficacy, or validity. As for the cause it self, we will that it be suspended till Christmas-day next ensuing, and it is by these presents till then suspended. And herein we have done all that we could with a safe conscience, in favour and affection to your highness, that as we are assur’d that you have for conscience-sake propounded your case, you may have time duly and carefully to consider an affair of so great moment and importance as this is, and thereby settle it, without the vexation and trouble which suits of law ingender and produce, to the great comfort and quiet of your mind ; wherein you shall never fail of our aid and assistance : in the mean time, we do exhort your majesty in the Lord, that for the sake of conscience, you would not leave the queen, but till these things shall be determin’d, comfort and cherish her with the love and affection of an husband, as we trust your highness of your great piety and goodness will do.

‘Given at Rome, August 29. A.D. 1529, in the sixth year of our pontificat.’

Before yet these breves were sent, the pope wisely considering that by the diligence of our agents not only the first minutes of them were sent to England, but also that his treaty with the emperor was more notorious than that it could be hidden, thought fit (July 18.) to advertise our cardinal, that the league betwixt him and the emperor was made *pro temporum ratione et rerum Christianarum utilitate*; exhorting him therefore to do him good offices with the king, which also he explicated in another dispatch, September 23. wishing that aid might be sent against the Turk. All which being contrary to the king’s present designs, could not upon what terms soever be represented without much offence, and ill conceit of Cardinal Woolsey. The king believing, that underhand he held intelligence with the pope, to the prejudice of his affairs. Which Polydore also affirmeth ; saying, that he writ privately to the pope to suspend the cause, till they could bring the king to some better temper. This also I believe was confirmed in the king’s mind, by some notice he might have of a joint dispatch (a minute whereof is extant in our records) from Woolsey and Campejus, during their sessions, whereby they desir’d the pope to avoke the cause, in case it grew so doubtful that they could not determine it ; both as they would be free from the trouble and danger, and as they conceiv’d, he might better help the king *ex plenitudine potestatis*; who perchance (as they said) would be content therewith, if the pope would promise to end the matter, shortly afterwards to his satisfaction. But as this was, in part, done without our king’s knowledge, and that, for the rest, it left the business in more perplexity and

irresolution than ever ; so the king, who (I find by Cavendish) had recover'd something under the cardinal's hand, which he urged against him, began to frown ; whereof also the courtiers took that notice, as now his fall was voiced every where. Though yet it was not in that precipice, but that the king admitted him still to no small degrees of his wonted access and favour. Howbeit, as the cardinal was now in his decadence, all these steps did but lead unto his ruine. To which also the secret ill offices of the angry queen, and despighted Anne Bolen did contribute ; who, though hating one another, did conspire to his destruction. The causes on the queen's part are touch'd before, which also were not a little set forwards by the industry of the emperor. And for those of Mrs. Anne Bolen, besides her unkind dismissal from the court, (which she conceiv'd to have been the cardinal's advice) another inveterate grudge made her irreconcilable. The relation whereof, being taken out of a manuscript of one Master George Cavendish, gentleman-usher to the cardinal, I have thought fit to insert.

This gentlewoman being descended on the father's side from one of the heirs of the Earls of Ormond, and on the mother's from a daughter of the house of Norfolk, was from her childhood of that singular beauty and towardness, that her parents took all care possible for her good education. Therefore, besides the ordinary parts of various instructions, wherewith she was liberally brought up, they gave her teachers in playing on musical instruments, singing and dancing ; insomuch, that when she compos'd her hands to play, and voice to sing, it was join'd with that sweetness of countenance, that three harmonies concurr'd ; likewise, when she danc'd, her rare proportions varied themselves into all the graces that belong either to rest or motion. Briefly, it seems the most attractive perfections were eminent in her. Yet did not our king love her at first, nor before she had liv'd some time in France, whither, in the train of the French queen, and company of a sister of the Marquis Dorset, she went anno Dom. 1514. After the death of Louis XII. she did not yet return with the dowager, but was receiv'd into a place of much honour with the other queen, and then with the Dutchess of Alanson, sister to Francis, where she staid, till some difference grew betwixt our king and Francis ; therefore, as saith Du Tillet, and our records, about the time when our students at Paris were remanded, she likewise left France, as is formerly related ; her parents thinking not fit to suffer her to stay there any longer. All this while therefore no argument of extraordinary affection towards her was discover'd in our king. So (1520.) that though it be probable, that she were at the interview betwixt the kings and queens (near Guisnes) above-mention'd, yet she left not the French court. But, at last, being come hither, and, about the twentieth year of her age, receiv'd into our queen's service, however the king might take notice of her, the Lord Henry Percy yet (the Earl of Northum-



berland's eldest son) appear'd first enamour'd of her ; insomuch, that at all times when he repair'd to court, in the train of our cardinal, (whom he attended in ordinary) his addresses were continually to her ; whereof he made that use, as at length he obtain'd her good will to marriage. So that in what kind soever the king's affection might manifest it self, neither was she so satisfied of it, as to think fit to relinquish this advantageous offer, nor the Lord Percy aware that he was oppos'd by so puissant a rival. But this treaty (which proceeded to little less than a contract) coming at last to our king's ears, the danger he found himself in of losing a beauty he had contemplated so long, that it was become his dearest object, made him resolve to acquaint the cardinal with his love to her ; wishing him also to dissuade the Lord Percy from it. The forward cardinal hereupon both violently deborts the Lord Percy from the gentlewoman, and useth all arts to insinuate himself into her good opinion and favour. But Mistress Bolen, whether she were ignorant, as yet, how much the king lov'd her, or howsoever had rather be that lord's wife than a king's mistress, took very ill of the cardinal this his unseasonable interruption of her marriage. The cardinal also fearing the revenge of that sex, and, for the rest, being unwilling to come to sharper terms with the Lord Percy than he had already used, desires the king to write to the Earl of Northumberland to come up ; alledging there was no such way to preserve the gentlewoman for himself, and together to conceal his love, as to use a cunning dissuasion of the marriage to the earl ; whereby also he might be induced to interpose his fatherly authority for dissolving of the match. Hereupon the earl repairing to court, the cardinal first, and afterwards the king discover'd the cause of his sending for, in every kind, but withal in such covert and ambiguous terms, that betwixt unwillingness to disparage the gentlewoman, and the inforcing divers reasons why the Lord Percy should not marry her, the earl was not without some hazard of misapplying the king's affection to himself. Howsoever, he so check'd his son, that fear of displeasing his father became at length the predominant passion. So that it neither serv'd him to declare the merits of the gentlewoman, nor to tell his father, that his promise, before witnesses, had engag'd him further than that he knew well how to come off : the apprehension of the king's displeasure having wrought that impression in the earl, that he would take no denial or excuse on his son's part, till he had made him renounce all his pretences to her ; which also he urged so far, as at last his son consented to marry the Earl of Shrewsbury's daughter. But the hatred which Mistress Anne Bolen conceiv'd against the cardinal concluded not so ; nor indeed could ever end till she had procur'd his final ruine. And this is the truest relation of Mistress Anne Bolen, that I have been able to gather out of those records and manuscripts that have

come to my hands. So that now I should have proceeded with my history, were I not constrain'd (in a sort) to vindicate both her honour and her progenitors from those foul calumnies which in a book of Nicolas Sanders, an Englishman, *De Schismate Anglicano*, are cast upon them.

This author, though learned, yet more credulous than becomes a man of exact judgment, reports out of one William Rastal, a judge, (in his life of Sir Thomas More) that Mistress Anne Bolen was the king's daughter, by the wife of Sir Thomas Bolen, while, *sub specie honoris*, he was employ'd by the king, ambassador in France; and that this gentlewoman coming to the age of fifteen, was deflour'd by some domesticks of her father's, and then sent to France; where also she behav'd herself so licentious, that she was vulgarly call'd the hackney of England, till being adopted to that king's familiarity, she was termed his mule. Many other passages of this kind are also inserted by Sanders, which I forbear, as being sorry to have occasion for publishing thus much. But how impossible these things are, the ingenious reader may easily find out, when he compares the times: for if Mistress Anne Bolen went to France with Mary the French queen 1514. (as is proved by divers principal authors, both English and French, besides the manuscripts I have seen) and was here vitiated at fifteen years of age, it must follow that she was born about or before 1498. at which time our king was neither above seven or eight years old at most, and therefore unable to get a child (especially nine months before) nor had that regal power in his hands for employment of ambassadors, till ten or eleven years afterwards. So that Mr. Sanders or Rastal's affirmation herein is but fiction, as the rest certainly is, she having always lived in good reputation. As for the beauty and handsomness of Mistress Anne Bolen, which the same author doth traduce, besides that it contradicts common sense, (she having been, by their allegation, a minion to two kings) even that picture of hers, extant still with the Dutchess of Richmond, doth sufficiently convince. And for her religion, there is no probability that it should (at first) be other than what was commonly profest: since it appears by original letters of hers, that she was a special favourer of the clergy of that time, and a preferrer of the worthiest sort of them to ecclesiastical livings, during her chief times of favour with the king, though I will not deny, but upon his defection from some articles of the Roman Church, she might also comply. But I should be glad that Mr. Sanders had not divers other things which might require a serious review; though I must not deny, but as he hath in some things follow'd Cardinal Pool, (a person of great learning, and much reverenc'd in his time) so he hath his authority. Howbeit as this cardinal was so near in blood to divers whom the king put to death, he may be thought perchance more partial than to be believ'd every where: neither will it satistie all

men, that he pretends (in more than one place) to have known even so much as the king's thoughts (by revelation;) so that I shall leave these things to the liberty of the indifferent reader, and turn to my history.

Our king, who at the first prorogation of the sentence, by reason of the *feriæ vindemiarum*, hoped yet, that at least, Oct. 1. (when the court was appointed to sit again,) he might have the cause determin'd, seeing now all proceeding in England inhibited, the cause avocated to Rome, Campejus recall'd; and finally finding, by many dispatches, that the pope and emperor had appointed shortly to meet at Bononia, was much troubled; and the rather, for that the two cardinals proceeding hitherunto had been little more than illusion; whereupon also he became much incens'd against them. Yet containing a while his anger, he neither alter'd his fashion to Woolsey, nor declar'd any dislike of Campejus: insomuch, that he calmly gave him leave to depart. So that no argument of suspicion or dislike appear'd hitherunto on either side. Campejus thus dismiss and rewarded, was conducted honourably to the seaside, where he expected only a fair wind. But when he came to take ship, the searchers, upon pretence he carry'd either money or letters from England to Rome, ransack'd all his coffers, bags and papers; not without hope, certainly, to recover that decretal bull our king so much long'd for. I find also (by some relation) that divers love-letters betwixt our king and Mistress Bolen, being convey'd out of the king's cabinet, were sought for, though in vain, they having been formerly sent to Rome. Which usage so offended Campejus, that he complain'd immediately to our king; protesting 'he wou'd not proceed in his journey till he had reparation 'for the wrongs done to his person and dignity; and that the people 'were satisfy'd concerning certain scandalous rumours, which he heard 'were scatter'd abroad to the prejudice of Cardinal Woolsey and himself.' But our king by his letter of Oct. 22. answer'd, that it must not be expected from him, 'præstare, quicquid vel vulgi temeritas 'effutire, vel quorundam nimium fortasse scrupulosa et anxia sedulitas 'designare soleat.' As for the *jus legati* pretended to be violated, our king answer'd, that 'he conceiv'd it was expir'd, not only as it was 'revok'd by the pope's late inhibition, but particularly by the interposition of his own regal authority, which alone his subjects did 'acknowledge.' Adding moreover, 'that he wonder'd somewhat that 'Campejus understood our law so little, as not to fear how he usurped 'after that time the name of a legat in this kingdom; since he, having 'been made bishop here of Salisbury, was bound by oath to the conservation of the royal prerogative. As for the searchers doings, it 'was a mistake; the commandment having been given long since, 'when there was just occasion for it, and not in relation to his particular, who therefore he was sorry to have been so roughly us'd;



'desiring the cardinal, for the rest, to excuse the said searchers, since 'they are bound thereto by oath. So that he ought not to pretend this 'as a cause of his stay.' As for the other part, which was the rumour, our king said, 'it was uncertain from whence it came ; notwithstanding 'that it was (though not altogether fixed in his breast, yet) so generally 'receiv'd and believ'd in his kingdom, that it would be hard to remove 'that opinion : in which regard also, it was in vain for him to stay here 'so much as one hour. Howsoever, that he might make this use of it, 'as to know how ill his subjects took this frustration of the business. 'But as his royal care should be to prevent the inconveniences might 'follow hereof, so that it belong'd to Campejus's wisdom to continue 'those good intentions he had made shew of. For we (saith the king) 'tunc demum dubitare poterimus, cum ipse factis palam diversum 'ostenderis.'

Campejus being now more than once licens'd, thought it time to be gone ; so that, coming at last to the pope, he acquainted him with all the proceedings, not forgetting the dangers in which Cardinal Woolsey was, for his too much obsequiousness to that see. But the pope, whether now altogether govern'd by the emperor, or that otherwise he secretly hated the cardinal for his late unseasonable ambition to succeed in the papacy, seem'd to care for nothing so much as the conserving of his late league, though yet he was not so secure of our king, but that he feared not a little his often threaten'd defection. So that he omitted nothing (that might stand with his other interests) for the containing of him in his wonted devotion : insomuch that he offer'd new projects daily for his satisfaction. Among which Gregory Casalis relates one, which shall be set down in his place.

Cardinal Woolsey being now divested of his late power (wherein he had the glory, in some sort, to have been superior to his king) and for the rest being left alone, and expos'd not only to a general hatred, but to the private machinations of the present and future queen, became sensible of his ill estate ; though yet he did not believe himself so near his overthrow, as it appear'd afterwards. But what cou'd he hope for, when such puissant enemies did procure his destruction ? Therefore, though he receiv'd some advices from Rome, which might argue a care rather than a power for his conservation, yet in effect what secret intelligence soever pass'd betwixt the pope and him, came to the emperor first, and after to Queen Katherine, who cunningly caus'd it to be whisper'd into the king's ears, by some more indirect ways, than it could possibly be imagin'd to proceed from her. Likewise Mistress Anne Bolen, having learn'd from some of the king's wisest and gravest counsellors divers malversations of the cardinal, was so far from disguising them, that she even misinterpreted his better actions. Edmund Campion adds to these reasons, that Sir Francis Bryan being in Rome, did by the means of a familiar of one who kept the pope's papers, obtain a letter of the

cardinal's, which wrought his ruine, in this manner: having first shew'd her the cardinal's hand-writing, and then corrupted her, this courtezan so dexterously perform'd the rest, as upon pretence of visiting her servant in his study, she convey'd away this letter, and gave it Bryan, who fail'd not immediately to send it to our king. Which relation of Campion, though I will not contradict, yet I suppose to be the more improbable, that I find by original dispatches, Bryan was come from Rome before any argument of the king's disfavour to the cardinal appear'd. Howsoever, the way the king took to overthrow him was merely legal, though approaching to *summum jus*, after most mens opinion. In the carriage whereof yet that secrecy was us'd, that the cardinal did not, or perchance out of greatness of mind wou'd not take notice of what was intended against him. So that though the bill or indictment was (Oct. 9.) put in (at the beginning of Michaelmas term) yet did he ride that day to the chancery with his accustomed pomp. Of which our king being advertis'd, thought fit to forbid him the place; as thinking it undecent, that a man, who was upon terms of conviction, should administer that high charge. Therefore the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were sent, Oct. 18. to require the great seal of him. But the cardinal, instead of rendring it, disputed their authority, alledging the place of lord chancellor was by the king's letters patents given him during life. The two dukes hereupon returned to court, bringing the next day the king's letters to the cardinal, who having read them, deliver'd immediately the great seal; in sequence thereof, also submitting himself to the king, who commanded him to leave York-place, and simply to depart to Esher, a country-house near Hampton-Court, belonging to the Bishop of Winchester. He charged his officers also to inventory and bring forth his goods. Whereupon much brave furniture made into hangings, besides whole pieces of rich stuffs were set upon divers tables in his house; the variety and number whereof may be imagin'd, when (as Cavendish hath it) of fine Holland cloth alone there were a thousand pieces. Besides, the walls of his gallery on the one side were hang'd with rich suits of cloth of gold, cloth of silver, cloth of tissue, and cloth of bodkin; on the other side was placed the most glorious suit of copes that had been seen in England. In a chamber near to the gallery was a great cupboard of plate, of massy gold; and in a chamber adjoining, vast quantity of other plate. All which the cardinal commanded Sir William Gascoigne (his treasurer) to deliver to the king, when he was requir'd.

In the mean while the bill against the cardinal proceeded, the most substantial parts whereof being extracted out of the original record, I have thought fit to present to the reader. The ground upon which Christopher Hales, the king's attorney, prosecuted the cardinal, was a statute of 16 Richard II. in which is enacted, that 'whereas the 'commons of the realm ought of right, and were wont of old time to

'sue in the king's court to recover their presentments to churches,  
 'prebends, and other benefices of holy church, to which they had right  
 'to present, and when judgment shall be given in the said court upon  
 'such a plea and presentment, the archbishops, bishops, and other  
 'spiritual persons, which have institutions of such benefices within  
 'their jurisdictions, be bound, and have made execution of such judg-  
 'ments by the king's commandments, of all the time aforesaid, without  
 'interruption, and also be bound of right to make execution of many  
 'other the king's commandments: of which right the crown of England  
 'hath been peaceably seized, as well now, as in the time of all his pro-  
 'genitors. And whereas the Bishop of Rome (for so he is termed in  
 'the act) had made divers processes and censures of excommunication  
 'upon certain bishops in England, because they have made execution  
 'of such commandments, and also because he hath ordain'd and pur-  
 'pos'd to translate some prelates of the realm, some out of the realm,  
 'and some from one bishoprick to another within the said realm, with-  
 'out the king's assent and knowledge, and without the assent of the  
 'prelates, which so shall be translated; which prelates be much profit-  
 'able and necessary to our lord the king, and to all his realm; which  
 'translations if they should be suffer'd, the statutes of the realm should  
 'be defeated and made void, and his said liege sages of his council,  
 'without his assent, and against his will, carried away and gotten out  
 'of his realm, and the substance and treasure of the realm shall be  
 'carried away, and so the realm destitute as well of counsel as of sub-  
 'stance, to the final destruction of the same realm; and so the crown  
 'of England, which hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in  
 'no earthly subjection, but immediately subject to God in all things  
 'touching the legality of the same crown, and to none other, should be  
 'submitted to the pope; and the laws and statutes of the said realm,  
 'by him defeated and avoided at his will, in perpetual destruction of  
 'the sovereignty of the king our lord, his crown, his regality, and of all  
 'his realm, etc. Therefore the king, by the assent of his lords, and at  
 'the request of the commons, hath ordain'd and establish'd, that, if any  
 'purchase or pursue, or cause to be purchased or pursu'd in the court  
 'of Rome, or elsewhere, any translations, processes, and sentences of  
 'excommunication, bulls, instruments, or any other thing whatsoever,  
 'which touch the king, against him, his crown, and regality or realm,  
 'and they which bring within the realm, or them receive, or make  
 'thereof notification, or any other execution whatsoever within the  
 'same realm or without; that they, their notaries, procurators, main-  
 'tainers, abettors, fautors and counsellors, shall be put out of the  
 'king's protection, and their lands and tenements, goods and chattels,  
 'forfeit to the king, and that they be attach'd by their bodies if they  
 'may be found, and brought before the king and his council, there to  
 'answer to the cases aforesaid, or that process be made against them



'by a writ of *premunire facias*, in manner as it is ordain'd in other statutes of provisors, and other, which do sue in any other court, in derogation of the regality of our lord the king.'

Upon which statute it was alledg'd, that 'Thomas, *legatus de latere*, Cardinal, Archbishop of York, and Primate of England, being not ignorant of the premises, had obtain'd certain bulls from Clement VII. by which he exercised jurisdiction and authority legatine, to the deprivation of the king's power established in his courts of justice ; which said bulls he caused to be publicly read in Westminster, (Aug. 28. anno Reg. 15.) assuming to himself thereupon the dignity and jurisdiction of *legatus de latere*, which he hath exercis'd from the said twenty-eighth of August to this day, to the prejudice of the right of both secular and ecclesiastical persons, and that by colour thereof, he had given away the church of Stoke-Guilford in the county of Surrey (being of right in the donation of the Prior of St. Pancrace) to one James Gorton, who also enjoy'd it accordingly. All which was to the contempt of the king and his crown, and contrary to the aforesaid statutes of 16 Richard II. Moreover that, by colour of the said authority, he had caus'd the last wills and testaments of many (out of his diocese) to be exhibited and proved in his court, and their goods and chattels to be administred by such as he appointed. Also that, under colour of the said authority, he had made divers visitations out of his diocess, and drawn divers pensions from abbeys, to the contempt of the king and his laws.'

The proof of which particulars, though evident and notorious, were not yet urged to his conviction, till, through the king's special permission (by writ of Oct. 28.) John Scuse and Christopher Genney appear'd in court as his attorneys ; where, for all other answers, they protested in the said cardinal's name, that the said cardinal did not know the impeachment of the said bulls to have been to the contempt and prejudice of the king, or that it was against any statute of provisors heretofore made. As for the particulars wherewith he was charged by master attorney, he confest them all true in the manner and form alledg'd : and so submitted himself to the king. Whereupon the court gave sentence, that 'he was out of the protection, and his lands, goods, and chattels forfeit, and that his person might be seized on.'

Not contented herewith yet, another proof of the same kind was by the king's attorney produced against the cardinal, namely, that contrary to the right of the true patron (being the master and fellows of the hospital of St. Lazarus in Burton-Lazar) he had, by the same authority, given away the parish-church of Galby in Leicestershire, and diocess of Lincoln (then vacant by the death of one Woodroff) to one John Allen, doctor of both laws, and plac'd him in it.

And thus fell the cardinal, together with all his vast possessions, into the king's hands. Concerning which the criticks of the time gave

sundry opinions, the most part yet supposing him capable of the king's mercy, had he been either less rich, or more humble. They thought him indeed condemn'd by law, but by the rigour of it. All which they considered the more, that the cardinal had so long exercis'd his legatine power, without that the king either seem'd to dislike it, or any other had question'd him for it. Therefore, howsoever he was convicted by form of justice, they yet clear'd him in great part, and not they only, but the king. Insomuch, that the impression taken of his ancient services, was not defac'd wholly. So that notwithstanding his best goods were seiz'd on, and that the king might have taken therewith his other possessions, and (with them) his intire liberty, yet he both sent him a protection, and left him the bishopricks of York and Winchester, which he had lately given him after the death of Richard Fox, only he confin'd him for the present to his house at Esher, till his farther pleasure was signify'd. Being upon his way, the king (touch'd with some compassion) sent him by one Master Norreys, not only a gracious message, but a ring, which was a token betwixt them, when any special business was recommended. Upon receiving whereof, the overjoy'd cardinal alighted from his mule, and in the dirt upon his bare knees acknowledged the comfort he receiv'd. To shew his thankfulness also to Master Norreys, he presented him with a chain of gold, at which a piece of the cross did hang. But it troubled him much that he had nothing to send to the king; till at last having espy'd in his train a facetious natural, in whom he took much delight, he desir'd Master Norreys to present him to the king. Which promotion yet this fellow (for the approving himself no counterfeit) did so slight; as the cardinal was forc'd to send six of his tallest yeomen to bring him to court. The cardinal coming at last to Esher, found himself so destitute of all necessaries, as, till one Master Arundel first, and after the Bishop of Carlisle provided him, he wanted even the most ordinary parts of household-stuff. And thus the ill-accommodated cardinal passed some weeks in expectation of the king's further pleasure, not neglecting, in the mean while, to use those friends he had left in court, for the reintegrating him into his former favour; or when that could not be done, for the making his fall more easy. For which purpose one Master Thomas Cromwel, his servant, (who came afterwards to great preferment) was employ'd, but Mistress Bolen secretly oppos'd all. So that the cardinal, being now in a manner hopeless of regaining the king's good opinion, dismissed (not without tears on both sides) the greatest part of his numerous family, without other reward than what Master Cromwel and some of his chaplains did freely contribute. The king hearing the cardinal to be somewhat humbled, sent (Nov. 1.) Sir John Russel with a turquoise ring to him as a token of his care and affection. But it was not gifts that the cardinal expected from the king, but liberty and restitution to his former greatness; which yet was so much in vain,

as his offences were daily exaggerated. For as the king did not think it enough that he had particularly advantag'd himself of the cardinal's punishment, unless he made some use thereof to the general, so he call'd (Oct. 1.) a council of the nobles, to sit in the star-chamber, who having sufficiently condemn'd him, he afterwards permitted him to the parliament, which began Nov. 3. 1529. Wherein the king also did wisely, since by interesting the publick in his condemnation, he both declin'd the censure of those who thought the late proceedings to have been of the severest, and indear'd his people by putting the power of punishing him into their hands. Therefore they took it as an intire satisfaction for all they had hitherto suffer'd ; and by applauding of the king, made him know how thankfully they took this favour. And thus did the king return to that former good opinion he had of his subjects.

Hereupon certain articles against the cardinal were preferr'd in parliament. The original whereof, found among our records, I have thought fit to transcribe ; and the rather for that our vulgar chronicles misreport them.

' CONSTRAIN'D by necessity of our fidelity and conscience, complain  
' and shew to your royal majesty, we your grace's humble, true, faith-  
' ful, and obedient subjects, that the Lord Cardinal of York, lately  
' your grace's chancellor, presuming to take upon him the authority of  
' the pope's legat *de latere*, hath by divers and many sundry ways and  
' fashions committed notable, high, and grievous offences, misusing,  
' altering, and subverting the order of your grace's laws, and otherwise  
' contrary to your high honour, prerogative, crown, estate, and dignity  
' royal, to the inestimable damage of your grace's subjects of every  
' degree, and consequently to the great hindrance, diminution, and decay  
' of the universal wealth of this your grace's realm, as it is touched  
' summarily and particularly in certain articles here following ; which  
' be but a few in comparison of all his enormities, excesses, and trans-  
' gressions committed against your grace's laws.

' That is to say,

' I. FIRST, where your grace, and your noble progenitors within this  
' your realm of England, being Kings of England, have been so free,  
' that they have had in all the world no other sovereign, but immediate  
' subject to Almighty God, in all things, touching the regality of your  
' crown of England, and the same preheminance, prerogative, jurisdic-  
' tion, lawful and peaceable possession, your grace, and your noble  
' progenitors have had, used, and enjoyed without interruption, or busi-  
' ness therefore, by the space of two hundred years and more ; whereby  
' your grace may prescribe against the pope's holiness, that he should  
' not, nor ought to send, or make any legat to execute any authority



'legatine, contrary to your grace's prerogative within this your realm :

'Now the Lord Cardinal of York being your subject, and natural liege born, hath of his high, orgullous, and insatiable mind, for his own singular advancement and profit, in derogation, and to the great imblemishment and hurt of your said royal jurisdiction, and prerogative, and the large continuance of the possession of the same, obtain'd authority legatine, by reason whereof he hath not only hurt your said prescription, but also by the said authority legatine hath spoil'd and taken away from many houses of religion in this your realm, much substance of their goods ; and also hath usurped upon all your ordinaries within this your realm much part of their jurisdiction, in derogation of your prerogative, and to the great hurt of your said ordinaries, prelates, and religious.

'II. The said lord cardinal, being your ambassador in France, made a treaty with the French king for the pope, your majesty not knowing any part thereof, nor nam'd in the same ; and binding the said French king to abide his order and award, if any controversy or doubt should arise upon the same betwixt the said pope and the French king.

'III. The said lord cardinal being your ambassador in France, sent a commission to Sir Gregory de Casalis, under your great seal, in your grace's name, to conclude a treaty of amity with the Duke of Ferrara, without any command or warrant of your highness, nor your said highness advertis'd or made privy to the same.

'IV. The said lord cardinal, of his presumptuous mind in divers and many of his letters and instructions sent out of this realm to outward parties, had join'd himself with your grace, as in saying and writing in his said letters and instructions ; The king and I. And, I would ye should do thus. The king and I give unto you our hearty thanks. Whereby it is apparent, that he used himself more like a fellow to your highness, than like a subject.

'V. Where it hath ever been accustom'd within this your realm, that when noblemen do swear their household servants, the first part of their oath hath been, That they should be true liegemen to the king and his heirs kings of England ; the same lord cardinal caused his servants to be only sworn to him, as if there had been no sovereign above him.

'VI. And, whereas your grace is our sovereign lord and head, in whom standeth all the surety and wealth of this realm, the same lord cardinal knowing himself to have the foul and contagious disease of the great pox, broken out upon him in divers places of his body, came daily to your grace, rowning in your ear, and blowing upon your most noble grace with his perillous and infective breath, to the marvellous danger of your highness, if God of His infinite goodness had not

‘better provided for your highness. And when he was once healed of them, he made your grace to believe that his disease was an impostume in his head, and of none other thing.

‘VII. The said lord cardinal, by his authority legatine, hath given by prevention, the benefices of divers persons, as well spiritual as temporal, contrary to your crown and dignity, and your laws and estatutes therefore provided; by reason whereof he is in danger to your grace of forfeiture of his lands and goods, and his body at your pleasure.

‘VIII. The said lord cardinal, taking upon him otherwise than a true counsellor ought to do, hath used to have all ambassadors to come first to him alone, and so hearing their charges and intents, it is to be thought he hath instructed them after his pleasure and purpose, before that they came to your presence; contrary to your high commandment by your grace’s mouth to him given, and also to other persons sent to him by your grace.

‘IX. The said lord cardinal hath practised so, that all manner of letters sent from beyond the sea to your highness have come first to his hands, contrary to your high commandment by your own mouth, and also by others sent to him by your grace; by reason whereof your highness, nor any of your council, had knowledge of no matters, but such as it pleas’d him to shew them; whereby your highness, and your council have been compell’d of every force to follow his devices, which oftentimes were set forth by him under such crafty and covert means, that your highness and your council hath oftentimes been abus’d. Insomuch, that when your council have found, and put divers doubts, and things which have afterwards ensu’d, he to abuse them us’d these words; I will lay my head that no such thing shall happen.

‘X. The said lord cardinal hath practised that no manner of person, having charge to make espial of things done beyond the sea, should at their return come first to your grace, nor to any other of your council, but only to himself; and in case they did the contrary, he punished them for so doing.

‘XI. The said lord cardinal hath granted license under your great seal for carrying out of grain and other victual, after the restraint hath been made thereof, for his own lucre, and singular advantage of him and his servants, for to send thither as he bare secret favour, without your grace’s warrant or knowledge thereof.

‘XII. The said lord cardinal used, many years together, not only to write unto all your ambassadors resident with other princes in his own name all advertisements concerning your grace’s affairs, being in their charge; and in the same his letters wrote many things of his own mind, without your grace’s pleasure being known, concealing divers things which had been necessary for them to know: but also

'caused them to write their advertisements unto him ; and of the  
'same letters he used to conceal for the compassing of his pur-  
'poses, many things both from all your other counsellors, and from  
'your self also.

'XIII. Where good hospitality hath been used to be kept in houses  
'and places of religion of this realm, and many poor people thereby  
'relieved, the said hospitality and relief is now decay'd, and not us'd ;  
'and it is commonly reported, that the occasion thereof is, because the  
'said lord cardinal hath taken such impositions of the rulers of the  
'said houses, as well for his favour in making of abbots and priors, as  
'for his visitation, by his authority legatine : and yet, nevertheless,  
'taketh yearly of such religious houses, such yearly and continual  
'charges, as they be not able to keep hospitality as they us'd to do ;  
'which is a great cause that there be so many vagabonds, beggars, and  
'thieves.

'XIV. Where the said lord cardinal said, before the suppression of  
'such houses as he hath suppress'd, that the possessions of them should be  
'set to farm among your lay-subjects, after such reasonable yearly rent,  
'as they should well thereupon live, and keep good hospitality ; and now  
'the remain possessions of the said houses, since the suppression of them,  
'hath been survey'd, mete, and measur'd by the acre, and be now  
'set above the value of the old rent ; and also such as were farmers by  
'covent-seal, and copy-holders be put out, and mov'd of their farms,  
'or else compell'd to pay new fines, contrary to all equity and con-  
'science.

'XV. The said lord cardinal, sitting among the lords, and other of  
'your most honourable council, us'd himself that if any man would shew  
'his mind according to his duty, contrary to the opinion of the said  
'cardinal, he would so take him up with his accustomable words, that  
'they were better to hold their peace than to speak, so that he would  
'hear no man speak, but one or two great personages, so that he  
'would have all the words himself, and consum'd much time with a  
'fair tale.

'XVI. The said lord cardinal, by his ambition and pride, hath  
'hindred and undone many of your poor subjects for want of dispatch-  
'ment of matters ; for he would no man should meddle but himself.  
'Insomuch, that it hath been affirm'd by many wise men, that ten  
'of the most wise, and most expert men in England, were not sufficient  
'in convenient time to order the matters that he would retain to  
'himself : and many times he deferr'd the ending of matters, because  
'that sutors should attend and wait upon him, whereof he had no  
'small pleasure that his house might be replenish'd with sutors.

'XVII. The said lord cardinal, by his authority legatine, hath us'd,  
'if any spiritual man having any riches or substance, deceas'd, he hath  
'taken their goods as his own ; by reason whereof their wills be not



‘perform’d : and one mean he had, to put them in fear that were made  
‘executors, to refuse to meddle.

‘XVIII. The said lord cardinal constrain’d all ordinaries in England  
‘yearly to compound with him, or else he will usurp half or the whole  
‘of their jurisdiction by prevention, not for good order of the diocess,  
‘but to extort treasure : for there is never a poor arch-deacon in  
‘England, but that he paid yearly to him a portion of his living.

‘XIX. The said lord cardinal hath not only by his untrue sugges-  
‘tion to the pope, shamefully slandered many good religious houses,  
‘and good virtuous men dwelling in them, but also suppress’d by  
‘reason thereof above thirty houses of religion ; and where, by authority  
‘of his bull, he should not suppress any house that had more men of  
‘religion in number, above the number of six or seven, he hath  
‘suppress’d divers houses that had above the number ; and thereupon  
‘hath caus’d divers offices to be found by verdict, untruly, that the  
‘religious persons, so suppress’d, had voluntarily forsaken their said  
‘houses, which was untrue, and so hath caus’d open perjury to be  
‘committed, to the high displeasure of Almighty God.

‘XX. The said lord cardinal hath examin’d divers and many matters  
‘in the Chancery, after judgment thereof given at the common law, in  
‘subversion of your laws ; and made some persons restore again to the  
‘other party condemn’d, that they had in execution by virtue of the  
‘judgment in the common law.

‘XXI. The said lord cardinal hath granted many injunctions by writ,  
‘and the parties never call’d thereunto, nor bill put in against them.  
‘And, by reason thereof, divers of your subjects have been put from their  
‘lawful possession of their lands and tenements. And, by such means,  
‘he hath brought the more party of the sutors of this your realm before  
‘himself, whereby he and divers of his servants have gotten much riches,  
‘and your subjects suffer’d great wrongs.

‘XXII. The said lord cardinal, to augment his great riches, hath  
‘caus’d divers pardons granted by the pope to be suspended, which  
‘could not be reviv’d till that the said lord cardinal were rewarded, and  
‘also have a yearly pension of the said pardon.

‘XXIII. The said lord cardinal, not regarding your laws nor  
‘justice, of his extort power, hath put out divers and many farmers of  
‘his lands, and also patents of the arch-bishoprick of York, and bishop-  
‘rick of Winchester, and of the abby of St. Albans, which had good  
‘and sufficient grant thereof by your laws.

‘XXIV. The same lord cardinal at many times when any houses of  
‘religion have been void, he hath sent his officers thither, and with  
‘crafty persuasion hath induc’d them to compromit their election in  
‘him. And that, before e’re he nam’d or confirm’d any of them, he and  
‘his servants receiv’d so much great goods of them, that in manner it  
‘hath been to the undoing of the house.

'XXV. By his authority legatine, the same lord cardinal hath visited  
'the most part of the religious houses and colleges in this your realm,  
'hath taken of them the twenty-fifth part of their livelihood, to the great  
'extortion of your subjects, and derogation of your laws and preroga-  
'tive ; and no law to bear him so to do.

'XXVI. When matters have been near at judgment by process  
'at your common law, the same lord cardinal hath not only given and  
'sent injunctions to the parties, but also sent for your judges, and  
'expressly by threats commanding them to defer the judgment, to the  
'evident subversion of your laws, if the judges would so have ceas'd.

'XXVII. Whereas neither the bishoprick of York, nor Winchester,  
'nor the abby of St. Albans, nor the profit of his legation, nor the  
'benefit of the chancery, nor his great pension out of France, nor his  
'wards, and other inordinate taking could not suffice him, he hath  
'made his son Winter to spend twenty seven hundred pounds by the  
'year, which he taketh to his own use, and giveth him not past two  
'hundred pounds yearly to live upon.

'XXVIII. Where the said lord cardinal did first sue unto your  
'grace to have your assent to be legate *de latere*, he promis'd and  
'solemnly protested before your majesty, and before the lords both  
'spiritual and temporal, that he would nothing do or attempt by virtue  
'of his legacy, that should be contrary to your gracious prerogative or  
'regality, or to the damage or prejudice of the jurisdiction of any  
'ordinary, and that by his legacy no man should be hurt or offended ;  
'and upon that condition, and no other, he was admitted by your  
'grace to be legate within this your realm, which condition he hath  
'broken, as is well known to all your subjects. And when that he  
'made this promise, he was busie in his suit at Rome, to visit all the  
'clergy of England, both exempt and not exempt.

'XXIX. Upon the suit of the said lord cardinal at Rome, to have  
'his authority legatine, he made untrue surmise to the pope's holiness  
'against the clergy of your realm, which was, that the regular persons  
'of the said clergy had given themselves *in reprobum sensum* ; which  
'words Saint Paul writing to the Romans apply'd to abominable sin ;  
'which slander to your Church of England, shall for ever remain in the  
'register at Rome against the clergy of this your realm.

'XXX. The said lord cardinal had the more part of the goods of  
'Dr. Smith, late Bishop of London, Bishop Savage of York, Mr.  
'Dalby Archdeacon of Richmond, Mr. Tornyrs, Dr. Rothal late Bishop  
'of Durham, and of Dr. Fox late Bishop of Winchester, contrary to  
'their wills and your laws and justice.

'XXXI. At the Oyer and Terminer at York, proclamation was  
'made, that every man should put in their bills for extortion of ordi-  
'naries, and when divers bills were put in against the officers of the  
'said lord cardinal of extortion, for taking twelve pence of the pound

‘for probation of testaments, whereof divers bills were found before Justice Fitz-Herbert, and other commissioners, the same lord cardinal remov’d the same indictments into the Chancery by *certiorari*, and rebuked the same Fitz-Herbert for the same cause.

‘XXXII. The said lord cardinal hath busied and endeavour’d himself by crafty and untrue tales to make dissention and debate amongst your nobles of your realm, which is ready to be prov’d.

‘XXXIII. The said lord cardinal’s officers have divers times compell’d your subjects to serve him with carts for carriages. And also his servants have taken both corn and cattle, fish, and all other victuals at your grace’s price or under, as though it had been for your grace, which is contrary to the laws.

‘XXXIV. The said lord cardinal hath misus’d himself in your most honourable court, in keeping of as great estate there in your absence, as your grace would have done, if you had been there present in your own person.

‘XXXV. His servants, by virtue of your commission under your broad seal by him to them given, hath taken cattle, and all other victual, at as low price as your purveyors have done for your grace by your prerogative, against the laws of your realm.

‘XXXVI. Where it hath been accustom’d that your purveyors for your honourable household have had yearly out of your town and liberty of St. Albans 300 or 400 quarters of wheat, truth it is, that since the lord cardinal had the room of abbot there, your said purveyors could not be suffer’d by him and his officers, to take any wheat within the said town or liberties.

‘XXXVII. He hath divers times given injunction to your servants, that have been for causes before him in the star-chamber, that they nor other for them should make labour, by any manner of way directly or indirectly to your grace, to obtain your gracious favour or pardon, which was a presumptuous intent for any subject.

‘XXXVIII. The said lord cardinal did call before him Sir John Stanley Knight, which had taken a farm by covent-seal of the abbot and covent of Chester, and afterwards by his power and might, contrary to right, committed the said Sir John Stanley to the prison of Fleet by the space of one year, until such time as he compell’d the said Sir John to release his covent-seal to one Leghe of Adlington, which marry’d one Lark’s daughter, which woman the said lord cardinal kept, and had with her two children. Whereupon the said Sir John Stanley, upon displeasure taken in his heart, made himself monk in Westminster, and there died.

‘XXXIX. On a time your grace being at St. Alban’s, according to the ancient custom us’d within your verge, your clerk of the market doing his office, did present unto your officers of your most honourable household the prices of all manner of victuals, within the precinct



‘of the verge ; and it was commanded by your said officers to set up  
 ‘the said prices both on the gates of your honourable household, and  
 ‘also in the market-place within the town of St. Alban’s, as of ancient  
 ‘custom it hath been us’d ; and the lord cardinal, hearing the same,  
 ‘presumptuously, and not like a subject, caus’d the aforesaid prices  
 ‘which were sealed with your grace’s seal, accustomedly us’d for  
 ‘the same, to be taken off, and pull’d down in the said market-place  
 ‘where they were set up, and in the same place set up his own prices  
 ‘seal’d with his seal, and would, if it had not been letted, in semblable  
 ‘manner us’d your seal standing upon your grace’s gates ; and also  
 ‘would of his presumptuous mind, have openly set in the stocks within  
 ‘your said town your clerk of your market. By which presumption  
 ‘and usurpation your grace may perceive, that in his heart he hath  
 ‘reputed himself to be equal with your royal majesty.

‘XL. The said lord cardinal, of his further pompous and presump-  
 ‘tuous mind, hath enterpris’d to joyn and imprint the cardinal’s hat  
 ‘under your arms in your coin of groats, made at your city of York,  
 ‘which like deed hath not been seen to have been done by any subject  
 ‘within your realm before this time.

‘XLI. Where one Sir Edward Jones, clerk, parson of Crowley in  
 ‘the county of Buckingham, in the 18th year of your most noble reign,  
 ‘let his said parsonage with all tythes, and other profits of the same to  
 ‘one William Johnson by indentures for certain years, within which  
 ‘years the dean of the said cardinal’s college in Oxford, pretended  
 ‘title to a certain portion of tythes within the said parsonage, supposing  
 ‘the said portion to belong to the parsonage of Chichley, which was  
 ‘appropriated to the priory of Tykeford, lately suppress’d, where of  
 ‘truth, the parsons of Crowley have been peaceably possess’d of the  
 ‘said portion, time out of mind : whereupon a subpœna was directed  
 ‘to the said Johnson to appear before the said lord cardinal at  
 ‘Hampton-Court ; where, without any bill, the said lord cardinal  
 ‘committed him to the Fleet, where he remain’d by the space of  
 ‘twelve weeks, because he would not depart with the said portion ; and  
 ‘at the last, upon a recognizance made, that he should appear before  
 ‘the said lord cardinal wheresoever he was commanded, he was  
 ‘deliver’d out of the Fleet. Howbeit, as yet the said portion is so kept  
 ‘from him, that he dare not deal with it.

‘XLII. Where one Martin Docowra had a lease of the mannor of  
 ‘Balsal in the county of Warwick, for term of certain years, an  
 ‘injunction came to him out of the Chancery, by writ, upon pain of  
 ‘1000 pounds, that he should avoid the possession of the same  
 ‘manner, and suffer Sir Geor. Throgmorton Knight, to take the profits  
 ‘of the same mannor, to the time the matter depending in the Chancery  
 ‘between the lord of St. John’s, and the said Docowra was discust ;  
 ‘and yet the said Docowra never made answer in the Chancery, never

'was call'd into the Chancery for that matter. And now of late he hath receiv'd the like injunction, upon pain of 2000 pounds, contrary 'the course of the common law.

'XLIII. Whereas in the parliament-chamber, and in the open parliament, communication and devices were had and mov'd wherein mention was, by an incident, made of matters touching heresies, and erroneous sects. It was spoken and reported by one bishop there being present, and confirm'd by a good number of the same bishops in presence of all the lords spiritual and temporal then assembled, that two of the said bishops were minded and desir'd to repair unto the University of Cambridge, for examination, reformation, and correction of such errors as then seem'd, and were reported to reign amongst the students and scholars of the same, as well touching the Lutheran sect and opinions, as otherwise; the lord cardinal inform'd of the good minds and intents of the said two bishops in that behalf, expressly inhibited and commanded them in no wise so to do. By means whereof the same errors (as they affirm'd) crept more abroad, and took greater place: saying furthermore, that it was not in their defaults that the said heresies were not punish'd, but in the said lord cardinal, and that it was no reason any blame or lack should be arrected unto them for his offence. Whereby it evidently appeareth, that the said lord cardinal, besides all other his heinous offences, hath been the impeacher and disturber of due and direct correction of heresies; being highly to the danger and peril of the whole body and good Christian people of this your realm.

'XLIV. Finally, forasmuch as by the aforesaid articles is evidently declar'd to your most royal majesty, that the lord cardinal by his outrageous pride hath greatly shadow'd a long season your grace's honour, which is most highly to be regarded, and by his insatiable avarice and ravenous appetite, to have riches and treasure without measure, hath so grievously oppress'd your poor subjects, with so manifold crafts of bribery and extortion, that the commonwealth of this your grace's realm is thereby greatly decay'd and impoverish'd: and also by his cruelty, iniquity, affection and partiality, hath subverted the due course and order of your grace's laws, to the undoing of a great number of your loving people.

'Please it your most royal majesty therefore of your excellent goodness towards the weal of this your realm, and subjects of the same, to set such order and direction upon the said lord cardinal, as may be to the terrible example of others to be ware so to offend your grace and your laws hereafter: And that he be so provided for, that he never have any power, jurisdiction, or authority, hereafter to trouble, vex, and impoverish the commonwealth of this your realm, as he hath done heretofore, to the great hurt and damage of every man almost, high and low. Which for your grace so doing, will daily pray, as

'their duty is, to almighty God, for the prosperous estate of your most  
'royal majesty long to endure in honour and good health, to the plea-  
'sure of God, and your heart's most desire.

'Subscrib'd the first day of December, the twenty-first year of the  
'reign of our sovereign lord King Henry VIII.

'T. More.	R. Fitzwalter.	Will. Sandys.
'T. Norfolk.	J. Oxenford.	William Fitz-William.
'Char. Suffolk.	H. Northumberland.	Henry Guldeford.
'Tho. Dorset.	T. Darcy.	Anthony Fitz-Herbert.
'H. Exeter.	T. Rochford.	John Fitz-James.
'G. Shrewsbury.	W. Mountjoy.'	

These articles were presented to the king by the lords, and then sent down to the lower house : where Tho. Cromwel (obtaining the place of a burgess) so wittily defended the cardinal his master, that no treason could be laid to his charge. And upon this honest beginning, Cromwel obtain'd his first reputation. Yet could not the resisting of this brunt, nor even the gracious messages receiv'd frequently from the king cheer up our cardinal. For as he found the pope had now a long while neglected to give the king any satisfaction (which certainly was the only way to procure the cardinal's restitution) and that (for the rest) no evident sign of the king's relenting appear'd, so being not able to support any longer his many afflictions, he fell dangerously sick. The news whereof being brought to the king's ears, mov'd so much compassion, as not only he, but, by his intreaty, Mistress Anne Bolen (whom the cardinal had in vain importun'd to intercede for him) also sent him several tokens ; whereof one was a ruby, wherein the king's image was curiously engraven, a gift heretofore of the cardinals, together with a gracious message deliver'd by Doctor Butts his physician ; 'that his highness was not angry with him in his heart, which 'he should know shortly.' Whereupon as the cardinal recovered his health, so the king, for confirming his promises, seal'd his pardon, Feb. 12. and three days after, by letters patents, restor'd him to the archbishoprick of York. Moreover, he sent him money, plate, rich hangings, and furniture for his house and chapel, in that quantity, as the cardinal was for the present much recover'd : hoping also, that since he had resign'd his house call'd York-house (but afterward by the king styl'd the Manor of Westminster, now White-hall) that his punishment ended there, and himself now upon terms of regaining the king's favour. The confidence whereof also made him to be (Feb. 1530.) an humble suppliant to the king, that, for his health's sake, he might have leave to remove to Richmond-house, the use of which he had receiv'd in exchange from the king, for that his sumptuous palace which he built, (1525.) and call'd by the name of Hampton-court.

It is now time to look awhile on foreign history. Our last narration



left the Count de St. Pol in Italy, where (1528.) he had quarter'd that part of the soldiers which remain'd of that year's wars, in their winter garrisons ; but the spring being come, he took divers places on this side the Tesino, and at last join'd his forces with the Duke of Urbin, General of the Venetians, and Francisco Sforza. Yet, whether that he durst not attempt the city of Milan, which Antonio de Leyva strongly defended, or that the Count de St. Pol affected more the enterprize of Genoë, their army march'd to Landriano, June 21. 1529. Of which Antonio de Leyva being advertis'd, us'd that diligence, that he (June, 1529.) surpris'd the Count de St. Pol when part of his army was march'd before, and wholly defeated the rest, taking him prisoner.

This while the emperor equipp'd a great fleet for Italy, with intention to be crown'd there, having first (for the more ample furnishing of himself with money) pawn'd the Molucca's to the King of Portugal for 350,000 ducats.

The pope hearing of these great preparatives at the same season that the defeat of St. Pol (succeeding that of Lautrech in Naples) had wholly disabled the army of the confederates, resolv'd to comply with the times. So that, before the news thereof could easily be convey'd to the emperor, he endeavour'd his own peace, for this purpose employing one Antonio Musetolor a Neapolitan ; who prevail'd so far, as he concluded a league at Barcelona, June 29. to this effect.

1. That the peace betwixt them should be perpetual.
2. That the imperial army which was in Naples should have secure passage through the pope's territories.
3. That the emperor should give Donna Margarita (his natural daughter) in marriage to Alessandro de Medicis son of Lorenzo, and that he should invest him in the state of Florence, with the title of duke.
4. That Cervia, Ravenna, Modena, Reggio, should be restor'd to the apostolick see by the emperor's power.
5. That the pope should give unto the emperor a bull, with the title of the kingdom of Naples, to be held in fee from the pope, upon payment every year of a horse or a Hackney white.
6. That the pope should in all ecclesiastical affairs, enjoy his accustomed right.
7. That the pope and emperor should see one another in Italy.
8. That the emperor should assist the pope against the Duke of Ferrara.
9. That justice should be done to Francisco Sforza Duke of Milan, and that the emperor commit his cause to indifferent judges.
10. That the emperor and his brother Don Fernando and the pope join together to reduce the Lutherans, either by fair or foul means to the Roman Catholick faith

All which articles (and perhaps some private ones concerning the affairs of England now in agitation) were (July 3.) sworn to on both sides upon the great altar of the cathedral church of Barcelona.

And thus did the pope renounce all his former designs, and betake himself intirely to the emperor, at the same time when the two cardinals sat on their commission in England. So easie was it for the pope to forget both the injuries receiv'd from the imperialists, and the good turns from all his confederates, when a readier way was open'd him for regaining his cities, and revenging himself on the Duke of Ferrara and the Florentines, who, during his late captivity, had expuls'd the family of Medicis out of the city.

Francis also understanding that, upon this second overthrow of his forces in Italy, his reputation was lost, and his confederates discourag'd, and hearing besides, the pope had concluded this league with the emperor, thought it better to reserve his money for ransoming his children, than to cast it away in the wars. So that, notwithstanding, his reiterated protestations of affection to our king, he underhand labour'd a peace with the emperor. The overtures whereof also were willingly accepted, both as Charles doubted a change of religion in Germany, and as the Turk had made no little progress in Hungary. For which causes also he chose rather to hearken to those motions were made for delivering of the children of Francis upon reasonable terms, than to detain them any longer unusefully. Thus both their minds secretly concurring to peace, the treaty thereof was permitted to two ladies, Madam Louïse mother of Francis, and regent of France, and Madam Anna-Margarita aunt to Charles, and regent of the Low-Countries. Of which kind though the precedents be rare, yet, as affairs then stood, they were thought no ill mediatresses. Both as the suppleness of their sex could better decline that rough dispute, which (considering the late cartels) could scarce be eschew'd betwixt the servants of either prince, and as it was a kind of gallantry, to essay, if after so many broken or avoided treaties which men had made, one concluded by women would hold; howsoever for women to treat of marriage or childrens business, was no strange thing. But the event shew'd they were able negotiatresses. For though their (July 5.) first meeting (being at Cambray) was not without some of that emulation and puntillio which is ordinary in their sex, yet at last they fell to treat in good earnest. The proposition which before all other Madam Louïse made, was, that a messenger might be sent to see the estate of the children of Francis, it being in vain (she said) to treat of their delivery, when (for any thing she knew) they were not extant at all. This being accorded, the ladies proceeded to the more substantial articles of a treaty.

Madam Margarita said, indeed she had no other instruction, but to demand the execution of the treaty of Madrid; but Madam Louïse,

representing sometimes the unreasonableness, and sometimes the impossibility of performing those articles, reduc'd her to more moderate terms. Whereunto also our king's ambassadors, Cuthbert Tonsal Bishop of Duresme, and Sir Thomas More, did not little conduce. For as our king knew the weight he could add on either side, would sway the balance, so he interpos'd offices; hoping to get either Francis to procure his divorce, or Charles to suffer it. But as those princes affairs requir'd a more quick and serious dispatch, than to attend the decision of so great and doubtful a business, they car'd little to satisfie our king, or to comply with Mistress Bolen. Therefore, setting apart those considerations, they attended only their own interests; and Madam Louïse very particularly the news of her grand-childrens safety. For which purpose having employ'd one Vordin, he gave this account as it is extant in the Spanish history.

That he found the Dauphin and Duke of Orleans in the Castle of Pedrazu, under the guard of the Marquis de Verlanga, in a dark chamber, ill furnish'd, having forgotten all their French, so that when Vordin spake to them, they requir'd an interpreter, that their best entertainment was playing with little dogs, and making pictures in wax. That, when he presented them new cloaths, the marquis would not suffer them to be put on, whereof Vordin gives this ridiculous reason, that the Spaniards believ'd there were witches in France, that could transport any one in the air when their charms might but touch the body. But Vordin was deceiv'd; the true reason being, that out of a certain curiosity for preservation of those princes, as well as discharge of his own trust, Verlanga would neither suffer those, nor any other cloaths to be worn by the princes, till others had put them on first. But Madam Louïse was so ill satisfi'd with this relation, that she hastned the peace. To which purpose, as the Cardinal de Salviati (the pope's legate) did contribute his endeavours, (but with favour certainly to the emperor) so our ambassadors likewise did co-operate, but so, as they had principal regard of Francis: our king believing that he might be the sooner induc'd openly to assist him, when his children were free. Thus these pompous ladies (who met at Cambray, July 5.) mediated a peace, though not without some difficulty, Madam Louise once breaking off the treaty, so that, had not the emperor, by an express courier, enlarg'd the instructions given to his aunt, no peace had follow'd. At last they concluded this treaty, in which also our king was comprehended.

*The Treaty of Cambray, August 5. 1529.*

I. That there shall be a good, sure, and perpetual peace betwixt the emperor and king, and that they shall be for ever friends of the friends, and enemies of the enemies of each other.

II. That the treaty of Madrid shall remain in its full force and



vigour, and shall be inviolably kept betwixt them, their heirs and successors, without innovation, except only in the third, fourth, eleventh, and fourteenth articles, where mention is made of the counties of Auxerrois, Masconnois, Bar sur Seine, the Viscounty of Auxone, and the superiority or government of St. Laurence. And whereas it was agreed by the treaty of Madrid, that the aforesaid places should be restor'd to the emperor, yet, in consideration of the peace, he is content to remain only in the action and right, in an amiable course, or by way of justice to be executed ; which he intends also shall be reserv'd to him and his heirs, notwithstanding any prescription of time that can be alledg'd to the contrary, it being permitted also to the said king, and his successors to defend themselves. Notwithstanding all which, that a certain rent, which the said king pretends to have for salt out of certain salines in those parts, shall be extinct for ever.

III. That the said king for the ransom of his two sons, shall pay 2,000,000 of crowns de soleil ; the gold to be of twenty two carats and three quarters, whereof 1,200,000 crowns, shall be paid in specie, as much as can be gotten, and the rest in one intire mass of gold, if the emperor shall so think good, or if otherwise, it shall be coin'd, and assay thereof taken. And at the same instant the Dauphin and Duke of Orleans shall be deliver'd to the deputies of the said king. All which is to be done at or before the first day of March next ensuing, in the manner and form as shall be agreed betwixt the said emperor and king. And as for the other 800,000 crowns, the said king shall discharge the emperor of a certain debt he oweth to the King of England for moneys lent him upon pawns, as may appear by certain schedules and obligations of his majesty, which debt is said to amount to 290,000 crowns de soleil, or thereabouts. And concerning the remainder of the said 2,000,000, amounting unto 510,000 crowns de soleil, the said king shall give unto the emperor, the said sum, in rent, for a certain time, upon certain lands and signiories in Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, Artois, or elsewhere in the Low-Countries, where the emperor or his commissioners shall chuse or appoint, of the yearly value of 25,500 crowns, till the said sum of 510,000 crowns be made up. All this to commence as soon as the children be deliver'd. At which time also the said king shall procure, that King Henry deliver unto the emperor the writings, schedules, and obligations, together with the acquittances for the payments of the said debts. As also the said pawns and obligations of indemnity promis'd by the said emperor to the King of England ; and that the said two millions being thus paid, the emperor shall not demand any thing for cause of his imprisonment.

IV. That Francis, in the space of six weeks after the ratification of this treaty, shall invoke and call back all the forces he hath in Italy, whether French or mercenaries, so that the emperor may be assur'd thereof fifteen days before the restitution of the said hostages.

V. That the said king within fifteen days after the receipt of the ratification of this treaty, shall restore unto the emperor the castle and bayliage of Hasdin, as a member of his county of Artois, together with the cannon and munition, according to the treaty of Madrid, except those moveables that have been restor'd to the Lady Reux.

VI. That, because in the treaty of Madrid, the said king hath agreed to leave and quit unto the emperor all his rights of jurisdiction and superiority, that he and his predecessors kings of France have held, or may claim in the counties of Flanders and Artois, as also in the city of Arras, Tournay, Tournaysis, St. Amand, and Mortaign, and as also in Lisle, Douay, and Orchies ; and, because upon these general terms, some difficulties might arise ; therefore it is declar'd by this present article, that the said king in confirmation of the treaty of Madrid, hath left, given, and transported, as also the said lady his mother, in his name, and by virtue of the authority given her, doth leave, give, and transport unto the said emperor, his heirs and successors being counts and countesses of Flanders, the fee, homage, oath of fidelity, and all other marks of subjection which either he or his ancestors have had, or pretended to have, over the said counts and countesses of Flanders, or any others inhabiting in the said counties.

VII. That the said king hath renounc'd, and that by the authority given her, the Duchess of Angoulesme, his mother, doth renounce all right and claim to Lisle, Douay and Orches, consenting further, that they shall be united unto the county of Flanders, in manner as they were before they were transported to the King of France, by a treaty at Paris, August 2. 1498.

VIII. That the said king hath renounc'd, and that, by the authority given her, the Duchess of Angoulesme, his mother, doth renounce all right and claim which he or his ancestors kings of France have had or may pretend to have in the city of Tournay, the bayliage of Tournaysis, the towns of Mortaign and St. Amand, with all the rights. Furthermore, consenting that they may be united and incorporated unto the said county of Flanders.

IX. That the said king hath renounc'd, and, by the authority given her, the said Duchess of Angoulesme, his mother, doth renounce all right or claim they pretend to have in the city of Arras, or upon the bishoprick and cathedral church thereof, except so much of the revenues of the said bishoprick and church, as is in the kingdom of France.

X. That the said king hath consented, granted, and, by the authority given her, the said Duchess of Angoulesme, his mother, doth consent and grant to the emperor, his heirs and successors, counts and countesses of Artois, that they shall remain for ever henceforth quit and discharg'd from the fee and homage, oath of fidelity, or any other mark of subjection which he or his ancestors, counts and countesses

of Artois, have been bound to do or acknowledge to the kings of France, excepting only Theroüene, and the possession belonging to the churches of Artois, being in France, and some small towns in the Bolognois.

XI. That the said king hath given and transported, and, by the authority given her, the said Duchess of Angoulesme, his mother, doth give and transport a service or tenure of Artois, commonly call'd the ancient composition of Artois, amounting yearly to 14,000 livers Tournois, unto the emperor, his heirs and successors, counts and countesses of Artois.

XII. That the inhabitants of Artois be free from all manner of imposition or tribute heretofore claim'd by the kings of France.

XIII. That the emperor reciprocally shall renounce and transport, as also, by the authority given her, the said lady the arch-duchess, doth renounce and transport, for ever, unto the said king, his heirs and successors, all the right and title that the said emperor or his predecessors hold or claim in any of the states, lands and signiories of the most Christian king ; and especially all he may pretend to in Peronne, Montdidier, and Roye, and in the counties of Bolognois, Guisnes, and Ponthieu, and in the towns and signiories situated upon the Soam, either upon the one part thereof or the other, together with all the jurisdictions belonging unto them ; notwithstanding any treaty heretofore made to the contrary.

XIV. That, notwithstanding the transportation, the emperor hath made by the treaty of Madrid, of the county of Humen Artois unto the French king, it is declar'd by these presents, that the places thereof, which are, at this present, in the emperor's possession, shall remain free and exempt from any pretence of the French, as those above-mention'd.

XV. That all the aforesaid renouncings and transportations made by the king unto the emperor, shall be understood as valid ; notwithstanding any derogation which may rise from any union or incorporation of them unto the crown of France, or any bar of the law salick. And that the said king and his successors shall never attempt the contrary hereunto, when yet they might pretend to do it by right.

XVI. That all suits and processes undecided in the parliament of Paris, or any other court of justice of the said king, which may have relation to the inhabitants of Flanders or Artois by reason of fees, lands or possessions situate in the aforesaid counties, shall be remitted to the great council of the said emperor, or to other his courts of justice in the said counties of Flanders and Artois, to be there finally determined.

XVII. That if any definitive sentence have been given, before this last war, against the inhabitants of the counties of Flanders and Artois, that the power of executing them shall be committed to the officers of the emperor.

XVIII. That the parliament of Paris shall remit unto the presi-



dent, and others of the emperor's great council in Malines, the process or suit concerning the right which the Count de Nevers, or his wife or children pretend to the inheritance of John of Burgundy, etc.

XIX. That, notwithstanding the Droict d'Aubene, the subjects of either prince may enjoy their right in as ample form as the natural inhabitants of the country use to do. And as for the county of Carolois, that the lady arch-duchess may enjoy it during her life, and after her decease, the emperor, and then that it shall return to the crown of France. And it is further agreed, that she may enjoy certain rights in Noyers, and other places, in the same manner as she enjoyed them in the life of King Philip of Castile her brother.

XX. That if the king, or any in his name, do hold any town, castle, or fort in the state and dutchy of Milan; it shall be restor'd to the emperor and his commissaries, within six weeks after the ratification of this treaty.

XXI. That the said king shall deliver unto the emperor or his commissaries, within the space of six weeks after the ratification of this treaty, the contado de Asti, with all that appertaineth to it, to be enjoy'd by the said emperor, his heirs and successors for ever.

XXII. That the said king likewise shall restore unto the emperor or his commissaries, Barleta and all other places that he or any for him holdeth in the kingdom of Naples, as soon as is possible, and before the restitution of Francis his children. And it is further agreed, that the said king, within fifteen days after the publication of this treaty, shall require the Venetians and all other his confederates to restore all the towns, castles, and fortresses that they hold in the kingdom of Naples, within the space of six weeks. And that, in case of contravention (when the term is expir'd) the said king shall declare himself expressly their enemy, and from that day forwards, shall give the emperor thirty thousand crowns de soleil monthly, until the said places be recover'd, and brought to obedience to the emperor. And, in case they be not so recover'd before the Dauphin and Duke of Orleans be deliver'd, the said king shall give good security to the emperor for continuing the said pay monthly, until they be reduc'd to the emperor's obedience. Upon condition yet, that, if the emperor employ not the money to the purpose aforesaid, it shall be paid back again, and that therefore the king may appoint some person who may inform him of the time, when the said places shall be taken in. And that the said king neither directly nor indirectly shall favour any in the kingdom of Naples, that have rebelled against the emperor since the treaty of Madrid.

XXIII. That the king shall restore also unto the emperor or his commissaries, all that can be recover'd, of that which was taken out of the galleys in Portosino.

XXIV. That, for the particular in the treaty of Madrid, concerning the residence of Monsieur de Angoulesme should make with the emperor, it is remitted to the king's discretion.

XXV. That, for the particular of the league defensive agreed in the treaty of Madrid, it shall be understood only in relation to the patrimonial possessions on either side, and that the charges incident thereunto shall be at the costs of the demander, and, for the rest, that the said king shall not meddle in any practices either in Italy or Germany, to the prejudice of the emperor.

XXVI. That the marriage concluded by the treaty of Madrid, between the said king, and the Lady Leonora, Queen Dowager of Portugal, and eldest sister of the emperor, shall be accomplish'd. And that the said king as soon as can be, after the ratification of this treaty, shall send ambassadors with sufficient and especial power and authority to ratifie and approve all that shall be needful concerning the said marriage. For the accomplishment and consummation whereof, the said queen shall be conducted into France, at the same instant that the Dauphin and Duke of Orleans shall be deliver'd. And that the said matrimony shall hold in all things according to the treaty of Madrid, saving in that only which concerns the counties of Auxerrois, Masconnois, and the signiory of Bar sur Seine; with reservation yet of those rights which should (as is said before) appertain to the dutchy of Burgundy. And because the term of payment of the 200,000 crowns in lieu of dowry of the said queen, and specified in the treaty of Madrid, is expir'd; it is agreed again, that the said dowry should be paid, the half within six months next ensuing, and the other half within six weeks following, and that upon receipt of the whole sum or part thereof the said king shall be bound to give assurance in the manner as is specified in the treaty of Madrid.

XXVII. That, forasmuch as concerns the help and assistance by land and by sea promis'd by the said king for the passage of the emperor into Italy, the said emperor releaseth it, upon condition only, that, within two months after he be requir'd thereunto (whether it be for his passage into Italy, or for his return, or for his service while he is there) he give twelve galleys, four ships, and four galleons sufficiently provided with artillery, and seamen, without any soldiers yet to be put in them, but such as the emperor shall appoint, and at the cost of the said king (except the Souldatesque) for the space of five months, after the time that they shall come into the haven, which his majesty shall nominate. The said emperor delivering unto the captain or general (that should bring the said armado) letters patent sign'd with his hand, and seal'd with his seal, by which he shall promise and swear, after the said five months to restore immediately to the said king or his deputies, the said armado, in the manner that he receiv'd it. And moreover, the said king shall pay really to the said emperor

the 200,000 crowns, that, by the treaty of Madrid, he promis'd to pay his majesty, for the aforesaid voyage ; that is to say, 100,000 crowns within six months next ensuing, and the other 100,000 crowns within six months after. And, as for the pay of 6,000 foot for six months, which the said king promis'd to furnish, giving therefore the caution and security of sufficient merchants, the emperor by this treaty acquits him of it, upon condition, that he pay 100,000 crowns de soleil, the which sum shall remain, and be for the increasing of the dowry of the Queen Dowager Leonora.

XXVIII. That, because in the said treaty of Madrid, there is no mention of the profits and rents of the inheritances given by the said emperor and king during the war, whereupon many questions and differences may arise : it is determined and concluded by this treaty, that all such profits and rents, ecclesiastical or secular, as also all debts, moveables, which have or might have been given expressly by letters patent of the said emperor and king, or their lieutenants in any manner, with title of confiscation, and which have been deliver'd, taken, or paid during the war betwixt the two princes before the treaty of Madrid, shall remain for ever given and acquitted to the profit of the said lords, vassals, lands, towns, and persons subject to the said emperor and king, and of their allies which in the said wars shall have taken the part of the one or the other.

XXIX. That all the priviledges of the towns, neighbours, and inhabitants of the counties of Flanders and Artois, and other places of the Low-Countries, which appertain to the emperor, shall, by this present capitulation, be confirm'd, and that the priviledges also that the French were wont to enjoy in the said emperor's dominions shall remain in their full force, according as hath been accustom'd on both sides.

XXX. That all prisoners of war taken by sea or land, as well before as after the treaty of Madrid, of the one part or of the other, subjects of the said emperor and most Christian king (excepting the Neapolitan subjects of the emperor that have serv'd against him in the same kingdom) and any other that have serv'd, follow'd, and held the contrary part, of what nation or condition soever, shall be set free, and put at liberty, without paying ransom, within two months after the ratification of the treaty, reserving only those prisoners, which before the said treaty should have been put to ransom, who shall pay their ransom notwithstanding this article.

XXXI. That if Robert de la March or his children shall presume to make any enterprize upon the castle and dutchy of Bouillon, (conquered by the emperor, and left by his majesty to the church of Liege, to which it anciently appertain'd) in such case the king may give no hope, favour or assistance, neither directly or indirectly against the said church.



XXXII. That the heirs of Charles Duke of Bourbon, according to the treaty of Madrid, shall enjoy all those goods and possessions that pertain to the said duke, so that, notwithstanding all judgments and sentences given and pronounced against the said duke, during his life, or after his death, the heirs of the said duke shall enjoy their ancient right.

XXXIII. That Jean Count of Pontieure shall be restor'd unto all the goods which his father enjoy'd at that time that he went out of France to serve the emperor, and that also the other friends, allies and servants of the said Duke of Bourbon, as also their heirs and successors, shall enjoy the benefit of the treaty of Madrid in all that may concern them ; notwithstanding any judgments or sentences given and pronounced to the contrary.

XXXIV. That Don Lorenzo de Gorreuod Count de Pondevaux, mayordomo of the emperor, shall be put in the real possession of the towns, castles, lands and signiories of Chalamont and Montmarles, bought heretofore of the Duke of Bourbon, upon condition yet, that if the sum of twenty thousand crowns (being the price for which they were sold) be paid back again, that they return to the first owners.

XXXV. That the said king, by this present treaty, hath taken away and remov'd, and doth take away and remove the sequestration, and all other impediments on his part concerning the principality of Aurange, and the superiority of it, to the intent that Don Philibert de Chaalon, Prince of Aurange, Vice-roy of Naples, may enjoy it, together with his preheminance and superiority, as he enjoy'd it before the said sequestration.

XXXVI. That the Dutchess of Vendosme, widow, shall be restor'd into all the possessions that she had in the emperor's dominions, before, or during the wars ; and Louïs Seigneur de Hanis shall enjoy the like for his part.

XXXVII. That the Comte of Gaure shall be restor'd to his own in the like manner.

XXXVIII. That, for the business of Philip de Croy, Marquis of Areschot, and the difference betwixt him and the seigneurs of Chasteau Byron, and others, tutors of the children of Monsieur de Lautrech, that it should be referr'd to a particular treaty and agreement before the governors of the city and dutchy of Cambray, which said agreement shall stand.

XXXIX. That the suit depending in the parliament of Paris, between Adolphus of Burgundy Seigneur de Beures on the one part, for the seigneuries of Creue-cœur in Cambresis, etc. and the king's attorney on the other part, shall be referr'd, in the state it now is, to four judges, whereof two be nam'd by the emperor, and two by the king : and that the said judges shall be bound to return and determine the cause in the city of Cambray, twenty days after the ratification

of this treaty. And that, if two of the four judges absent themselves, the other two, that is to say, one of either part, may proceed to give sentence.

XL. That in this peace and treaty is comprehended, as a principal contractor, the pope and the apostolick see, which the said emperor and king shall maintain in his authority and preheminance: and that they shall procure that the towns and places, being of the patrimony of the Church, shall be restor'd. Also there are comprehended herein as principal contractors, the Kings of Hungary, England, and Poland, Christiern King of Denmark, the Kings of Portugal and Scotland, and the Lady Arch-dutchess, aunt to the emperor. Also there are comprehended herein as confederates, the electors, the Cardinal of Liege, etc. Also it is agreed, that all the said principal contractors and confederates shall be advertis'd hereof by the said king and emperor.

XLI. That the said king shall procure the community or republick of Florence, within four months after the ratification of this treaty, to agree with the emperor, which being done, they also shall be comprehended herein, and not otherwise. And because, since the treaty of Madrid, Charles Duke of Gueldres Comte de Zutphen, hath taken part with the emperor, and agreed with him, his majesty declares him for his confederate, and all others nominated here: and that those who are not nominated shall be excluded out of the said treaty, unless they be comprehended under the general terms of vassals or subjects of the said kings.

XLII. That the said emperor and king (as soon as they well can) for ratification and confirmation of this present treaty (in which *de verbo ad verbum*, there must be inserted and join'd together the treaty of Madrid) shall swear solemnly upon the evangelists, and the wood of the true cross, in the presence of the holy sacrament, and these ambassadors that shall be appointed thereunto, to hold and keep (every one for his part) all the points and articles of this treaty, as also all those contain'd in the treaty of Madrid, which are not alter'd, chang'd, and innovated by these presents; submitting themselves, for performance hereof, to the jurisdictions and ecclesiastical censures, even to the invocof of the secular power inclusive; constituting their proctors *in forma cameræ apostolicæ*, to appear in their names, or in either of them, in the court of Rome before the pope, and the *auditori della ruota*, and to receive voluntarily the condemnation and fulmination of the said censures in case of contravention; and, for this purpose, to submit themselves and prorogue their jurisdiction before some prelate or ecclesiastical judge. And that neither the said emperor and king, nor any of them may (without mutual consent) demand a relaxation of the said oath, nor an absolution of the said censures. And that, if any did demand and obtain it, it shall not avail him, without the consent of the other.

XLIII. That the said king shall ratifie and approve both this treaty, and that of Madrid in the form there mention'd, save where it hath been chang'd, alter'd, and innovated by these presents, forasmuch as concerns the Seigneur Dauphin, according to the manner declar'd in the said treaty of Madrid. And that he also shall cause this treaty to be ratifi'd and approv'd by all the particular estates of the provinces and governments of his kingdoms ; and that he shall make them swear and promise, that the said treaty shall be perpetually kept, and shall cause them to be register'd and veri'd in the parliament of Paris, and all other parliaments of the kingdom of France, in the presence of the attorneys general of the said parliaments, to whom the said king shall give especial and irrevocable power, to appear in his name, in all the said parliaments, and there consent to the aforesaid inregistring, and submit himself voluntarily to the keeping of all that is contain'd in the said treaty. And that, by virtue of the said voluntary submission, he may be enjoyn'd or condemn'd thereunto, by the definite sentence of the said parliaments, in good and convenient form. And that this treaty shall be also verified and inregistred in the *Chambre des Comptes* of Paris, in the presence, and with the consent of the king's attorney, for the more effectual execution, and accomplishment of them, and the validations of the acquittances, renunciations, submissions, and other things contain'd and declar'd in the said treaty. Which ratifications, inregistrings, verifications, and all other things above-mention'd shall be done and perfected by the said king, and the dispatches of them, in due form deliver'd into the hands of the said emperor, before his children be deliver'd, and within the space of four months at furthest. And if, for the inregistring and verifications above-mention'd, it should be necessary that the said king should release, and discharge unto his officers those oaths that they have taken, not to consent or suffer any alienations of the crown, the said king shall do it ; and that also the said emperor shall, in his great council, and his other councils, and *Chambre des Comptes* in his dominions of the Low-Countries, cause to be made such other inregistring, and verifications, releasing also the oath of his officers, and causing the particular states of his said dominions to ratifie and approve this treaty, within the time above mention'd.

XLIV. That this peace shall be publish'd through all the kingdoms and seigneuries and dominions of the emperor and the king, and especially the frontiers, before the 15th of September next, to the intent that no man may pretend ignorance ; and the said arch-dutchess on the part of the emperor, and the Dutchess of Angoulesme on the part of the French king, and the said arch-dutchess particularly for the Queen Leonora, forasmuch as may duly concern her, and by those oaths that every one of them hath made, do promise that they shall duly ratifie all that is contain'd in this treaty of peace. And that they shall



give letters patents thereof, in due and sufficient form, on either part, within two months and a half after the concluding this present treaty.

In testimony whereof the said ladies arch-dutchess and dutchess, and each of them, have sign'd and seal'd these presents. Dated in the city of Cambray, the 5th of August, 1529.

Margarite.

Louïse.

And this is the most substantial part of the treaty of Cambray, as it is set down by Sandoval ; but Bellay, l. 3. adds, that, besides the above-mention'd two millions of crowns, Francis paid, for the emperor, to our king, 500,000 crowns as a penalty the emperor had incurr'd for not marrying the Princess Mary. Moreover, that he was bound to dis-engage from our king, a rich jewel in the form of a flower-de-luce, wherein was a piece of the wood of the true cross, being pawn'd heretofore by Philip, father of the emperor, to Henry VII. for 50,000 crowns. The acquittances, for which payments, together with the jewel, as the same author confesseth to have been sent to the emperor, so he acknowledgeth, in the manner of it, the great liberality of our king ; who, besides giving Francis four years term for payment of 400,000 crowns (which, as he saith, was the money lent by our king to Charles) did remit and forgive him absolutely the 500,000 crowns above-mention'd ; and, for the jewel, presented it to his godson Henry, the second son of Francis by the conveyance of Guillaume Seigneur de Langey, whom the French king sent for that purpose into England.

Besides this treaty, I find, by our records, another at the same time and place, made between our king, and the Lady Margarite, in the name of the emperor. Our king's commissioners being Cuthbert Tonsal, Bishop of London, Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, and Mr. John Hacket, our king's resident there. Which yet, because it contains nothing of extraordinary, but only the continuation of traffick, for merchants, and the forbidding to print or sell any Lutheran books on either side, I purposely omit.

Francis understanding this conclusion of peace at Cambray, hasteth thither, that he might both render the Lady Margaret a visit, and promise not to fail in the performance of those articles his mother had agreed. Which yet the Spanish writers say he held no longer than until the ambassadors of his confederates in Italy came to him ; so that, when, together with his breach of league with them, they represented their own miserable state at that present, he excus'd himself, through the necessity of his condition at that time ; assuring them nevertheless, that notwithstanding any treaty, he would continue his love and care of them, only when first he might have his children. So that in effect he secretly assisted them still ; as hoping thereby to defend himself

against the emperor, when occasion were. Which also he extended so far, as, upon presumption thereof, he broke some articles lately concluded with the Spaniard. The news of this treaty was no sooner brought to Queen Leonora, but she, for the better complying with her husband, interceded with the empress, upon pretence that Charles attempted to draw some of the Swiss (heretofore ally'd with Francis) unto his service, and that the children of Francis might have some more liberty, and the French detain'd in Villalpando a less strait prison ; which also was granted her by the empress.

For the emperor taking his opportunity (while the treaty betwixt the ladies was in agitation) departed from Barcelona the 28th of July, 1529, and arriv'd at Genoa the 12th of August after, with a royal train, and about 8000 soldiers. And here (as Sandoval observes) began the wearing of short hair, (the emperor cutting off his as a vow for his passage or, as others have it, for a pain in the head) long hair having been accustom'd for many ages before. The pope, being inform'd of this voyage of the emperor's, sends some cardinals to meet him at Genoa, himself in the mean while preparing to attend him at Bononia. While the emperor having found a reception from the Genoësi, temper'd betwixt love and fear, did so civilly interpret all to be respect, that he bid them a kind farewell, and so held on his way till he came near the confines of the pope's possessions ; where three cardinals (carrying with them the book of ceremonies) met him, and after due congratulations, made it appear that the ancient custom of all those who enter'd upon the patrimony of the Church, was, to swear first not to offer any violence to it. The emperor accepts the oath, yet so as he said he would not prejudice his own imperial right. And because this was near to Piacenza, divers understood his words to have relation to that place : which, as also Parma, is said to have belong'd anciently to the dutchy of Milan. The emperor had now a great army in Italy under the command of Antonio de Leyva, which was employ'd chiefly against the Venetians, to which it is probable also he would have join'd his own forces, had not news come to him of the great mischiefs which Barbarossa, that famous pyrate, did on the seas ; and of the Turks entry (Sept.) into Hungary with 250,000 men. For as this startled the emperor from his designs in Italy, so he consider'd as well how useful the pope would be in disposing other princes to join against this formidable army. For which reasons, as also for making his coronation more glorious, he resolv'd to protest against all other enterpizes, and apply himself wholly to that war. And the rather, because the Turk had lately undertaken the protection of John Sepuse, pretender to the kingdom of Hungary, and now laid siege to Vienna, and endanger'd therein the ancient patrimony of the house of Austria : besides, the Protestants in Germany having about this time made some high demands, he thought it his part to correct or suppress them. Only he judg'd it

necessary not to give any public demonstration thereof, until the affairs of Italy were compos'd. Therefore, he first makes a peace with the Venetians, upon condition they should restore the places withheld in Naples from him, and give back to the pope likewise the possessions of the Church. Moreover, that they should pay him a great sum of money towards his charges. Which articles the Venetians (as being in effect abandon'd of all their confederates) generally accepted, only, when the Duke of Urbin (their general) might be comprehended therein. Which also was accorded. They, together with the pope, interceded likewise for Francisco Sforza, desiring that he might be restor'd to his former estate. The emperor also, considering that he could make no secure peace in Italy, unless he remov'd all just causes of jealousy, begins to think how he might gratify Sforza herein, upon a proposition of a marriage to be made between him and Christierna, younger daughter of the King of Denmark, and Isabel, sister to the emperor ; which yet because of her unripeness for marriage (being then but ten years old) took no effect till 1534. So that when the business of Florence might have been ended, all Italy now seem'd compos'd to quietness. These things thus settled, the emperor enter'd Bononia about the beginning of November, with more glory, doubtless, in that he was inform'd how the Turk had rais'd his siege from Vienna about twenty days before : from whence after a month's siege, he was forc'd to retire by the valour of an old German garrison, commanded by Philip Count Palatine, having done nothing notable, but crown'd with his own hand, at Buda, John Sepuse, King of Hungary. His reception also was magnificent, while the youth of that city having apparell'd themselves in a livery, attended his horse like lacquais, that they might have the better pretence to be near him. After whom follow'd his army some choice persons whereof carried Antonio de Leyva on their shoulders ; (though whether in regard of his ancient infirmity of the gout, or otherwise, for more ostentation is not certain.) In which equipage he went to the church of St. Petronio, at the gate whereof the pope, having rais'd a high throne upon a scaffold, and plac'd himself on the top, with his tiara or triple-crown on his head, and, for the rest, attended with a great train of cardinals, did in that posture expect him. The emperor alighting here from his horse, ascended the steps, and humbled himself to a kiss of the pope's foot, which the pope presently diverted to a pax or kiss on the cheek. Which ceremony as it attracted all mens eyes, so was it the more considerable unto the spectators, for that the conjunction of those two great lights (as they termed it) could not but portend some strange effect to Christendom. Charles was then about twenty nine, that is to say, in the prime age to temper his countenance betwixt loveliness and majesty ; though nothing yet in his face was so remarkable as his great nether-lip : which Sandoval will have to be peculiarly deriv'd to that family (even



to this day) from the house of Burgundy. The pope, though gray, retain'd yet much vigour in his eyes, though observed for nothing so much as his beard, which not only he, but also all the cardinals, as our agent Ric. Crook hath it, wore at a great length ; besides, he said, many of them had their robes or vestures of a violet colour, instead of scarlet, appearing, for the rest, (as the same Crook relates) in their fashions somewhat soldier-like. This interview being past, not without a serious protestation of the emperor's, that he would strive to reduce the affairs of religion into better terms, they both lodg'd in the same house, for the more conveniency of that private conference, which often past betwixt them : which also continued for some months before they departed. Wherefore though it were thought that the emperor would make his advantage, as having the pope in his power and custody ; yet the pope and Venetians so manag'd the business, as, joyning offices together (as is abovesaid) they obtain'd that Francisco Sforza should be admitted to the emperor's presence, and in sequence thereof not only pardon'd, but restor'd to the dutchy of Milan. Which act of the emperor's, as it was magnanimous beyond expectation, so was it no less opportune ; both as it is quieted not the estates alone, but even minds of the Italians ; and, as he dispos'd them thereby to give them their best assistance towards his great affairs in Germany. Besides, he excludes Francis from the hope of attempting that dutchy, unless he would declare himself an open disturber of the peace of Italy. He did not omit yet, to capitulate with Sforza, that the Marquis de Guasto, and Antonio de Leyva should have certain lands assign'd them out of the dutchy, and that he might put garrisons into some of the most important places thereof, till conditions were perform'd. Shortly after which a kind of universal league, under pretence of the good of Christendom, was by the pope's means concluded, (place being left for those that would enter into it) which also was publish'd the first of Jan. 1530. in the church of St. Petronio. And thus the emperor proceeded to his coronation in Bononia, whither the crown of iron (which should be receiv'd at Milan) being brought, and after put on in the pope's chapel ; the other, of gold, was set on his head, Feb. 24. (which was his birth-day) by the pope, in the great church, with many ceremonies. Among which I find none more notable, than that the emperor, by ancient custom, must first put on the habit of a canon of Sancta Maria Dellatorre in Rome, and after that of a deacon, before they can be completely invested in this imperial dignity, the pope the mean while saying mass, both in Latin and in Greek. The rites whereof appear'd so much more new and strange, that since the time of Frederick 1442. no emperor had been publicly crown'd. This being done, Francisco Sforza was restor'd to an actual possession of his estate. The emperor placing only a commander in the fortress or citadel of Milan, and another in Como, and causing the city of Monzo

with vast possessions to be given Antonio de Leyva. Having thus settled Lombardy, he commandeth his army to march against the Florentines, whom the pope passionately desir'd to chastise for the injuries his name and family had lately receiv'd from them.

All which signs of amity and correspondence being advertis'd to our king, by Crook, and his other agents in Italy, it was easie to imagine what hope of favour he might expect from the pope in his important business; yet, lest he should omit any thing which might serve for justification of his honour and dignity in a lawful way, he sent to the most famous universities of Italy, and else-where, to have their opinions concerning the divorce. Not offering any way to prevail himself either of his own power among his clergy, or of the counsel the pope had formerly given him, till he had first discover'd what the learned'st men in Christendom held in that point. He also (Dec. 8. 1529.) writ letters with his own hand to the Bishop of Worcester, and Sir Gregory Casalis, (then with the pope) to tell them, that he had sent Sir Thomas Bolen, (newly created) Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, with John Stokesley, elect Bishop of London, and Edward Lee, as his ambassadors to the emperor, and that they should advise together what was to be done. These coming to Bononia, after some passages with the emperor, who told them he could not desert his aunt's cause, repair'd to the pope; to whom, having propos'd the king's affair, they (Mar. 26. 1530.) receiv'd this answer from him; that, though he was urg'd by the queen's solicitor to proceed against the king, yet [he desir'd rather that all proceedings should be suspended in the Roman court, upon condition yet that King Henry, on the other side, would promise, not to innovate any thing in the mean while in England. Whereof information being given our king, he answer'd, that his holiness hath fed him hitherto with fair words only, without intent to aid him, as appear'd lately by denying his ambassadors audience to justifie his cause.

In the mean while our king attends his parliament business, where Sir Thomas More, who was now return'd from the treaty at Cambray, being (in reward of his service) made lord chancellor, gave (Oct. 26. 1529.) in an eloquent oration, at the Parliament-Chamber in Black-Friars, the first overtures of the king's intentions in that parliament. To which our king, attended with his nobles, repair'd (Nov. 3. Reg. 21.) from his adjoining palace of Bridewell, Thomas Audley being chosen speaker for the lower house. And as now Luther's doctrine was secretly admitted into many places of this kingdom, with much approbation, so it gave those impressions, as even the most ignorant began to examine whether the errors then ordinarily controverted, did belong to the doctrine or to the goverment of the Church. And this alone as it was the first step, so was it a great and bold sally towards that reformation which follow'd afterwards. Yet as learning was not then commonly found among those, who in their studies had no other design

but truth, and satisfying their conscience ; so few understood the state of the questions propos'd, save only they, who being of the party, either for their own private interest would not retract, or for fear of unsettling the receiv'd grounds of religion in mens hearts, thought it dangerous to permit an innovation ; which yet prov'd a pernicious and fatal solecism. For whereas, in the beginning, a voluntary mitigation of the rigour of some of the late doctrines of the Roman Church, and a benign interpretation of the rest, might have conserv'd an universal peace among Christians, they now, by an obstinate and wilful impugning of all those who said it was possible for them to err, did leave the undertaking of this great work either to discontented clergymen, or to the more laick and improvident sort ; which therefore as it prov'd in some kind, tumultuous and refractory, so certainly the authors on either side were much to be blam'd ; when in handling of controversies, they either out of affectation of glory, or hope of gaining large stipends from their followers (upon pretence of revealing some new or readier way for obtaining heaven and everlasting salvation) did teach divers peremptory, and uncharitable doctrines. Whereas yet, according to the rules both of piety and wisdom, they should have proceeded more moderately ; conserving, in the midst of their differences, a brotherly love, and pronouncing the errors, on what part soever, more worthy pity than hate. Which rule yet was so little observ'd in England, that many reformers books, and persons were publickly burnt, while their disciples (for revenge) fell foul upon the persons of their adversaries, setting forth books to the prejudice of the whole ecclesiastical order. Which coming at last to the king's knowledge, made him enquire further into the abuses of the clergy, permitting the redress thereof to the lower house of parliament ; where complaint for exactions for probats of testaments and mortuaries, of pluralities, nonresidence, and priests that were farmers of lands, etc. being made, the spirituality was much offended, and especially John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, who (as our history hath it) in a passionate speech told the lords, 'That the commons would do nothing now 'but down with the Church.' Saying further, 'that all this was for 'want of faith ; aggravating the danger the kingdom was in, by the 'example of Bohemia.' The lower house being inform'd thereof, sent the king a complaint by their speaker ; desiring reparation. But Fisher excusing himself as he could, Sir William Fitz-Williams on the part of the king, mediated the rest. Notwithstanding which, the injury which the commons thought they had receiv'd herein was not so digested, but that one who had made use of the evangelicks doctrine so far, as to take a reasonable liberty to judge of the present times, and howsoever was offended that the bishop rejected all on want of faith, spoke to this effect.

'If none else but the Bishop of Rochester or his adherents, did hold



'this language, it would less trouble me. But since so many religious 'and different sects (now conspicuous in the whole world) do not only 'vindicate unto themselves the name of the true Church, but labour betwixt invitations and threats for nothing more than to make us resign 'our faith to a simple obedience ; I shall crave leave to propose, what 'I think fit (in this case) for us laicks and secular persons to do. Not 'that I will make my opinion a rule to others, when any better expedient shall be offer'd ; but that I would be glad we considered hereof, 'as the greatest affair that now or hereafter may concern us.

'For if in all human actions it be hard to find that medium or even 'temper which may keep us from declining into extremes, it will be 'much more difficult in religious worship ; both as the path is suppos'd 'narrower, and the precipices more dangerous on every side. And 'because each man is created by God a free citizen of the world, and 'oblig'd to nothing so much as the inquiry of those means by which he 'may attain his everlasting happiness, it will be fit to examine to whose 'tuition and conduct he commit himself. For, as several teachers, not 'only differing in language, habit and ceremony, (or at least in some 'of these) but peremptory and opposite in their doctrines, present 'themselves, much circumspection must be us'd. Here then taking 'his prospect, he shall find these guides directing him to several ways ; 'whereof the first yet extends no further than to the laws and religions 'of each man's native soil or diocess, without passing those bounds. 'The second, reaching much further, branches itself into that diversity of religions and philosophies, that not only are, but have been 'extant in former times, until he be able to determine which is best. 'But in either of these, no little difficulties will occur. For, if each 'man ought to be secure of all that is taught at home, without enquiring 'further, how can he answer his conscience ? When looking abroad, 'the terrors of everlasting damnation shall be denounc'd on him, by 'the several hierarchies and visible churches of the world, if he believe 'any doctrine but theirs. And that, amongst these again, such able 'and understanding persons may be found, as, in all other affairs, will 'equal his teachers. Will it be fit that he believe, God hath inspir'd 'his Church and religion only, and deserted the rest ; when yet mankind is so much of one off-spring, that it hath not only the same '*pater communis* in God, but is come all from the same carnal ancestors ? Shall each man, without more examination, believe his 'priests in what religion soever, and, when he hath done, call their 'doctrine his faith ? On the other side, if he must argue controversies 'before he can be satisfied, how much leisure must he obtain. How 'much wealth and substance must he consume ? How many languages 'must he learn ? And how many authors must he read ? How many 'ages must he look into ? How many faiths must he examine ? How 'many expositions must he confer ? And how many contradictions

'reconcile? How many countries must he wander into? And how  
 'many dangers must he run? Briefly, would not our life on these terms  
 'be a perpetual peregrination? While each man posted into the  
 'other's country, to learn the way to heaven, without yet that he could  
 'say at last, he had known or tried all. What remains then to be  
 'done? Must he take all that each priest upon pretence of inspiration  
 'would teach him, because it might be so? Or may he leave all,  
 'because it might be otherwise? Certainly, to embrace all religions,  
 'according to their various and repugnant rites, tenents, traditions, and  
 'faiths, is impossible, when yet in one age it were possible (after in-  
 'credible pains and expences) to learn out, and number them. On the  
 'other side, to reject all religions indifferently is as impious; there  
 'being no nation, that in some kind or other doth not worship God.  
 'So that there will be a necessity to distinguish. Not yet that any  
 'man will be able, upon comparison, to discern which is the perfectest,  
 'among the many profess'd in the whole world; (each of them being  
 'of that large extent, that no man's understanding will serve to com-  
 'prehend it in its uttermost latitude and signification,) but (at least)  
 'that every man might vindicate and sever, in his particular religion,  
 'the more essential and demonstrative parts, from the rest, without  
 'being mov'd so much at the threats and promises of any other  
 'religion, that would make him obnoxious, as to depart from this way:  
 'there being no ordinary method so intelligible, ready, and compendi-  
 'ous for the conducting each man to his desir'd end. Having thus  
 'therefore recollected himself, and together implor'd the assistance of  
 'that supreme God, whom all nations acknowledge; he must labour,  
 'in the next place, to find out, what inward means his providence  
 'hath deliver'd, to discern the true, not only from the false, but even  
 'from the likely, and possible; each of them requiring a peculiar  
 'scrutiny and consideration. Neither shall he fly thus to particular  
 'reason, which may soon lead him to heresie, but, after a due separa-  
 'tion of the more doubtful and controverted parts, should hold himself  
 'to common, authentick, and universal truths, and consequently inform  
 'himself, what, in the several articles propos'd to him, is so taught, as  
 'it is first written in the heart, and together deliver'd in all the laws  
 'and religions he can hear of in the whole world; for this certainly  
 'can never deceive him; since therein he shall find out how far the  
 'impressions of God's wisdom and goodness are extant in all mankind,  
 'and to what degrees His universal providence hath dilated it self;'  
 while thus ascending to God by the same steps he descends to us, he  
 cannot fail to encounter the Divine Majesty. Neither ought it to  
 trouble him, if he find these truths variously complicated with diffi-  
 culties or errors; since, without insisting on more points than what  
 are clearly agreed on every side, it will be his part to reduce them into  
 method and order; which also is not hard, they being but few, and apt

for connexion ; so that it will concern our several teachers to imitate us in this doctrine, before they come to any particular direction ; lest, otherwise, they do like those who would persuade us to renounce daylight, to study only by their candle. It will be worth the labour, assuredly, to inquire how far these universal notions will guide us, before we commit our selves to any of their abstruse and scholastick mysteries, or supernatural and private revelations. Not yet, but that they also may challenge a just place in our belief, when they are deliver'd upon warrantable testimony ; but that they cannot be understood as so indifferent and unfallible principles for the instruction of all mankind. ' Thus, among many suppos'd inferior and questionable ' deities, worshipped in the four quarters of the world, we shall find ' one chief so taught us, as above others to be highly revered.

' Among many rites, ceremonies, and volumes, etc. deliver'd us as ' instruments or parts of his worship, he shall find vertue so eminent, ' as it alone concludes and sums up the rest. Insomuch as there is no ' sacrament which is not finally resolv'd into it ; good life, charity, faith ' in, and love of God, being such necessary and essential parts of ' religion, that all the rest are finally clos'd, and determin'd in them.

' Among the many expiations, lustrations, and propitiations for our ' sins, taught in the several quarters of the world, in sundry times, we ' shall find that none doth avail without hearty sorrow for our sins, and ' a true repentance towards God, whom we have offended.

' And lastly amidst the divers places and manners of reward and ' punishment, which former ages have deliver'd, we shall find God's ' justice and mercy not so limited, but that He can extend either of ' them even beyond death, and consequently recompense or chastise ' eternally. These therefore, as universal and undoubted truths, should ' in my opinion be first receiv'd. They will at least keep us from im- ' piety and atheism, and together lay a foundation for God's service, ' and the hope of a better life. Besides, it will reduce mens minds ' from uncertain, and controverted points, to a solid practice of vertue, ' or when we fall from it, to an unfeigned repentance, and purpose ' through God's grace to amend our sinful life, without making pardon ' so easie, cheap or mercenary, as some of them do. Lastly, it will ' dispose us to a general concord and peace : for when we are agreed ' concerning these eternal causes and means of our salvation, why ' should we so much differ for the rest ? Since as these principles ' excluded nothing of faith, or tradition that tends to God's glory, in ' what age or manner soever it interven'd ; each nation may be per- ' mitted the belief of any pious miracle that conduceth to God's glory ; ' without that, on this occasion, we need to scandalize or offend each ' other, the common truths in religion, formerly mention'd, being firmer ' bonds of unity, than that any thing emergent out of traditions ' (whether written or unwritten) should dissolve them. Let us therefore



'establish and fix these catholick or universal notions. They will not hinder us to believe whatsoever else is faithfully taught upon the authority of the Church. So that whether the eastern, western, northern, or southern teachers, etc. and particularly whether my Lord of Rochester, Luther, Eccius, Zuinglius, Erasmus, Melancthon, etc. be in the right, we laicks may so build upon those catholick and infallible grounds of religion, as whatsoever superstructures of faith be rais'd, those foundations yet may support them.'

But as few men are of the same mind in all points of religion, so it is probable this overture was entertain'd diversly : some wishing a reformation upon what terms soever ; others, if it could be safely done, as thinking there may be diseases in religion, like that of the cancer occultus, which physicians say, it is more safe to let alone, than to cure. Yet as it was manifest that in probats of testaments, plurality of benefices, and divers other ways above-mention'd, the clergy had incroach'd and usurp'd both upon each other, and upon the laity for many ages, so they would now omit no longer to give a redress to these grosser faults. Therefore about last wills and testaments, which Cardinal Woolsey's legantine power had so disordred (as Sir Henry Guilford protested openly, that himself being, with others, executors of the will of Sir William Compton (who died 1528. of the sweating sickness) could not obtain a probat from the cardinal, and Archbishop of Canterbury, before he had paid 1000 marks) some profitable orders were made. And the business of mortuaries (exacted with much extremity even on the poorest) was settled. Moreover spiritual persons were abridg'd from taking of farms, and from plurality of livings, unless they were qualified either by certain university degrees, or by the nobility, to whom a competent number of chaplains were assign'd. Non-residence also (then very usual) was forbidden, but in some cases, and for the rest explain'd, and interpreted. An act also pass'd for a general pardon of all offences, forfeitures, punishments, etc. except murders, and treasons ; which the king granted by way of gratifying his subjects, for a release of a great loan of money from them, anno 15. Hen. VIII. which motioned and assented to by the lords, was, with much ado, confirm'd by the lower house. After which was enacted a statute for abridging plaints in assize, which being complicate before, were reduc'd to a more single method. And this was much to the ease of the subjects. It was also declar'd felony for servants to embezel their masters goods to the value of forty shillings and upwards. And order taken, that after a felon was attainted (but not before) the stolen goods might be restor'd. Furthermore, it was provided particularly, that no brass should be carried beyond sea. Which seems to regard principally making great ordnance ; (about this time appearing of great use.) Artificers strangers also were restrain'd to certain rules ; as that they might not keep above

two strangers servants in their house. That they should bear such charges as natural subjects did, paying all subsidies, etc. and take an oath to be true and obedient to the king and his laws. That they should have no conventicles, but meet in the common halls of their craft. That they should not have journey-men or prentices strangers above ten at a time. Moreover, authority was given to the president of the king's council to associate with the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, etc. both for the punishment of riots, and unlawful assemblies, etc. and setting of prices of wines, as also all other acts, limited and appointed by any statute to be done by the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, etc. Other laws also were enacted, which for being meerly legal, and therefore relative chiefly to the masters of the law, or otherwise mechanical, or at least so particular, that they belong not properly to history, I purposely omit. And so, a week before Christmass, the parliament was prorogu'd to the year following.

Before yet I come to the year 1530. I must not omit to mention Haradin Barbarossa that famous pirate, who from a low and obscure beginning, had, by his valour and conduct (as we have before touch'd) obtain'd (1518.) the kingdom of Argier. For being not fortunate alone by sea, when he landed his men, he did, with no less success, attempt divers strong places ; so that he was generally fear'd ; and the rather, that one Haradin, call'd Caca-diablo, Sinan a Jew, and many other notable picarons had rang'd themselves under him ; whereby his forces were so much increas'd, that no navigation was secure in the parts adjoining to him. This year (particularly) he had taken (May 21.) Penon de Velez from the Spaniard, and defeated (Oct. 25.) a fleet of theirs shortly after. And now his design was to make himself master of the seas from Gibraltar to Sicily. For preventing whereof the emperor employ'd divers, but unfortunately ; insomuch that Andrea Doria himself, though recovering some ships out of the haven of Sargel, where part of Barbarossa's sea-forces (under the command of one Haly, a pirate of Tunis) rode at anchor ; yet when he caus'd some soldiers to be landed to attempt the castle, Haly gathering a few resolute men together, charg'd them deperately, and gave them a repulse with the loss of so many, as made Doria desist from his enterprize ; which being advertis'd to the emperor, made him resolve to invade Barbarossa in his own country, the success whereof shall be related hereafter.

The context of my history requiring me now to speak of the Florentines ; on whom as the pope passionately desir'd to be reveng'd, so the emperor, having his pretences also, did for complying with him, send an army thither under the command of Philibert Prince of Aurange, the Marquis of Guasto, Juan de Urbino, and others of note, and about 26,000 men. The pope yet us'd distinction ; for if he desir'd that the enemies of his name and family with their adherents should be

punish'd, he intreated as well that the city and the country (whereof he was a native) should be spar'd. But as the Prince de Aurance thought this a subtilty fitter for a school-man than a soldier, he undertook them together. While Malatesta Baglioni, a brave gentleman, associated with Francisco Carduci, and ten others, were (Sept. 16.) chosen the chief directors of the Florentine affairs. And by their advice the smaller places of Toscana (for avoiding that final desolation that assaults do bring) yielded themselves betime. Yet so as Juan de Urbino, a soldier of note, was kill'd at one of them. And thus siege was laid to the fair city ; the suburbs whereof being weak were thrown down, that they might the better fortifie their ramparts, and especial care taken to keep a passage for victuals open. Yet as the war was thought to proceed out of unkindness rather than hate, so divers of the more innocent sort persuaded the rest to implore the pope's mercy. The resultance whereof was, that (1530.) at last an ambassade was sent. But as by the craft of the adverse party, election was made of mean and despicable persons, the design was eluded ; the pope not vouchsafing so much as to hear them. This made them resolve to defend themselves. Insomuch that all their fear being now actuated into desperation, they by continual sallies (as well by night as day) not only wearied the assiegers, and slew divers of their ablest commanders, but (Aug. 3. 1530.) finally kill'd Philibert Prince of Aurance himself, who being young, valiant, and liberal, was much lamented among the soldiers. Famine, yet, at last pressing the Florentines, a parly was propos'd ; but the more daring sort (chusing rather to die with their arms in their hands, than to yield to the incensed pope) sallied forth with that fury and disorder, that one would have thought they pretended not so much to victory, as to some other death than hunger. The more unquiet sort, being thus at length worn out and spent, the rest, by the means of Malatesta, came to a composition with the emperor, (the pope also, out of compassion to his country, consenting (August.) to it) upon these terms ; that they should pay 80,000 ducats towards the charge of the army. That their popular government should be chang'd to monarchical, under the rule and dominion of Alessandro de Medici (son of Lorenzo late Duke of Urbin) and his heirs ; their ancient privileges being nevertheless reserv'd. And thus, after above ten months siege, the city was rendred to the emperor ; who, for more ample testimony of his favour, bestow'd Margarite his natural daughter upon Alessandro de Medici, together with the title of duke. I find yet by a private dispatch, that he was not very well pleas'd with these articles, as believing he might have made more advantage of his conquest ; though, for contenting the pope, he gave way to it, as being now intentive wholly to the business of Germany. For as the affairs of religion in those parts, together with the invasion of the Turk, requir'd his presence, so he departed (Mar. 22.) from Italy



about five months before the rendition of that place : making (in his way) the Marquis of Mantua a duke, and receiving his brother Ferdinand at Inspruch, with much demonstration of love. Where also he advis'd concerning the present estate and disposition, not of the affairs only, but even persons and favourites of those with whom he was to treat. So that, coming at last to Augsburg, where a general diet and assembly was appointed, with much solemnity (the electors and others, princes of Germany, meeting there) he requir'd their grievances. The account whereof yet I must omit a while, that I may come to the restitution of Francis his children.

The jewel, money, and acquittances requir'd for discharge of his precious hostages, being now gotten together, Francis would no longer delay to perform his agreement. Only as he confest himself much enabled hereunto by the special goodness and bounty of our king, so he fail'd not to take his advice on all occasions. And thus, (Mar. 10.) the day being come, Anne de Montmorency, Grand Maistre of France, and Hernando de Velasco Conestable de Castilla were chosen by both princes for the persons to whose fidelity and care they thought fit to commend this important business. And because the cautions and difficulties were many, they agreed upon certain articles, the most substantial whereof (besides those extant in the treaty of Cambray, to which relation must be had) were (May 26.) these following.

I. That a bridge or pontone, of 40 foot long, and 15 broad, should be erected upon boats fastned with anchors upon the midst of the river betwixt Fuentarabie and Andaja; whereupon the exchange shall be made.

II. That no troops of horse should be within ten leagues of the place for ten days before, and ten days after the delivery, nor no considerable number of foot, and that no gentlemen should pass that way, but those who were appointed.

III. That at the day of delivery, no company of men or women should be within three leagues of the place.

IV. That in Fuentarabie there should be none but the ordinary garrison, being fifty men, and that the cannon should be dismounted.

V. That a hundred horse, and four hundred foot, (which afterwards was reduc'd to a less number) should be allowed on either side to come to the bank of the river.

VI. That twelve persons should be admitted on either side to pass over and see these articles observ'd; and that two galleons should coast the river, with equal numbers of both nations, to prevent surprizes.

VII. That the money should be brought into one shallop, and the hostages in another, to the two sides of the bridge; and that, for counter-ballancing the money, so much iron should be put in the other.

VIII. That in the shallop of the hostages should be twelve Spaniards,

the conestable, and Seigneur de Praet being comprehended, and Mons. de Brisac a Frenchman, with swords and daggers, the hostages having daggers only. And that the like number and arms should be permitted to Montmorency in the other shallop. And one Alvaro de Lugo a Spaniard, with two pages to go along with them in lieu of the hostages, and twelve oars on either part unarm'd.

IX. That coming both at the same time to the two sides of the bridge, the conestable, and Montmorency should land first on the said bridge, and call to them in equal number their companies. And that the Spaniards should pass into the shallop where the money and writings and jewels were, along the one side of a barrier erected, and the French on the other shallop of the hostages.

X. That Queen Leonora should go in a shallop apart with six ladies attendants, the rest being eight cavaliers and six oars of either nation, but that she should not pass till the exchange were made. Notwithstanding which agreement, so much time was employ'd in counting, weighing, and examining the money, that many weeks preceding were spent before they could accord of the payment. The Spaniard finding the gold to want of its purity, and the deschee or loss being valued at 40,000 crowns. Besides, as the river on the Spanish shoar was shallower than on the French, there wanted not some jealousy and wrangling. Howsoever, at length (July 1.) the delivery was made. Whereof Francis being advertis'd, did post from Bourdeaux to Varin, where with much joy he receiv'd his children, and Queen Leonora de Seres, whom also he married an hour before the day following.

And now Francis remembring how much it concern'd him to correspond with our king (to whom he ow'd first his own, and next his childrens liberty) sent over to acquaint him therewith.

Our king also considering that Francis being now dis-ingag'd, might more freely declare himself, did (by a particular message) not only make known the little hope he had of the pope's favour in his particular business, but desir'd that king's assistance, for obtaining the resolution of the universities and learned men in his kingdom, concerning the lawfulness of his marriage; for which purpose he induc'd Guillaume de Bellay (sent by Francis to him in the beginning of this year) to co-operate with them, as also those of Italy and Germany; not omitting together to employ at Paris, his kinsman and beneficiary Reginald Pole, with Sir Francis Bryan, and Edward Fox, Master William Paget (after) being sent to Orleans and Tholouse, and Francis together readily promising his assistance. And because our king had many agents about this time employ'd in Italy, as namely Doctor Richard Croke, (a man excellent in the Greek tongue) at Padua; Hierom de Ghinucci Bishop of Worcester, and Gregory Casalis at Rome; Doctor Stokesley at Venice, Thomas Cranmer (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) Andreas and Johannes Casalis, and Previ-

dellus ; he had enough to do ; while sometimes he labour'd to reconcile, and sometimes again to make use of their various advertisements. Stokesley writ in a letter (June 13.) that he had gotten the opinions of the university of Bononia ; and that more would have concurr'd, had not the pope contradicted. Croke (June 22.) said, the pope and emperor threatned all that subscrib'd in favour of the king's cause. He writes also that the emperor's ambassador in Padua, challeng'd (July 4.) one frier Thomas, for favouring the king's cause, and told him, if this conclusion should take effect, many of the greatest princes of Christendom should be disinherited, or taken as illegitimate ; accounting in those as well the emperor, as the King of Portugal. Notwithstanding which, he had gotten eighty principal mens hands a good while since, and had obtain'd thirty more, which yet by their means were burnt. By a letter also of Croke's, Aug. 24. it appears, that the emperor labour'd with the state of Venice, to oppose the king in his demand. Furthermore he protested none would take money (lawyers only excepted) for delivering their opinions, though he forc'd sometimes a small reward on them when they had done. Which particular Dr. Stokesley (Sept. 23. 1530.) did confirm ; saying, it was their manner both in Padua and Bononia to refuse money with these words, '*Quod à spiritu sancto gratis accepimus, gratis et libenter impertimur.*' Moreover Croke, by a letter, Aug. 31. 1530. said, '*Cæsar minus, precibus, pretio, et sacerdotiis, partim territat nostros, partim confirmat suos :*' certifying our king further, that Andreas Casalis and Previedellus did reveal his highness's secrets to the Cesarians : in conclusion I find that many would have given their opinion in favour of the divorce, if they durst. So that though the king's agents did now and then differ in some points, they all yet agreed, that most of the learned men in those parts would have favour'd the king in the point of his divorce, had not the pope and emperor oppugned it. Croke adds further, that the emperor got some hands in Mantua for money, but they were of the meaner sort. Whereas twenty nine doctors in that place had freely subscrib'd on his highness's part. Now as Gregory Casalis seem'd among all his highness's agents, at this time, the most industrious, so he solicited the pope continually on our king's behalf, not neglecting also the Cesarians, to whom he gavè, and from whom he receiv'd that intelligence, as he made advantage of all. By which dangerous and suspected wisdom yet he prevail'd so far, that at length he had authority, as it seems, to write this following dispatch, which I have caus'd faithfully to be transcrib'd out of the original.

'SERENISSIME et potentissime Domine Rex, Domine mi supreme, humillima commendatione præmissa, salutem et felicitatem. Superioribus diebus, pontifex secreto, veluti rem quam magni faceret, mihi proposuit conditionem hujusmodi, concedi posse vestræ majes-



‘tati ut duas uxores habeat ; cui dixi, nolle me provinciam suscipere ea  
 ‘de re scribendi, ob eam causam, quod ignorarem an inde vestræ con-  
 ‘scientiæ satisfieri posset, quam vestra majestas imprimis exonerare  
 ‘cupit. Cur autem sic responderem, illud in causa fuit, quod ex certo loco  
 ‘unde quæ Cæsariani moliantur aucupari soleo, exploratum certumque  
 ‘habebam, Cæsarianos illud ipsum quærere et procurare. Quem vero  
 ‘ad finem id quærant, pro certo exprimere non ausim. Id certe totum  
 ‘vestræ prudentiæ considerandum relinquo. Et quamvis dixerim pon-  
 ‘tifici, nihil me de eo scripturum, nolui tamen majestati vestræ hoc  
 ‘reticere ; quæ sciat omni me industria laborasse, in iis quæ nobis  
 ‘mandat, exequendis. Et cum anconitano qui me familiariter uti solet,  
 ‘omnia sum conatus. De omnibus autem me [ad] communes literas  
 ‘rejicio. Optime valeat vestra majestas. Romæ die xviii. Septembris,  
 ‘MDXXX.

‘C. V. Majestatis, humilissimus servus,  
 Gregorius Casalis.

‘MOST serene and most powerful lord, and my most gracious sovereign,  
 ‘to whom all health and happiness, and the most humble acknowledg-  
 ‘ments of my duty and affection. Some days ago the pope in private  
 ‘offer’d to me this proposal, as a thing of which he made much ac-  
 ‘count, that your majesty might have a dispensation to have two wives ;  
 ‘to whom I answer’d, that I was very unwilling to take upon me to  
 ‘write to your majesty, to know your majesty’s pleasure herein, because  
 ‘that I did not know whether this proposal would satisfie your conscience,  
 ‘the ease and quiet whereof, was what your majesty does only aim at.  
 ‘The reason why I gave this for answer, was, that in a certain place,  
 ‘from whence I have information of the designs and contrivances of  
 ‘the Cesarians, I have certain intelligence and undoubted knowledge,  
 ‘that this proposal was started, and is promoted by the Cesarians ;  
 ‘but what their aim and design herein should be, I dare not certainly  
 ‘affirm, and therefore leave that wholly to your highness’s great pru-  
 ‘dence and consideration. And though I told his holiness, that I could  
 ‘not venture to write to your majesty herein, yet was I unwilling to  
 ‘keep this from your majesty’s knowledge, that it may appear, that no  
 ‘care or industry is wanting in me to execute your majesty’s commands,  
 ‘or promote your services. I have done all which I have been able  
 ‘with one of Ancona, with whom I have great intimacy. As to all  
 ‘which I refer to the common letters. May God preserve your majes-  
 ‘ty’s health. Rome, Sept. 18. 1530.

‘Your most excellent majesty’s most obedient servant,  
 Gregorius Casalis.

How this letter was believ’d or accepted yet, doth not appear to me ;  
 so that although Melancthon is said to have concurr’d in some such  
 opinion, no effect follow’d thereof. For I find, that at this very time

King Henry, jealous of the queen's, or (as our historians say) of Woolsey's procuring bulls against him, set forth this proclamation, Sept. 19.

'THE king's highness streightly chargeth and commandeth, that no  
'manner of person of what estate, degree, or condition soever, he or  
'they be of, do purchase or attempt to purchase from the court of  
'Rome or elsewhere, nor use and put in execution, divulge or publish  
'any thing heretofore within this year passed, purchased, or to be pur-  
'chased hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the high authority,  
'jurisdiction and prerogative royal of this his said realm; or to the let,  
'hindrance, or impeachment of his grace's noble and virtuous intended  
'purposes in the premisses; upon pain of incurring his highnesse's  
'indignation, and imprisonment, and farther punishment of their bodies,  
'for their so doing, at his grace's pleasure, to the dreadful example of  
'all other.'

Thus did the king begin to shake off the Romish yoke; to which he was much animated by the concurrence of his subjects in parliament, both spiritual and temporal, who (as it appears by our records) in July 30. this year, under their hands and seals, sent a declaration to the pope. The tenor whereof is this;

'SANCTISSIMO in Christo patri et domino domino Clementi, divina  
'providentia; ejus nominis papæ septimo; osculatis pedibus omni cum  
'humilitate, fœlicitatem precamur et optamus perpetuam, in domino  
'nostro Jesu Christo. Beatissime pater, tametsi causa matrimonii,  
'invictissimi et serenissimi principis domini nostri, Angliæ Franciæque  
'Regis, Fidei Defensoris, et Domini Hiberniæ, multis ipsa per se argu-  
'mentis vestræ sanctitatis opem imploret atque efflagitet, ut illud quam  
'cellerime finem accipiat, quem nos, summo cum desiderio jam diu  
'desideravimus, et longa sed hactenus vana spe à vestra sanctitate ex-  
'pectavimus: non potuimus tamen committere, ut rebus nostris regni-  
'que statu, ex hac litis protelatione in tantum discrimen adducto, om-  
'nino sileremus, sed quod regia majestas nostrum caput, atque adeo  
'anima omnium nostrum, et in cujus verbis nos, tanquam membra con-  
'formia, justa compagine capiti cohærentia, multa solitudine vestram  
'sanctitatem precati, et frustra tamen precati sumus, id nos literis nos-  
'tris doloris gravitate adducti seorsim et separatim flagitemus. Suf-  
'ficere sane alioqui debuisset, causæ ipsius justitia, erudissimorum  
'virorum calculis passim probata, celeberrimarum academiarum suffra-  
'giis judicata, ab Anglis, à Gallis, ab Italis, prout quisque apud eos  
'cæteros eruditione antecellit, pronunciata et definita, ut sanctitas ves-  
'tra, etiam nemine petente et reclamantibus quibuscunque, suo ore  
'suaque autoritate aliorum sententias confirmaret; præsertim cum  
'causæ definitio eum regem, illud regnum respiciat, quod de sede illa

'apostolica tam multis nominibus bene meritum sit : precibus autem  
 'nihil opus fuisset, nisi quatenus homines doloribus indulgent, et preces  
 'non necessarias interdum effundere solent. Cæterum quum apud  
 'sanctitatem vestrum nec ipsius causæ justitia nec beneficiorum accep-  
 'torum recordatio, nec optimi principis tam assiduæ et diligentes preces  
 'quicquam profecerint, ut obtineatur à vobis quod paternæ pietatis  
 'officium exigebat, adauctus supra modum in nobis miseriarum ac cali-  
 'mitatum recordatione doloris cumulus singula etiam reipublicæ nostræ  
 'membra vocalia facit, et verbis et literis conquestionem edere com-  
 'pellit. Nam quæ tandem infelicitas, ut quod duæ academix nostræ  
 'quod academia Parisiensis, quod multæ aliæ academix in Gallia,  
 'quod passim doctissimi, eruditissimi et integerrimi viri domi forisque  
 'verum affirmant, et pro vero defendere tam verbis quam calamo se  
 'paratos ostendunt, id pro vero non obtineat à sede apostolica ille  
 'princeps, cujus ope atque præsidio sua stat sedi apostolicæ authoritas,  
 'à tam multis ac populis etiam potentissimis tam valide impetita, qui-  
 'bus partim ferro, partim calamo, partim voce atque authoritate sæpius  
 'in ea causa restitit ; et tamen folus illius authoritatis beneficio non  
 'fruitur, qui curavit ut esset qua alii fruerentur. His quid responderi  
 'posset non videmus, et malorem interim pelagus reipublicæ nostræ  
 'imminere cernimus, ac certam quoddam diluvium comminari, aut quod  
 'diluvio par est, multa cæde ac sanguine restinctam olim successionis  
 'controversiam denuo reducere. Habemus enim summis virtutibus  
 'principem, certissimo titulo regem, indubitatum regno tranquillitatem  
 'daturum, si sobolem ex corpore masculum nobis reliquerit ; cujus in  
 'vero matrimonio sola spes esse potest : matrimonio autem vero tan-  
 'tum illud nunc obstat, ut quod de priore matrimonio tot docti viri  
 'pronunciant, id utique vestra sanctitas sua authoritate declaret. Hoc  
 'autem si non vult, et qui pater esse debeat, nos tanquam orphanos re-  
 'linquere decrevit, et pro abjectis habere, ita certe interpretabimur,  
 'nostri nobis curam esse relictam, ut aliunde nobis remedia conquira-  
 'mus. Sed ad hoc ne adigamur, sanctitatem vestram oramus ut regi  
 'nostro in tam sanctis desideriis adesse, et sine mora aut dilatione  
 'favere velit, vehementer obsecramus, ut iudicio suo comprobet quod  
 'viri doctissimi affirmant, per illam quam nobis ex pastoralis officio  
 'debet pietatem ex mutuo cordis affectu obtestamur, ne claudantur  
 'paterna viscera, tam obsequentibus, tam benevolis, tam morigeris filiis.  
 'Causa regix majestatis nostra cujusque propria est, à capite in membra  
 'derivata, dolor ad omnes, atque injuria ex æquo pertinet, omnes in ejus  
 'majestate compatimur, quibus facile sanctitas vestra mederi posset,  
 'nec posset modo, sed ex paterna pietate deberet. Quod si vel id non  
 'fecerit, vel facere quidem distulerit sanctitas vestra, hactenus sane  
 'conditio nostra erit miserior, quod tam diu sine fructu frustra labora-  
 'tum sit, sed non omni prorsus remedio destituta. Sunt quidem reme-  
 'dia extrema semper duriora, sed morbum omnino utcunque levare



‘curat ægrotus, et in malorum commutatione nonnihil est spei ; ut, si  
 ‘minus succedat quod bonum est, sequatur saltem quod est minus  
 ‘malum, et id temporis etiam cursu facile tolerandum. Ista autem ut  
 ‘secum consideret sanctitas vestra, iterum atque iterum rogamus, in  
 ‘Domino Jesu Christo, cujus vices in terris se gerere profitetur, idque  
 ‘ut nunc factis conetur ostendere ; ut veritatem, doctissimorum homi-  
 ‘num vigiliis ac laboribus inventam, probatam et confirmatam, ad Dei  
 ‘laudem et gloriam sua sententia et pronuntiatione velit illustrare.  
 ‘Interim vero Deum opt. max. quem ipsam esse veritatem certissimo  
 ‘testimonio cognoscimus, comprecabimur, ut vestræ sanctitatis consilia  
 ‘ita informare atque dirigere dignetur, ut quod sanctum, justum ac  
 ‘verum est, à vestræ sanctitatis autoritate obtinentes, ab omni alia  
 ‘assequendæ veritatis molestia liberemur.

‘1. Archiepiscopi.—T. Cardinalis Ebor, Willielmus Can. 2. Duces.  
 ‘—Tho. Norfolk, Char. Suffolk. 3. Marchiones.—T. Dorset, H.  
 ‘Exeter. 4. Comites.—Willielmus Arundel, Jo. Oxenford, H. North-  
 ‘umberland, Rauf. Westmerland, Geo. Shrewsbury, Henr. Essex, Edw.  
 ‘Derby, H. Worcester, Tho. Rutland, Hen. Cumberland, Robert  
 ‘Sussex, Geo. Huntington, G. of Kildare. 5. Episcopi.—Robert  
 ‘Cicestrens, Joh. Carlolens, Joh. Lincoln, Rich. Menevensis. 6.  
 ‘Barones.—Henr. Montagu, G. Rochford, Willielm. Weston, E. Aber-  
 ‘gavenny, J. Audley, Hen. Scroope, Tho. Dacres, Tho. La Ware,  
 ‘Willielm Dacre, Tho. Barkley, Hen. Morley, Geo. Cobham, Rich  
 ‘Latimer, Edw. Stourton, Jo. Fitzwarren, Jo. Semers, Jo. Lumley,  
 ‘Willielm. Mountjoy, Chris. Coniers, Hen. Daubeney, T. Darcy, T.  
 ‘Montegle, Willielm. Sandys, Jo. Husey, Andr. Windsor. 7. Abbates.  
 ‘—Jo. of Westminster. Jo. of Bury St: Edmund, Rich. Glaston, Will.  
 ‘Gloucester, Tho. of Abendon, Hugh of Reading, Edw. of York, Jo.  
 ‘of Peterburgh, Jo. of Ramsey, Jo. of Croyland, Ro. of Thorney, Ro.  
 ‘of Selby, William Ab. of Bardney, Will. Ab. of St. Benet de Hulmo,  
 ‘Tho. Ab. of St. John by Colchester, Jo. Ab. of Hyde, Clem. Ab. of  
 ‘Evesham, Ric. Ab. of Malmsbury, Ric. Ab. of Winchelcomb, Rob.  
 ‘Ab. S. Crucis de Waltham, Jo. Ab. of Cirester, Hen. Abbot of Teux-  
 ‘bury. 8. Milites et Doctores in Parlamento.—William Fitz-William,  
 ‘Hen. Guildford, Steph. Gardiner, Jo. Gage, William Kingston, Bryan  
 ‘Tuke, Rich. Sacheverell, Rich. Sampson, Edw. Lee, Rich. Woolman,  
 ‘Jo. Bettat.

‘To the most holy lord, our lord and father in Christ, Clement, by the  
 ‘Divine providence the seventh pope of that name, we wish and pray  
 ‘for perpetual felicity in our Lord Jesus Christ, with all humility throw-  
 ‘ing our selves at his feet. Most blessed father, although the cause  
 ‘concerning the marriage of the most invincible prince our sovereign  
 ‘lord the King of England and France, Defender of the Faith, and Lord

of Ireland, does for sundry, great, and weighty reasons of itself, require and demand your holiness's assistance, that it may be brought to that speedy end and determination, which we with so great and earnest desires have wish'd, and with so very great, though very vain expectations have long look'd for from your holiness : we could not nevertheless prevail with our selves to keep silence herein any longer, especially since our kingdom and the affairs thereof suffer so much, and are brought into so great danger through the unseasonable delay of sentence herein : so that since his majesty our head, and by consequence the life of us all, and we in his words, as subject members, by a just union annexed to the head, have with great earnestness pray'd your holiness, but pray'd in vain, we are by the greatness of our grief, forced separately and distinctly by these our letters, most humbly to intreat your speedy determination hereof. Be justice of the cause it self, approved of by the opinions of the most learned men every where, and determined by the decrees of the most famous universities in the world, and esteem'd and judg'd most righteous by all persons either in England, France or Italy, who are most eminent for their learning, might so far prevail, as that your holiness, though nobody entreated it, nay, though some oppos'd it, should with your own voice and authority, confirm that sentence which has so universally been pronounced just, especially when your determination of this cause is a piece of justice done to that king and kingdom, which upon so many several accounts have deserv'd well of the apostolical see ; although entreaties to you herein seem not to be necessary, however we make them, as persons overborn with troubles, who indulge their grief, and frequently pour forth repeated and unnecessary prayers. But since your holiness is not to be prevail'd upon, either by the justice of the cause, the remembrance of the good services you have always found, or by the earnest and continued requests of the best of princes, to do that which might be expected from your paternal love and affection alone, our grief is by the remembrance of our miseries and calamities encreas'd to that immense degree, that it overspreads the whole body of the realm, and gives a voice of complaint to each member of it, forcing them both by their words, and in their letters, to lay before your holiness this their insupportable grievance. For how great a misfortune is it, that what our own two universities, the university of Paris, as well as many other in France, what almost all men of learning, knowledge and integrity, both at home and abroad have determin'd and affirm'd to be true, and the truth of which they are ready to defend and support both in their discourses and writings ; yet cannot a confirmation of this so universally acknowledged a truth, be obtain'd from the holy apostolical see by that prince, by whose support and assistance that see still keeps and preserves its authority, which has been shaken and undermined by so many, and so powerful

'adversaries, till he withstood and oppos'd their designs partly by his  
 'sword, partly by his pen, at other times by his commands and author-  
 'ity, supporting that power and authority of the Church, from whence  
 'others are enabled to obtain those mighty advantages from which he  
 'now finds himself only excluded. What answer can be made hereto  
 'we see not, and yet we see that from hence a flood of miseries is  
 'flowing in upon the commonwealth, and a sort of deluge of calamities  
 'overwhelming us, from the disputes about succession, which will soon  
 'overtake us, never to be settled without infinite slaughter and effusion  
 'of blood. We now have a king most eminent for his virtues, seated  
 'upon the throne of his ancestors, by right undoubted and unquestion-  
 'able, who would entail lasting peace, and uninterrupted tranquillity  
 'on his realms, if he leaves a son to succeed him from lawful and true  
 'marriage ; nor will that be possible, unless your holiness will by your  
 'authority, pronounce the same sentence concerning his former mar-  
 'riage, which so many learned men have already deliver'd. But if your  
 'holiness, whom we justly call our father, shall, by refusing to comply  
 'herein, esteem us as cast-aways, and resolve to leave us orphans ; we  
 'can make no other construction of it, but that the care of our selves is  
 'committed to our own hands, and that we are left to seek our remedy  
 'elsewhere. But that we may never be driven to these extremities, we beg  
 'your holiness without delay, or farther loss of time, to assist these his  
 'majesty's most just and reasonable desires, we most earnestly intreat  
 'a confirmation of the judgment of these most learned men, humbly  
 'imploing, that for the sake of that mutual love, and that paternal af-  
 'fection which your pastoral office requires you to shew us, not to shut  
 'up your bowels of pity and compassion against us, your most dutiful,  
 'most loving, most obedient sons. The case of his most sacred ma-  
 'jesty, is the case of us all, since the head cannot suffer, but the mem-  
 'bers must bear a part, the grief arising herefrom, and the injury suf-  
 'fer'd hereby, does equally affect us, who bear our proportion of all his  
 'majesty's afflictions ; the remedy of which, as it must proceed wholly  
 'from your holiness's power, so is it a duty necessarily arising from  
 'your paternal authority and affection : which remedy, if your holiness  
 'shall refuse or delay to grant, our condition will indeed herein be more  
 'miserable, that so long we have fruitlessly and in vain sought redress,  
 'but it will not be wholly desperate, since it is possible to find relief  
 'some other way. Desperate remedies indeed are not without extremity  
 'to be applied ; but he that is sick, will by any means get rid of his  
 'distemper : in the change of our miseries there is some comfort, when  
 'if we can't obtain perfect relief, yet we may change our condition for  
 'that which is less afflicting, and more tolerable. That your holiness  
 'would be pleas'd to take these things into your most serious consider-  
 'ation, we do again and again beseech you, for our Lord Jesus Christ's  
 'sake, whose vicar on earth you stile your self, and that you would



'now conform your actions to that title, by pronouncing your sentence  
'to the glory and praise of God, and thereby giving your testimony  
'and sanction to that truth, which has been examin'd, approv'd, and  
'after much deliberation confirm'd by the most learned men of all  
'nations. In the mean time we will beseech God, whom we infallibly  
'know to be truth, that he would vouchsafe so to inform and direct  
'your holiness's deliberations herein, that having by your holiness's  
'authority, a confirmation of what is just, righteous and true, we may  
'therein rest satisfy'd, and be free from the trouble of seeking to attain  
'this end by other means.

'Archbishops,  
T. Cardinal of York.  
William Cant. etc.

To which Clement return'd this reply.

'Venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopis et episcopis, ac dilectis filiis  
'abbatibus, nobilibusque viris, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus,  
'baronibus, militibus ac doctoribus parliamenti regina anglia.

'CLEMENS Papa VII.

'VENERABILES frates et dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictio-  
'nem. Multa sunt in vestris literis die xiii. Julii datis ac nobis superiori-  
'bus diebus redditis, quæ gravius accepissemus, nisi ea affectui, studi-  
'oque vestro erga charissimum in Christo filium nostrum, regem  
'vestrum condonanda arbitraremur. Itaq; sedato animo ad eas literas  
'respondebimus, tantum ut doceamus quam immerito de nobis con-  
'questi sitis, neq; oportuisse tantum à vobis tribui privato erga regem  
'sive officio sive amoris vestro, ut nos duobus, ingrati adversus sereni-  
'tatem suam animi ac denegatæ justitiæ, gravissimis nominibus incu-  
'saretis. Nos quidem agnoscimus regem vestrum ea omnia quæ in  
'vestris literis enumeratis, ac multa etiam plura promeritum, mane-  
'bitq; perpetuo non modo apud nos sed ad posteros nostros memoria  
'ejus in sedem apostolicam meritorum. Fatemurq; nos non modo  
'pontificiæ personæ quam gerimus, sed privato nostro nomine tantum  
'serenitati suæ debere, ut nunquam beneficiis parem gratiam relaturi  
'videamur. Sed quod attinet ad controversiam quæ de matrimonio  
'est inter serenitatem suam et Catharinam Reginam, tantum abest, ut  
'denegando justitiam, regis spem frustrari voluerimus, ut ultro ab  
'altera parte, tanquam plus æquo in partes majestatis suæ propensi,  
'reprehendamus. Sed, ut paulo altius perpetuum animi nostri erga  
'regem vestrum tenorem repetamus: cum primum, tribus ferme abhinc  
'annis regii oratores ad nos hanc causam detulissent; animi nostri  
'propensionem potius quam juris rigorem secuti, commisimus illam  
'dilectis filiis nostris Thomæ tt' Sanctæ Cecilie Eboracensi in regno  
'Anglæ legato, et Laurentio tt' Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim Cam-

'pegio à nostro latere misso, presbyteris cardinalibus, in regno atq ;  
 'adeo domi ipsius regis audiendam et terminandam ; satisfecimusq ;  
 'tum, quantum in nobis fuit, serenitatis suæ voluntati. Verum cum  
 'regina suspectum illud in partibus iudicium habere cepisset, et à  
 'gravaminibus sibi, ut dicebat, per eosdem legatos illatis ad sedem  
 'apostolicam appellasset, procuratoribus etiam ad dictam appellationem  
 'prosequendam constitutis, ne tum quidem desiderari passi sumus nos-  
 'tram erga ipsum regem benevolentiam. Nam tametsi causæ hujus-  
 'modi appellationis commissio negari non poterat, tamen concordia  
 'potius quam via juris terminari hanc controversiam cupientes, omnes  
 'moras in commissione dictæ causæ appellationis concedenda interpo-  
 'suimus, eo prætextu, quod esset de maioribus causis, meritoq ; ad  
 'consistorium rejicienda. Habita vero deinde super hoc cum venera-  
 'bilibus fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus aliquoties consultatione,  
 'fuit aliquamdiu dilatum negotium ; sed tandem unanimi omnium  
 'cardinalium voto conclusum est, commissionem causæ appellationis  
 'hujusmodi per nos negari non posse. Itaq ; commissa est audienda  
 'et subinde in dicto consistorio nobis referenda et terminanda. Nam  
 'cum omnibus in rebus considerate procedere debemus, tum in hac  
 'potissimum quæ regias et illustres personas tangit, et in quam totius  
 'Christianitatis oculos conjectas esse videmus. Post quæ deinde nul-  
 'lus regius legitimus procurator comparuit, qui aut scripto aut verbo  
 'de iuribus regis doceret ; ideoq ; factum, ut lis adhuc decidi non  
 'potuerit. Quippe cum ex actis et productis, non ex amore et benevo-  
 'lencia decidenda sit. Quamobrem nulla causa est, cur nobis ascribatis  
 'litis quam dicitis protelationem ; de qua miramur vos queri, cum illam  
 'oratores ipsius regis alibi et præsertim Bononiæ à nobis petierint et  
 'impetrarint, invitissimis quidem et reclamantibus Reginæ Procurato-  
 'ribus. Cum itaq ; nunquam per nos steterit, quin hæc lis, omnibus  
 'rebus mature discussis, terminaretur, non videmus quibus rationibus  
 'nitatur querimonia vestra ; nisi forte id dicitis, tot esse Regis erga nos  
 'et sedem apostolicam beneficia, ut quoquo modo in ejus voluntatem  
 'causam diffiniri oportuerit ; id enim ostenditis satis aperte, cum dici-  
 'tis, in causa ab eruditissimis viris Anglis, Gallis, Italis, ac tot acade-  
 'miarum suffragiis probata, et nemine petente ac reclamantibus quibus-  
 'cunq ; sententiam à nobis ferri debuisse. Qua in re non parum pru-  
 'dentiam et modestiam vestram requirimus. Nam non videmus, qui-  
 'bus rationibus freti postuletis, ut in causa maximi momenti senten-  
 'tiam, feramus, nemine petenti ac cæteris reclamantibus, cum ad-  
 'versa pars continue opponat totius Christianitatis scandalum, tot  
 'annorum matrimonium ad supplicationem clarissimorum Regum  
 'Henrici patris ac Ferdinandi Catholici, ex dispensatione hujus sanctæ  
 'sedis constitutum ; præterea filiam extantem et plures reginæ partus ;  
 'et adversus opiniones doctorum, quas pro vobis allegatis, multorum  
 'et ipsi gravissimorumque virorum iudicium, et pro se facientia Divini

'juris mandata adducant, argumentis haustis non modo ex Latinis, sed  
 'etiam ex uberrimis in hac re Hebræorum fontibus : nobis tamen in  
 'neutram adhuc partem inclinantibus, sed æquas aures præbentibus,  
 'cum causam hanc gravissimam et ad totam rempublicam Christianam  
 'et posteritatem omnem pertinere existimemus. Nam ex iis quas pro  
 'vobis facere doctorum hominum atque universitatum opiniones scri-  
 'bitis, pauca admodum venerunt in manus nostras, nobis non legitime,  
 'nec regis nomine, ab oratoribus præsentata, illæq ; nudæ tantum  
 'illorum hominum opiniones, nullis adscriptis rationibus cur ita senti-  
 'ant, nullaq ; sacrorum canonum et Scripturæ, quæ tantum spectare  
 'debemus, autoritate subnixæ. Postulare autem, ut, in regis gratiam,  
 'quicquam temere atq ; inconsiderate statuamus, nec æquum nec ve-  
 'stra sapientia dignum est. Nam, tametsi multum serenitati suæ  
 'debemus, tamen in judicando pluris facere cogimur eum, per quem  
 'reges regnant et principes imperant ; et veri patris officium est  
 'prospicere, ne nimia facilitate plus æquo indulgeamus filiis nostris :  
 'irretiremus enim non nostram solum sed serenitatis suæ conscientiam  
 'immatura sententia ; quæ non recte prolata, pernicioso universæ  
 'Christianitati noceret exemplo. Nam, quod regno vestro diluvium  
 'impendere dicitis, id multo magis timendum esse arbitraremur, si  
 'sententiam, quæ recta justiciæ via ac ratione ferenda est, præcipita-  
 'remus, ac, nimio erga regem vestrum amore provecti, à justitia at-  
 'que officio nostro discederemus ; masculam autem prolem non vos  
 'magis optatis quam nos serenitati suæ ; atq ; utinam tanto regi si-  
 'miles filios, ac non regni tantum, sed et virtutum hæredes haberet  
 'Christiana respublica ! Sed pro deo sumus, ut liberos dare possimus.  
 'Quod autem dicitis, nolle nos autoritate nostra, secundum veritatem  
 'de priori matrimonio declarare, quod tot docti viri pro ipso rege  
 'pronuncient, vellemus nos quidem omnibus in rebus serenitati suæ  
 'gratificari ; posse autem ita debemus, ut non destruamus ; destruere-  
 'mus enim, si quid contra juris ordinem statueremus, etsi oculis no-  
 'stris exploratissima res esset. Cæterum, quod est in extremo litera-  
 'rum vestrarum, nisi petitionibus vestris satisfecerimus, vos existima-  
 'turos vestri vobis curam esse relictam, atque aliunde remedia con-  
 'quisituros, nec vestra prudentia nec religione dignum consilium, ab  
 'eoque ut abstineatis, paterna charitate vos monemus : nec tamen ulla  
 'medici culpa esset, si ægrotus, curationis impatiens, quicquam in  
 'se statuerit, quod adversaretur saluti. Nos quidem, quæ recte ac  
 'sine pernicie dari possunt remedia non denegamus ? Quis enim in  
 'firmatur, et ego non infirmor ? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror ?  
 'Os meum patet ad vos, filii dilectissimi, et vos ut filios charissimos  
 'monemus. Sed nec regem ipsum, cujus causam agitis, probaturum  
 'fuisse credimus, ut ita scriberetis : cognitam enim habemus ac per-  
 'spectam ejus probitatem, ut ne ultro quidem oblatum, quod æquum  
 'non esset, accepturum fuisse putemus ; et tametsi vestrum omnium



‘intercessionem magni facimus, tamen noster erga serenitatem suam  
 ‘amor non patitur se cujusquam cohortatione precibusq; excitari; nec  
 ‘meminimus frustra unquam serenitatem suam à nobis petiisse, quod  
 ‘cum nostro, et hujus sanctæ sedis honore concedere possemus;  
 ‘paremq; ostendemus perpetuo voluntatem. Deniq; quod ad hanc  
 ‘causam attinet, nos quidem nullam ejus expeditioni moram inter-  
 ‘ponemus, quin, cum instructa, et partes auditæ fuerint, terminetur;  
 ‘nobis summopere cupientibus vestrum regem et ipsam reginam, nosq;  
 ‘ipsos molestissimo hoc negotio liberari. Hoc tantum à serenitate sua  
 ‘et devotionibus vestris requirimus, ne plus, ob summa ejusdem regis  
 ‘beneficia, à nobis exigatis, quam quod sine offensa Dei persolvere  
 ‘possumus; cum in cæteris omnia à nobis expectare possitis, quæ  
 ‘habitâ officii ac personæ quam gerimus et justitiæ ratione expectari  
 ‘debent. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris,  
 ‘die xxvij. Septembris MDXXX. pont’ nostri anno septimo.

‘Evangelista.’

‘To our venerable brethren the archbishops and bishops, and to  
 ‘our beloved sons the abbots, noblemen, dukes, marquesses, earls,  
 ‘barons, knights and doctors assembled together in parliament in  
 ‘England.

‘CLEMENT VII. Pope.

‘VENERABLE brothers and beloved sons, health be to you, and  
 ‘apostolical benediction. There are many expressions in your letter,  
 ‘bearing date July 13. which we receiv’d some days ago which we  
 ‘could not have thought well of, did we not wholly impute them to the  
 ‘great duty and tender affection which you bear to our most dear son  
 ‘in Christ your king. We shall therefore without taking these things  
 ‘amiss, sedately answer your letter, that you may thereby learn with  
 ‘how little reason you have complain’d of us, and, that your private  
 ‘duty and affection to your king, ought not to extend so far, as, to  
 ‘justify your accusing us of two grievous offences, ingratitude to his  
 ‘highness, and denial of justice. We do acknowledge that your king  
 ‘has deserv’d all that your letter mentions, nay, even much more;  
 ‘that the remembrance of his many meritorious actions towards the  
 ‘apostolical see, will not only live fresh in our memories, but be trans-  
 ‘mitted down to late posterity. We can’t but own likewise, that not  
 ‘only with respect to our office and character in the Church, but also  
 ‘in our own private person, we owe so much to his highness’s affection,  
 ‘as we shall scarce ever be able sufficiently to recompence. As to  
 ‘what relates to the controversy concerning the marriage between his  
 ‘highness and Queen Catherine, we have been so far from disappoint-  
 ‘ing the king’s expectation therein by denying him justice, that we  
 ‘have even lain under the censure of the other party, and have been

'thought partial, and too much inclin'd to favour his majesty's desires  
 'herein. But to give a more undeniable proof of our constant affec-  
 'tion to your king, it will be necessary to mention what has some time  
 'since pass'd : when first, about three years since, his majesty's am-  
 'bassadors laid this cause before us, rather seeking redress herein from  
 'our affection and kindness to his highness, than from the rigorous  
 'course of justice, we committed it to the determination of our beloved  
 'sons, Thomas Archbishop of York our legate in England, Cardinal  
 'Santæ Cæcilie, and Laurence Campejus Cardinal Santæ Mariæ  
 'Transtiberim our legate *de latere*, who were both in your kingdom,  
 'and upon the spot to examine into the matter ; whereby, as far as we  
 'were able, we satisfied his highness's desires. But when the queen  
 'began to suspect them as partial judges, and on the account of some  
 'grievances she had impos'd on her by the said legates, had appeal'd  
 'from them to the apostolical tribunal, and had on her part appointed  
 'proctors to prosecute the said appeal at Rome, even then our great  
 'inclination to his majesty's service was sufficiently evidenced. For  
 'although we could not in this cause deny the queen a commission of  
 'appeal, yet seeking rather that this controversy might be finish'd by  
 'the agreeable methods of peace and concord, than by course of law,  
 'we fram'd several delays in granting our commission of appeal in the  
 'said cause, under pretence that this being a cause of the highest  
 'nature, must therefore be brought before the consistory. After this  
 'we held frequent consultation with our most venerable brethren their  
 'eminences the cardinals, whereby this affair was still further put off ;  
 'till at length by the unanimous vote of all the cardinals it was con-  
 'cluded, that a commission of appeal in this cause could not be refus'd.  
 'It was therefore appointed to be examin'd, heard, and in the said  
 'consistory, by us to be finally determin'd. For as in all cases we  
 'ought to proceed with the greatest caution, so ought we more  
 'especially to do in that which concerns the majesties of kings and  
 'queens, on which we see the eyes of all the Christian world plac'd.  
 'Since which no lawful proctor has appear'd on the king's part, to set  
 'forth his majesty's pretensions either in writing, or by word of mouth,  
 'from whence it is that this cause could not yet receive its determination.  
 'Since it must be decided according to what is alledg'd, and by witnesses  
 'prov'd ; not according to favour and affection. There is therefore no  
 'reason why this deferring our sentence of determination, of which  
 'you complain should be ascrib'd to us, and your complaint herein  
 'seems to us the more strange, because his majesty's ambassadors  
 'in several places, particularly at Bononia, did request and sollicite  
 'this delay of sentence from us, contrary to the inclination and demand  
 'of the queen's proctors herein. Since therefore we have no ways  
 'occasion'd these delays, or hindred this cause from being determin'd  
 'after mature examination, and due consideration of all the circum-

'stances of it, we see not on what reasons these your complaints are  
 'grounded ; unless you will venture to say, that the services which his  
 'majesty has shewn us, and the apostolical see are such, that the cause  
 'should be determin'd in his favour, without regard had either to right  
 'or justice ; for that must be the meaning of your words, when you  
 'say that sentence ought to be given by us, though no body entreated  
 'it, nay, tho' some oppos'd it in this case, which has been adjudg'd just  
 'by all the learned in England, France and Italy, and by the decrees  
 'of so many universities : which words to us seem not to proceed from  
 'your usual prudence and modesty ; since we see not with what reason  
 'you can desire, that we should in a case of the greatest moment give  
 'sentence, though none entreated it, nay, though some oppos'd it ;  
 'when on the other side is alledg'd the great scandal and offence that  
 'all Christians would take, at a sentence of divorce from a marriage  
 'which has continu'd so many years, which was contracted by dispen-  
 'sation from the holy see, at the request of his most excellent Majesty  
 'Henry VII. and the most catholick King Ferdinand ; from whence  
 'the queen has had so many children born, and still has a daughter  
 'living ; contrary to the opinion of several doctors (which you urge  
 'also on your behalf) and those very learned and grave men, and who  
 'confirm their judgment both by the laws of God, and by arguments  
 'taken not only from the Latins, but likewise deriv'd from the Jewish  
 'law : notwithstanding all which, we kept our selves unbyass'd, inclin'd  
 'to favour neither side, but to hear both, looking on this most extraordi-  
 'nary cause, not only to concern the whole Christian world, but also to  
 'belong to all posterity. As for the opinion of learned men, and the  
 'decrees of universities which you mention, few of them have come to  
 'our notice, shewn us not in proper form by your ambassadors, nor in  
 'the name of the king exhibited, and those were but bare opinions of  
 'those men, alledging no reasons for their determinations, nor support-  
 'ing them by any authority from Scripture, or the canons, which herein  
 'ought only to prevail. Wherefore, to demand that we should rashly,  
 'and without due consideration, determine any thing herein in his  
 'majesty's favour, is a thing neither righteous in it self, nor agreeable  
 'to your wisdom. For although we owe much to his highness, yet in  
 'executing judgment we must necessarily much more regard Him by  
 'whom kings reign, and princes decree justice ; and further, it is the  
 'duty of a good father, to take care that by over fondness, he do not  
 'too much indulge his children : besides, we should not only entangle  
 'our own, but also his highness's conscience, by such an hasty and in-  
 'considerate sentence, which if thus unduly given, would by its dan-  
 'gerous example, greatly damage the whole Christian world. As for that  
 'deluge of calamities, which you fear is impending over your kingdom,  
 'sure it were much more to be fear'd, if we should rashly hasten that  
 'sentence which ought calmly to proceed in the straight way of justice



'and reason, thereby violating both our own duty, and departing from  
 'the rules of justice through too great favour and affection to your  
 'king ; you cannot with more earnest desires wish his majesty a son,  
 'than we do ; and that not only his highness, but all Christian princes  
 'had sons like so great a king, the inheritors not only of their realms,  
 'but of such princely virtues, but we are not in the stead of God, that  
 'we can give children. As to what you say, that we were unwilling to  
 'confirm by our authority, a truth concerning the former marriage,  
 'which by so many learned men in the kingdom is agreed upon ; we  
 'are truly willing to gratifie his highness in all things, wherein we are  
 'able by our authority, but then our ability can't extend to those things  
 'which will destroy that authority, as it would if we should judicially  
 'give sentence contrary to the usual methods and due course of law in  
 'any thing, tho' it might appear never so plain and manifest to us.  
 'As for what you mention in the end of your letter, that unless we  
 'grant your request herein, you shall imagine that the care of your  
 'selves is remitted into your own hands, and that you were left at  
 'liberty to seek remedy herein elsewhere ; this is a resolution neither  
 'worthy of your prudence, nor becoming your Christianity ; and we do  
 'therefore of our fatherly love, exhort you to abstain from any such  
 'rash attempt : tho' it would be no fault of the physician, if the patient  
 'weary of his distemper, should rashly and unadvisedly venture upon  
 'measures destructive to his health : we indeed never deny'd you such  
 'remedies as might with safety be given, and with advantage receiv'd ;  
 'for who is weak, and I am not weak ; who is offended, and I burn  
 'not ? I write not these things to shame you, but as my beloved sons  
 'I warn you. We can't imagine that his majesty, on whose account  
 'you write, can approve your writing in this manner ; for we know,  
 'and are so fully acquainted with his honour and integrity, that we are  
 'assur'd he would not accept of any thing that is unjust, although it  
 'were offered him ; and although your intercession is in all cases of  
 'great power and prevalence with us, yet is our love and affection to  
 'his highness such, as to need neither the entreaty nor solicitation of  
 'any persons whatever, to influence or quicken it ; and as we never  
 'remember that his highness has ever yet made his request to us, and  
 'receiv'd a denial, where it could be granted with safety to our own,  
 'and the honour of the apostolical see, so we shall always shew him the  
 'same regard and good-will. Lastly, as to the present cause, we shall  
 'give no hindrance or delay to its decision, so that when it is ready for  
 'examination, and all the circumstances of it have been heard, it shall  
 'be brought to a speedy determination, and final conclusion ; being  
 'earnestly desirous to free your king and queen, and our own selves  
 'from this most troublesom affair. But this we must desire of his  
 'highness, and of your goodness, that you would not require more  
 'from us, by reason of his majesty's great deservings of us, than we

'can without offending God perform; and then you may assure your selves of all the good offices which can be expected from us, considering the person and office we bear, and the justice we are indispensably bound to administer. Given at St. Peter's, Rome, under the seal of the fisherman, Sept. 27. 1530. in the seventh year of our pontificat.'

And now Cardinal Woolsey it seems had tried his utmost skill for recovering of the king's favour; where of also some hope was given him in his being permitted to remove to Richmond. But as his enemies suspected he would make use of this nearness, to obtain access to the king, so they labour'd instantly to send him to the north. Wherein they prevail'd at length, obtaining further, that the revenues of the bishoprick of Winchester, and abbey of St. Albans, as also some other places of his, forfeited by the præmunire, might be applied in part to the king's servants; a pension only out of Winchester, being reserv'd to the cardinal. The revenues also of his two colleges were torn and divided, which griev'd him more than any other affliction: insomuch, that he wrote to the king, humbly, as on his knees, with weeping eyes, that the college of Oxford might stand, and importun'd Cromwel to this purpose, since they are in a manner, saith he, '*opera manuum tuarum.*' But Cromwel return'd him no comfort herein, saying, 'the king was determin'd to dissolve them, though whether he meant to restore them again, and found them in his own name, he knew not; but wishes him to be content,' etc. Howsoever, in the traffick of these and other lands, as well as negotiating his master's business, Cromwel shew'd that dexterity, which at last won him much credit, both with the king and his principal counsellors. And now the cardinal being commanded to York, had no excuse for retarding his journey, but want of means, which also he signified to the king; who thereupon sent him a thousand pounds, with which and a train, reduc'd now to about 160 persons, he (March.) set forth, giving by the way much alms, and not a few other arguments of devotion, which also made him gracious with the people, who resorted from all places adjoining, to him. And thus with slow and unwilling removes, he came to Cawood Castle near York, about the end of Sept. 1530. where he prepar'd, according to the ancient custom, to be install'd with much ceremony about a month after; all access to the choire, being till then forbidden. But whether the solemnity of this action was thought by our king to be unreasonable, and misbecoming one in disgrace; or that otherwise the cardinal had cast forth some discontented words, which were related again to the king; here certainly began his final ruine. Which, as his enemies (at this distance) did with more boldness and advantage procure, so had he less means to repair himself. Insomuch, that without being able to discover or prevent their machinations, he was forc'd to suffer all that could be either truly or (almost)

falsly surmis'd against him. Neither had he other hope, but that the punishments, he had already endur'd, might be accepted as an intire satisfaction for all his offences. And now his stallation grew near, when the Earl of Northumberland, warden of the marches, with one Sir Walter Welsh, gentleman of the king's privy chamber, came (Nov. 4.) by the king's command to Cawood to arrest the cardinal, wherein he us'd that diligence and secresy, that he had plac'd his guards in the hall, before any escap'd to advertise the cardinal thereof. Neither did he, at the earl's coming up stairs, receive him in other terms than those of a guest, till entring into a private chamber together, the earl in a low and troubled voice arrested him of high treason. The dismayed and pensive cardinal stay'd a while before he answer'd, but at last recovering his spirits, demanded the sight of the earl's commission, protesting that otherwise he would not obey ; urging further, that he was a member of the college of cardinals at Rome, and so exempt from all princes jurisdiction. But while the earl reply'd, that he might not shew his commission, Sir Walter Welsh, who had now arrested Doctor Augustine the cardinal's physician, comes in, and confirms what the earl had said. The cardinal believing (by this time) that they were in good earnest, yields to Sir Walter Welsh, as the king's servant, and not to the earl ; to whom he said, he would not submit himself, before he was better satisfied of his authority. Which whether he did out of stubbornness to the earl, who had been heretofore educated in his house, or out of despiht to Mistress Anne Bolen, who (he might conceive) had put this affront upon him, in finding means to employ her ancient sutor to take revenge in both their names, doth not appear to me by my author. Howsoever, he protested he was no way faulty in his allegiance. Doctor Augustine (whose offence yet doth not appear to me) was dispatch'd to London, in the posture of a traytor, his legs tied to his horse. But the cardinal had some respite ; though yet commanded to prepare for his journey ; which he began (Nov. 8.) at length in that deliberate manner, that if he remov'd slowly before from the king, he mov'd now more slowly to him. Insomuch that had not the Earl of Shrewsbury, to whom (being the steward of the king's houshold) the Earl of Northumberland was commanded to deliver him, till the king's further pleasure were known, told him, that the king commanded he should be us'd kindly, as one whom he highly favour'd ; it is probable, that the afflicted cardinal would have fallen under the burthen of his own griefs. Furthermore, the earl assur'd him on the king's part, that, though his highness could do no less than put him to his trial, yet that it was more for the satisfying of some persons, than out of mistrust of his traiterous doings. And thus at Sheffield Castle, he staid a fortnight, when a wind-cholick, which ended in a dysentery, took him. In which state, Sir William Kingston, captain of the king's guard, and Constable of the Tower, attended



with twenty four yeomen of the guard (all of them formerly servants to the cardinal) did find him. So that, notwithstanding the many encouragements of the earl, seconded by Sir William Kingston (who on his knees saluted him) the cardinal remain'd still sick and comfortless. Neither did it avail him, that Sir William Kingston (on the king's part) gave him many gracious words, adding furthermore, that he should make no more haste than stood with his health and convenience. For the cardinal became still more and more dejected. Notwithstanding, as he consider'd that delay would but argue guiltiness, so he proceeded in his journey the best he could, till he came to Leicester Abbey, where (Nov. 17.) a feaver, complicate with his former disease, seizing on him, he languish'd, not without manifest signs of his end. Being thus upon his bed, Sir William Kingston came again to comfort him, but the cardinal, finding now that death would discharge him of all trials, but that before God, spake to this effect :

'Had I serv'd God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs ; but this is my just reward. Notwithstanding, I pray ye commend me most humbly to the king, desiring him to call to remembrance all matters that have past betwixt us, and specially about Queen Katharine, and then shall his grace know whether I have offended him. He is a prince of royal courage; but rather than he will want or miss any part of his will or pleasure, he will endamage the loss of one half of his realm. For, I assure you, I have often kneeled before him, sometimes the space of three hours, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could never dissuade him from it. Therefore Master Kingston, I warn you, if ever you be of his council (as for your wisdom you are meet) that ye be well assur'd and advis'd what you put in his head, for you shall never put it out again.' After which words (as Cavendish hath them) he began an exhortation to take heed of the Lutherans, by the example of those of Bohemia, lest they should likewise subvert the secular power. But as in the prosecuting of this discourse his speech fail'd him, so did his breath presently after, insomuch that he died, and was buried there in the abbey church, Nov. 30. before day. And not where he had begun a monument for himself, long since, (wherein, as appears by our records, he had not omitted his own image) which one Benedetto, a statuary of Florence, took in hand 1524. and continued till 1529. receiving for so much as was already done 4250 ducats. The design whereof was so glorious, that it exceeded far that of Henry VII. Nevertheless, I find the cardinal, when this was finish'd, did purpose to make a tomb for Henry VIII. but dying in this manner, King Henry made use of so much as he found fit, and call'd it his. Thus did the tomb of the cardinal partake the same fortune with his college, as being assum'd by the king ; both which yet remain still imperfect. The news of the cardinal's death being brought to our king, did so

much afflict him, that he wish'd it had cost him twenty thousand pounds upon condition he had liv'd. Howbeit he omitted not to enquire of about one thousand and five hundred pounds, which the Cardinal Woolsey had lately got, without that the king could imagine how. So that, till it appear'd he borrow'd it of divers persons, he might perchance suspect it to be the remainder of some of his ancient acquisitions.

And thus concluded that great cardinal. A man in whom ability of parts, and industry were equally eminent, though, for being employ'd wholly in ambitious ways, they became dangerous instruments of power in active and mutable times. By these arts yet he found means to govern not only the chief affairs of this kingdom, but of Europe; there being no potentate, which, in his turn, did not seek to him; and as this procur'd him divers pensions, so, when he acquainted the king therewith, his manner was, so cunningly to disoblige that prince who did see him last, as he made way thereby oftentimes to receive as much on the other side. But not of secular princes alone, but even of the pope and clergy of Rome he was no little courted; of which therefore he made especial use, while he drew them to second him on most occasions. His birth being otherwise so obscure and mean, as no man had ever stood so single: for which reason also, his chief endeavour was not to displease any great person, which yet could not secure him against the divers pretenders of that time. For as all things pass'd through his hands, so they who fail'd in their suits generally hated him, all which, though it did but exasperate his ill nature, yet this good resultance follow'd, that it made him take the more care to be just; whereof also he obtain'd the reputation in his publick hearing of causes. For as he lov'd no body, so his reason carried him. And thus he was an useful minister of his king, in all points, where there was no question of disserving the Roman Church; of which (at what price soever) I find he was a zealous servant; as hoping thereby to aspire to the papacy, whereof (as the factious times then were) he seem'd more capable than any, had he not so immoderately affected it. Whereby also it was not hard to judge of his inclinations. That prince, who was ablest to help him to this dignity, being ever preferr'd by him, which therefore was the ordinary bait by which the emperor and French king, one after the other, did catch him. And, upon these terms, he doubted not to convey vast treasures out of this kingdom, especially unto Rome, where he had not a few cardinals at his devotion. By whose help, though he could not obtain that supreme dignity he so passionately desir'd, yet he prevail'd himself so much of their favour, as he got a kind of absolute power in spiritual matters at home. Wherewith again he so serv'd the king's turn, as it made him think the less of using his own authority. One error seem'd common to both, which was, that such a multiplicity of

offices and places were invested in him. For as it drew much envy upon the cardinal in particular, so it derogated no little from the regal authority, while one man alone seem'd to exhaust all. Since it becometh princes to do like good husbandmen when they sow their grounds, which is, to scatter, and not to throw all in one place. He was no great dissembler, for so qualified a person ; as ordering his business for the most part so cautiously, as he got more by keeping his word than by breaking it. As for his learning, (which was far from exact) it consisted chiefly in the subtilties of the Thomists, wherewith the king and himself did more often weary than satisfie each other. His style in missives was rather copious than eloquent, yet ever tending to the point. Briefly, if it be true (as Polydore observes) that no man ever did rise with fewer vertues, it is as true, that few that ever fell from so high a place had lesser crimes objected against him. Though yet Polydore (for being at his first coming into England committed to prison by him, as we have said) may be suspected as a partial author. So that in all probability he might have subsisted longer, when either his pride and immense wealth had not made him obnoxious, and suspected to the king, or that other than women had oppos'd him : who as they are vigilant and close enemies, so for the most part, they carry their businesses in that manner, they leave fewer advantages against themselves, than men do. In conclusion, as I cannot assent to those who thought him happy for enjoying the untimely compassion of the people a little before his end, so I cannot but account it a principal felicity, that during his favour with the king, all things succeeded better than afterwards ; though yet it may be doubted whether the impressions he gave, did not occasion divers irregularities which were observ'd to follow.

I will return now a while to the business of the emperor at Augsbuurg, where (by his command) the general diet was appointed the eighth of April, 1530. Cardinal Campejus being employ'd for these businesses on the pope's behalf. The emperor coming thither in the beginning of June, the first point resolv'd, was, that until controversies in religion were settled, all the preachers on both sides (some moderate persons to be nominated by the emperor only excepted) should be silenc'd : which being done, the emperor declares, that the causes of calling together the assembly were, first, the invasion of the Turk. Secondly, the affairs of religion ; demanding their advice and help in both ; which that they might perform with less confusion, he commanded their several propositions to be put in writing and read. Whereupon the reform'd princes made instance, that matters of religion might be first compos'd, promising afterwards to proceed unto the rest. Not long after which, Campejus in a Latin oration, exhorted them to obey the emperor herein ; adding further in the pope's name, that such order should be taken as unity in religion might be conserv'd, to the



end that all might go against the Turk. Which also was spoken in sequence of the emperor's treaty with the pope at Bononia, where he endeavour'd nothing more, than to reconcile the differences then in agitation in Germany. Hereupon, the Duke of Saxony, (with whom Melancthon was,) the Marquiss of Brandenburg, the Dukes of Lunenburg, the Landgrave and others, desir'd the emperor to receive in writing the confession of their faith, (call'd from this diet, *Confessio Augustana*) which the emperor at last granted; admitting afterwards the confession of Strasburg, Constance, Lyndaw, Memingen, and some other great towns, who following Zuinglius rather than Luther, differ'd in some points. Whereupon, advice being taken with Campejus, what was to be done, it was determin'd, that some able persons of the Romanists should, by way of confutation, return a written answer hereunto, accompany'd with a strict command of the emperor's to obey it. But this again, was mitigated, and the reasons at last examin'd on both sides. The resultance whereof (among the more sober) was, that since they agreed on so many points, their chief labours should be not to make any schism for the rest; since it could not be deny'd, but some things requir'd reformation. But the more heady sort, on either side, would not acquiesce so, requiring an absolute assent to their several opinions; insomuch that they kindled in their disputations against each other. The Duke of Saxony (particularly) demanding, that the answer to their confession might be given to them in writing, which yet was not suddenly approv'd by the emperor; though at last finding no other way to avoid tumult, he granted their request, on this condition, that they should not print or publish the said answer. Wherewith some were so discontented, that they return'd home, as thinking it not enough to enjoy their particular conscience, unless they disputed it abroad, and instructed others. At last, Aug. 6. 1530. seven persons were appointed on each side, to determine controversies, of which two should be persons of quality, two lawyers, and three divines. Whereupon the Romanists took the Bishop of Augsburg, and Henry Duke of Brunswick, two lawyers, and Winpinus, Eccius, and Cochläus, divines. The other side choosing George Duke of Bradenburgh, John Frederick of Saxony, two lawyers, and Melancthon, Brentius, and Schnepsius, divines. But these not agreeing sufficiently (though coming somewhat nearer than they are at this present) Melancthon with two lawyers, and Eccius with two others, were permitted to decide the business. But because the Protestants thought they had yielded already, to as much as was possible for them with safety of conscience, the business was remitted again to a greater number. To which course yet the Protestants would not condescend, but desir'd a course should be taken for preserving of peace till a general council were call'd. The emperor finding things thus protracted, labours to divide the chiefs, betwixt threats and promises, as each was most obnoxious; writing notwith-

standing to the pope (as I find by the Spanish history) that there was no way for ending of differences but by a council ; which therefore he desir'd might be granted, for those reasons which Don Pedro de Cueva should tell him. He omitted not also to write to the college of cardinals for this purpose : adding further, for a motive, that divers princes (in which our king also concurr'd) agreed in the same request ; as judging it necessary, not only for the cause above-mention'd, but even for the pope's proper conservation. He required also the dispatches usual for making his brother Ferdinand King of the Romans. Lastly, he desir'd permission to sell the ornaments and goods of the churches in Italy and Germany, or at least to have the fourth part of the ecclesiastical revenues, it being, as he said, for the defence of the common faith. Which coming, at last, to the princes notice, was so suspected, that they oppos'd it. So that, though otherwise they were averse enough from the Roman Church, yet, whether out of the danger they foresaw of putting so much money into the emperor's hands, or that otherwise they would make themselves necessary, they vehemently impugn'd it. Erasmus understanding now what was doing, writes (Aug. 18.) to Campejus a monitory letter, concluding, that as affairs then stood, it was better suffer, than to make war against the Lutherans ; supposing perchance, no peace so devoid of religion, as a civil war. The emperor finding (Sept. 7.) matters thus discompos'd, calls the princes together, promising that a council should be call'd, as soon as the place might be agreed ; upon condition, they would keep peace in the mean while, and the religion anciently professed. But the Protestants affirming, that theirs was the ancient religion, thank'd the emperor for the rest, desiring only the council might be pious and free. The emperor not satisfied thus, would needs dispute himself a while (which the Spanish say he did with that eagerness that he drew his dagger ; ) but neither this prevail'd. So that, for a conclusion, instead of making an amicable accord, he publish'd a rigorous decree ; commanding the practice of the ancient religion, and ceremonies, and that the Protestants every where should permit the Romanists the use thereof, denouncing severe punishments to those which obey'd not : howbeit, he promis'd, within six months to obtain from the pope sufficient authority for calling a council the year following. In the mean time, that peace should be kept with all those who subscrib'd to this decree ; who also, and no other, might be admitted to sit as judges in the imperial chamber. The Protestants now considering, that it was impossible to come to an exact decision of the points controverted, and being offended withal that the emperor denied them a copy of this decree, took their leaves somewhat abruptly, and return'd ; whereupon the emperor (intending chiefly the safeguard of Germany against the Turks) commanded the other princes attendance. From whom he demanded money, towards the war ; which as few denied (to their

powers) so the agents for the Duke of Saxony, and other Protestants offer'd freely to contribute their parts, when they might but enjoy peace, and the exercise of their religion till the above-mention'd council was call'd. But the emperor, not thus contented, insisted still on his decree; and the rather that the prime doctors of the reformed (which were many) could not agree among themselves, concerning the Lord's Supper, and some other articles. The consequence whereof being not difficult to foresee, the Duke of Saxony employ'd Martin Bucer to reconcile them; who also had brought them near to a head. Neither was there other impediment, but that singularity they affected in their several opinions. Which yet proved to the detriment of religion. For had they all, who agreed on a reformation, agreed sufficiently among themselves, it is probable their doctrine would have been more generally embrac'd. But as the Romanists took this occasion to brand the reform'd, so they again regarding more their reputation (ingag'd to their auditors in the pulpit, or public writing) than an unity and peace of religion, did by degrees rather violently confirm their own assertions, than any way retract them. So that Germany now labour'd under the terrors, and the difficulties which their several teachers had impos'd upon them.

In which state of things yet the reform'd princes and cities, for preventing further inconveniences, agreed together to meet by themselves, or deputies, at Smalcald, about the end of Dec. (at the same time that the emperor having concluded the diet at Augsburg (19 Nov.) had appointed all the electors to meet at Collen (Dec. 29.) concerning the choosing a king of the Romans. And here a defensive league being made by the Protestants, they thought fit to signifie it to the emperor: and together to declare certain objections against the pretended election. Notwithstanding which, the emperor proceeds to make his brother Ferdinand King of the Romans, Jan 5. 1531. which also being advertis'd to the confederate Protestants, John Frederick Duke of Saxony manifested the election imperfect and defective. Not without the advice certainly of Francis; who as he had his designs that way, so he endeavour'd nothing more than to draw a party to him; giving order, in the mean while, to unite and incorporate Bretagne to France, upon condition that the eldest son should always quarter the arms thereof with those of Dauphine. And in these terms stood the affairs of Germany in the end of 1530. which I have deliver'd with the more particularity, for that the first manifest separation from the Roman Church began here, there being little else material in regard of England that I can find, save that our king (as appears by a dispatch of July 15. 1530.) having certified George Duke of Saxony, of his intentions concerning his divorce, was much comforted and applauded by him.

I shall conclude this year with two great inundations; one (Oct 8. of



Tiber in Rome, and the other (Nov.) of the sea in the Low-Countries; which were very damageable; shortly after which follow'd the death (Nov. 30. 1530.) of the two great ladies who made the treaty of Cambray. Madam Margarite, aunt to the emperor, departed first, who having been propos'd in marriage to our Henry VII. (when she was then about twenty seven years of age) and afterwards thought of it a little with Charles Brandon, died in the fifty-second year of her age, with the reputation of governing the Low-Countries with much discretion for the space of twenty three years. The news whereof being brought the emperor, made him neglect all his other businesses, to come to the burial; which being perform'd with much solemnity, he substituted his sister Donna Maria, (widow of the late unfortunate King of Hungary) in her place. Madam Louise, mother of Francis, died shortly after, (Sept. 22. 1531.) (for whom our king kept a solemn obsequy) a lady from whom France receiv'd many good, and not a few ill offices. For if she govern'd wisely, during the king's captivity, and again procur'd both his and her grand-childrens delivery; she was thought also out of some particular despiht to Bourbon, to have given him the first causes of discontentment: and to have occasion'd in part the loss of the dutchy of Milan.

Our king during these great affairs of Christendom, resolving his parliament should continue, caus'd it to sit again, January 6. 1531. Where these laws were enacted.

That, because much wooll was imploy'd to uses not so beneficial to the kingdom, and sometimes transported by strangers, it was decreed, that none should buy wooll in some principal shires (to the number of twenty eight) but those who would make cloth or yarn thereof, and that strangers should not buy any till the Purification of our Lady. But this being a law that might likewise have its inconveniency, was continu'd only for ten years, as it had been in some former kings times.

Also a law was made against exactions on apprentices by masters, wardens, etc. And this was beneficial for poor men, who were not able to put their children to learn occupations without paying extraordinary sums. A remedy also was taken for repairing of decay'd bridges, and highways, and the manner of raising the money (which before was uncertain) set down. The carrying over of horses, mares, geldings, also was forbidden upon a penalty to all places but Calais. Moreover, denisons, notwithstanding their priviledges, were order'd to pay such customs as they paid before. For which purpose the officers and ministers of cities and boroughs, etc. where such customs, etc. were due, were commanded to set up a table in some open place, containing the particulars of them. Which act yet was not extended to the merchants of the Stilliard (call'd then Theutonic.) Together with which, it was provided, that the tables touching scavage be set up at London, should be first view'd and examin'd by the chancellor, and treasurer

in England, the president of the king's council, the lord privy seal, and lord steward, and the two chief justices ; or by four of them at least, and by them subscrib'd. And this was for preventing of the secret exactions of tolls by mayors, sheriffs, etc. upon wares to be sold within their precincts. A law was made also against Egyptians, who under pretence of telling fortunes, got money and credit among the more ignorant sort. And whereas some penal statutes were made heretofore against strangers who were handicrafts-men ; it was declar'd, that the said strangers, being bakers, brewers, chirurgeons, and scriveners were exempted, and not taken to be handicrafts-men. And, because the abuse of taking sanctuary, and flying to hallowed places was great about this time, insomuch that many criminals, finding refuge and protection in them, did there abjure the realm, and so went into foreign parts, by which means they discover'd the secrets of the state, to the great prejudice thereof. And whereas also, when they were to be tried before the judges in the circuits, they would plead they were taken out of some sanctuary or hallowed place, and justice thereby delay'd ; divers good orders were taken to remedy these inconveniences. Which yet I mention not at large ; because they, together with the use of sanctuaries, were at length wholly antiquated, and abolish'd. And now the business of præmunire, into which the whole clergy was said to fall, by supporting the power legantine of the cardinal, having fully been debated by the king's council learned, and resolv'd against them ; (whereupon also they were brought to the king's bench :) it was agreed in their convocation-house, to deliver a petition to the king. Here then the first question was, in what form to make it ; the title of *Ecclesiae et Cleri Anglicani Protector et Supremum Caput*, was by some inserted in the proem ; but this again being demurr'd on, some of the king's council, together with Cromwel, came in and persuaded them to approve it ; but they being silent, the Archbishop of Canterbury said, '*Qui tacet consentire videtur ;*' whereto one answer'd, '*Itaque tacemus omnes.*' But at last this clause being added, *quantum per Christi legem licet*, nine bishops (whereof John Fisher Bishop of Rochester was one) and fifty two abbots and priors consented thereunto, as also the major part of the lower house, and particularly Stephen Gardiner. Being thus agreed on the proem, they petition'd the king, that he would accept the sum of one hundred thousand pounds of the province of Canterbury (eighteen thousand eight hundred forty pounds, being afterwards given by the province of York) in lieu of all punishments : they promising, for the future, to make no constitution, or execute any, without the king's leave. All which the king graciously accepting, granted them a pardon for all offences against the statutes of provisors, provisions and præmunire, and all other penalties and forfeitures, except treason, murder, and robbery. But when this act having pass'd the lords, came to the lower house, the commons, not

knowing how far this might concern them, made some difficulty till themselves were included, which being related to the king, he gave them a check, saying, 'that was not the way to exempt themselves.' Whereupon the lower house, becoming sensible of the king's displeasure, and their own danger, humbled themselves in that sort, that the king granted them a pardon likewise.

I SHALL begin the foreign business of this year, 1531. with the coronation of Ferdinand King of the Romans at Aix, (Jan. 11), on whom it was thought, the emperor his brother did confer this dignity, that he might the better ease himself from the troubles of Germany, which now appear'd in so many kinds, and places, that his council in Spain writ a letter, (June 28.) exhorting him to leave those parts, and return. To which also conduc'd that Ferdinand had receiv'd the year before, the crown of Bohemia, so that he was now enabled to sustain the dignity of that charge ; to the which I find also the Duke of Bavaria aspir'd. Howbeit as this was done by the emperor's sole authority (and without those formalities anciently us'd) it was not every where allow'd for authentical. So that it was thought fit an imperial mandate should be sent forth every where in Germany to obey Ferdinand. Together with which the Duke of Saxony and the Protestants were requir'd to assist in a war against the Turks. For which also all military preparations were made. But whether the Protestants doubted lest this should be intended against them, or that otherwise they thought all hope of reconciling differences in religion to be vain, they prepar'd to defend themselves. They would indeed have been glad to see some general and moderate reformation. But as those they call'd the most erroneous points of the Roman clergy's faith, prov'd to be their most profitable and commodious doctrines, the Romanists fighting for them, (*tanquam pro aris et focis*,) all accord was adjudg'd desperate: notwithstanding which, neither would they have broken those necessary bonds of charity, (which religion should strengthen) or liv'd under other name than that of catholic, when the Romanists would have allow'd the ancient creed to be the rule of faith. But when they found that, for reducing divers things to their primitive institutions, they were call'd innovators, and that the Roman Church would remit nothing of its rigor, under pretence that it was inspir'd from above ; they not only cast off all hope of accommodation, but advis'd how to obtain a benign censure of their actions abroad. Therefore, they sent several letters to our king and Francis, dated Feb. 16. 1531. from Smalcald, reciting what had formerly past at Worms, and Augsburg, betwixt the emperor and them ; saying farther, 'that the emperor propos'd to them certain articles (call'd the interim) 'which they should hold till a general council were summon'd, but that 'they were such, as they could not with any safety of conscience



'admit ; concluding with a request, that their good offices with the 'emperor might be interpos'd for the convocation of a pious and free 'council, out of all the parts of the Christian world ; which also the 'emperor had promis'd.' But before the several answers of these princes were return'd, the emperor doubting the consequences of this assembly, requires again their assistance, against the Turk. To which the princes reply'd, that before themselves had security given for peace, it was unseasonable to grant help against others. Which being privately advertis'd to the French king, he left a while his amourettes, to which he was now much addicted, and studied nothing more than how to make some advantage of the division. For the present yet he return'd this answer only to the princes, dated 21 April, 1531. 'That 'he desir'd peace and a general council, and was glad to understand 'they inclin'd that way ; only that they must take care of choosing a 'secure and indifferent place, for the convocation thereof. And for 'how much he esteem'd them, he said they might gather by this, that 'during his war with the emperor, all free access and intercourse 'was permitted them.' Our king also, by his letters of May 3. writ, 'that he was glad to understand their design was to conserve the 'ancient religion, and to cure only the diseases crept into it. There- 'fore, that they should especially take heed of those who desir'd to inno- 'vate, bringing in parity of degrees and persons, and making the 'magistrate contemptible. Of whom he could not but take notice, 'some of them having come out of Germany to his realm ; concluding, 'that he desir'd a council, and that he would mediate with the emperor 'for them.' The princes thus animated, protest against the coronation of Ferdinand, as being done in an undue manner, preparing withal to defend themselves. Which being related to the Swiss, made them desire to enter into the confederacy. (June.) But the Duke of Saxony refus'd ; alledging, that since they differ'd about the Lord's Supper, they could not safely accept their help and friendship, lest ill should happen to them, as to those (*ut Scriptura testatur*) *qui muniendi sui causa cujusque modi præsidiis usi sunt*. For, as the Scriptures began then commonly to be read, so out of the literal sense thereof, the manner of those times was, promiscuously to draw arguments, for whatsoever in matter of state or otherwise was to be done. Insomuch, that the text which came nearest the point in question, was taken as a decision of the business ; to the no little detriment of their affairs : the Scriptures not pretending yet to give regular instructions in those points. But this is so much less strange, that the year preceding, the Scriptures (heretofore not permitted to the view of the people) were now translated in divers languages, and into English, by Tindal, Joy, and others, (May 3. 1530.) though, as not being warranted by the king's authority, they were publickly burnt, and a new and better translation promis'd to be set forth, and allow'd to the people. It

being not thought fit by our king, that under what pretence or difficulty soever, his subjects should be defrauded of that, wherein was to be found the Word of God, and means of their salvation. Howbeit not a few inconveniences were observ'd to follow. For as the people did not sufficiently separate the more clear and necessary parts thereof from the obscure and accessory; and as again taking the several authors to be equally inspir'd, they did equally apply themselves to all; they fell into many dangerous opinions: little caring how they liv'd, so they understood well, bringing religion thus into much irresolution and controversy. While few men agreeing on the same interpretation of the harder places, vexed each other's conscience, appropriating to themselves the gift of the Spirit. Whereof the Roman Church, (much perplext at first with these defections) did at last prevail it self; as assuming alone the power of that decision; which yet was us'd more in favour of themselves, than such an analogy, as ought to be found in so perfect a book. So that few were satisfied therewith, but such as, renouncing their own judgment, and submitting to theirs, yielded themselves wholly to an implicit faith; in which, though they found an apparent ease, yet as, for justifying of themselves, the authority of their belief, was deriv'd more immediately from the Church, than the Scripture, not a few difficulties were introduc'd, concerning both: while the more speculative sort could not imagine, how to hold that as an infallible rule, which needed humane help to vindicate and support it; nevertheless, as by frequent reading of the Scripture at this time, it generally appear'd what the Roman Church had added or alter'd in religion, so many recover'd a just liberty, endeavouring together a reformation of the doctrine and manners of the clergy, which yet, through the obstinacy of some, succeeded worse, than so pious intentions deserv'd.

The former proceedings of King Henry, being advertis'd to the pope, made him fear a total defection in our king. Insomuch, that at Rome they studied nothing more than how to retain him in his ancient devotion; some arguments whereof have been formerly mention'd. To the furthering of which intention also it did not a little conduce, that he had taken some distast against the emperor; who, being desir'd to appoint certain judges to determine all differences betwixt him and the Duke of Ferrara, concerning Modena and Reggio, chose such as sentenc'd on the duke's behalf; which so incens'd the pope, that he fell off from the emperor (as will appear hereafter.) For which reason also it is probable, that our king might have clos'd with him, and receiv'd some satisfaction in the affair of the divorce, had not his parliament, at this time, (Jan. 6.) as is above-said, concurr'd to the setting up of the regal authority in ecclesiastical affairs. To whom therefore he thought fit to communicate what his agents, in Italy and other places, had done, concerning that so much controverted point of

the lawfulness of his marriage. Whereupon, the parliament yet sitting, the lord chancellor, accompany'd with Doctor Stokesley Bishop of London, and divers other lords spiritual and temporal, came into the lower house March 31. 1531. and told them ; that they could not be ignorant, how the king, having married his brother's wife, was troubled in conscience, and therefore had sent to the most learned universities in Christendom, to be resolv'd in that point ; and namely had employ'd the Bishop of London there present, for this purpose. Not, yet, but that his own universities of Oxford and Cambridge could have sufficiently decided the point, but that he might the more amply satisfie himself and the world. Whereupon Sir Bryan Tuke was commanded to take out, and read the determinations of the universities of Paris, Orleans, Angiers, Bourges in Berry, and Tholouse in France, and of Bononia and Padua in Italy, who all agreed, in declaring the marriage unlawful. After which, above a hundred books of several doctors, (whereof Doctor Cranmer's was one) confirming the same opinion, were exhibited. The perusing of which yet (the day being far spent) was referr'd to a further time. As also the resolution of our two universities (brought after the rest to our king,) which because Sanders calls in a sort surreptitious, I shall relate out of some original pieces which I have seen. To the university of Oxford, the Bishop of Lincoln was employ'd, where, neither easily, nor by general vote, there past this decree, 4 April, 1530.

'NOS Johannes Cotisford hujus almæ Universitatis Oxoniæ commissarius, autoritate et consensu hujus totius venerabilis convocationis, declaramus, decernimus, et definimus, majorem partem omnium doctorum, magistrorum, tam regentium quam non regentium, singularum facultatum hujus almæ Universitatis Oxon. concessisse et consensum pariter et assensum suum prebuisse, quod determinatio, definitio et responsio ad quæstionem nobis ex parte serenissimi domini regis nuper propositam, per illos triginta tres doctores et baccalaureos, ad id per facultatem theologiæ nuper electos, sive per majorem partem eorum faciendam, habeatur, censeatur, et reputetur, pro definitione determinatione et responsione totius hujus universitatis; et quod liceat dominis commissario et procuratoribus sigillum commune universitatis literis super præfata determinatione per eosdem concipiendis, apponere.

'WE John Cotisford, commissary of the University of Oxford, by the authority, and with the consent of the whole venerable convocation, do declare, determine and adjudge, that the major part of all the doctors, masters, as well regents as non-regents of all faculties in this famous university, have agreed and given their consent and assent, that the determination, resolution, and final answer to the question lately propounded to us by his most excellent majesty the king, which shall be given by the thirty three doctors and bachelors in the faculty



of divinity, chosen for that purpose, or by the major part of them, be esteem'd and accounted the determination, resolution and final answer of this whole university, and therefore that it may be lawful for the commissary and the proctors to affix the common seal of the university to the decree, which shall be made in pursuance to their said determination.'

Which copy though blurr'd (upon what occasion I know not, for it is not probable it should be intended to the king in that manner) was dispatch'd the day following, as the act of the university, by the Bishop of Lincoln. As for the University of Cambridge, I find Stephen Gardiner, and Edward Fox were employ'd; where, notwithstanding the king's letters, and the diligence us'd on their part, not a few difficulties did occur. Insomuch that it was first deny'd, then the voices on both sides were brought even, and at last, (some absenting themselves) it was agreed, that the question should be disputed by twenty eight delegates, and that two parts of three should determine it; which accordingly was done in favour of the king, by the vice-chancellor, and the two proctors, ten doctors, and fifteen others, whose names are extant in the same record. Which aversness, more than in foreign universities, whether it should be attributed to the power of the pope in England, or to their particular scrupulosity of conscience, is more than I will determine; though, on this occasion, I can do no less, that repeat some arguments drawn (in favour of the divorce) out of our records. 1. The place in Leviticus, chap. xviii. vers. xvi. 'Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife.' 2. St. Basil's opinion, tending this way, where he saith, that he shall be excommunicated that marrieth his wife's sister. 3. Because two epistles, transcrib'd out of the pope's registers, and sent into England, by Doctor Stokesley (whereof one was of Gregory, the other of Innocent the third) do profess, that the pope cannot dispence against the law of God, the particular case being then a marriage. 4. That granting the pope can dispence, *ex urgentissima causa*, with that which is *ex jure divina*, (which yet divines for the most part deny) there was no occasion here, since the peace betwixt England and Spain, (which was taken as the ground of the breve) stood firm and intire. 5. That the Jews themselves (for our agents consulted with them also) did not hold the law of marrying the brother's wife, Deut. 25. as necessary in this time, but did often *pati discalceationem*. All which being maturely consider'd by the lower house, made them detest the marriage, as our historians have it. Whereupon the king thought fit also to prorogue the parliament, to the intent that every man repairing home, might satisfie his neighbour of these passages; not omitting, together, to cause these foreign determinations, to be printed and publish'd this year, as the book yet extant in print shews. Notwithstanding which, so far was the

king from remitting any thing of his gentle behaviour to the queen, that, had he not forbore to come to her bed, neither could his outward favour towards her, or her fashions towards him have argued any diminution of love; all those wonted ceremonies, by which they sustain'd the dignity of their place, and civilities which might imply a mutual respect, continuing firmly on either side. Which our historians amplify so far, that they say he sore lamented his chance, and made no manner of mirth or pastime as he was wont to do; without yet that they can be thought to speak improbably, when we consider both how dear this liberty cost him, and how much it endanger'd the succession. However, that he might both prevail himself of the occasion, and also satisfy the doubts he had rais'd, not in his own alone, but subjects breasts; he (May. 31.) sent to Queen Katharine some lords of his council, wishing them to acquaint her with these determinations (which also I find had been shewed the pope,) and together to demand of her for quieting the king's conscience, and ending this business, whether she would rather refer her self to the judgment of four spiritual, and four temporal lords in this kingdom, or stand to her appeal. To which the sad queen answer'd, that 'her father, before he consented to her 'second marriage, had taken the advice of doctors, and clerks, whose 'opinion she believ'd rather than any others; and that the pope having 'confirm'd it, she wondred that any should question it. And whereas 'for quieting the king's conscience, you would have me put the business 'to eight lords; that which I say, is, I pray God send his grace a quiet 'conscience. As for answer to your message; I pray you tell the king, 'I am his lawful wife, and so will abide, till the court of Rome deter- 'mine to the contrary.' But our king, who alledg'd his proceedings were according to the law of God (which therefore he said should be more insisted on, than any other authority) sent other messengers, exhorting her still to conform her self; among whom one spake to this effect: 'Madam, you cannot be ignorant how much you have provok'd 'the king's displeasure against you, since his grace having us'd all fit 'means to clear his own, and subjects insatisfactions, concerning the 'lawfulness of his marriage, you yet continue refractory in that violent 'manner, as you not only refuse the general determinations of univer- 'sities, and learned men; but contrary to the laws of the land, and 'the royal dignity, have cited his highness to appear in the court of 'Rome; neither have those many admonitions you have receiv'd con- 'cerning the danger, and consequences hereof, been able to divert 'you from your purposes, or reduce you to reason and your duty. Of 'which therefore his highness is so sensible, that he hath forbore of 'late to see your grace, or receive your tokens, giving you liberty 'further, to repair either to his manor of Oking, or Estamstead, or the 'monastery of Bisham; for, since you were known by his brother 'Prince Arthur, you cannot be his lawful wife.' To which the virtuous

and sorrowful queen reply'd little more than this : ' That to what place ' soever she remov'd, nothing could remove her from being the king's ' wife.' And here the king bid her a final farewell : for, from this time, being July the fourteenth, I find not the king ever saw her more.

Our king being now inform'd that Italian, and other foreign merchants brought commodities hither, which they sold well, and then return'd the money by exchange to their own country, to the exhausting of the wealth of this realm, and the diminution of his customs, caus'd a proclamation to be set forth, that according to a branch of a statute, Ric. III. no money they took here for selling their ware, should be exchange'd to other countries, but employ'd in the commodities of this realm, which (our historians say) as long as it was observ'd, prov'd to the great benefit both of the king and subject. And now, (Sept. 1.) the money for the præmunire being call'd on, the clergy, for their ease, would have drawn the priests of London to contribution, which they took so ill, that, in outrageous manner, breaking into the chapter-house of St. Paul's, they did beat the bishop's servants ; till the bishop, for avoiding more mischief, gave them his blessing, and leave to depart for the present ; though shortly after they were punish'd for their misbehaviour.

This while, the emperor (intensive wholly to the affairs of Germany) did more calmly suffer our king's intended divorce ; and the rather, for that it is probable the determinations of the universities above-mention'd had given him, if not satisfaction, yet colour enough to neglect a while the prosecuting this business. Especially, since at this time he might have so much use of our king's assistance against the Turk ; of which also hope was given him. On the other side Francis did by all means advance, and set it forward ; both in regard himself (as their historians have it) was much addicted to love-making at this time ; and as that he doubted not, hereby, to keep our king at a variance with the emperor. Against whom the offences and quarrels he had taken being not extinguish'd, he both fortified himself by all means, and labour'd publickly to traduce even his most impartial and generous actions. Therefore he was so far from admitting the restitution of Milan to Francisco Sforza to be an act of piety, that he took it, if not as an affront to him, yet at least as a politick introduction of one to that dignity, who he knew could not be dispossess thereof again, without offending all Italy. So likewise the parting with the contado of Asti (anciently belonging to the house of Orleans) to the Duke of Savoy, was thought to be no more than interesting him in that quarrel. Furthermore, his retaining an army in Italy, at the cost of the confederates, (but under the command of Antonio de Leyva) was understood, not for conserving the peace of Italy, but defending of Genoa against him. All which was so ill taken, that Francis did not only by the entremise of Guillaume de Bellay, treat of entering a private league



with the princes of Germany, for defence of the rights of the empire, (violated as he conceiv'd by the undue election of Ferdinand) but prepar'd to send them succours when occasion were. Nor did his rancour against the emperor stay here ; but (if we may believe some even of his own nation) extended it self so far, as secretly, at this time, to encourage the Turk to invade the patrimony of the house of Austria ; to the no little scandal, both of his own honour, and the Christian religion. The emperor, not ignorant of all these machinations, sends Seigneur de Balanzon to Francis, to borrow money, and to invite him to furnish land and sea-forces for a war against the Turk ; alledging treaties, promises, and many arguments to this purpose. To which Francis answer'd ; ' That the emperor had gotten lately enough from ' him, two millions of gold, which ought to suffice. For the rest, that ' he was neither merchant nor banker to furnish money, but a Christian ' prince, that would have his part of the honour and danger in all ' brave actions. Therefore that he would spare no forces out of his ' kingdom, nor permit them to go to any place where himself did not ' lead them.' Besides, as this summer was far spent, he could not send his cavalry to Austria without much incommmodity, (the distance between both countries being so great.) Therefore, that the emperor should defend Germany, while himself with an army of 50,000 men, would undertake to defend Italy, which the Turk also menac'd. And for the next year, he would be ready, with the help of his good brother, the King of England, to go to any place where it should be needful. As for his shipping, he could least of all spare it ; having occasion to defend the maritime parts of France against pirates. Which (July. 1532.) being related again to the emperor (then at Ratisbonne,) he thought fit to publish it, thereby to make Francis more odious, though effectively he took his offer to defend Italy, to be little more than irrision. Businesses standing thus, Monsieur de Bellay, ambassador from the French king to the princes, (having first conferr'd with Monsieur de Valley, ambassador from Francis to the emperor) absolutely concludes that accord the princes had formerly propos'd to his master : giving by this means a perpetual cause of jealousy, and offence to the emperor. Yet as Francis thought himself not strong enough alone, so he implor'd our king's assistance ; which our king also promis'd, by Monsieur Gilles de Pommeraye, (French ambassador in England,) sending with him (at his return) fifty thousand crowns to be employ'd for the defence and conservation of the right and privileges of the empire. An interview also was projected betwixt them for the year following, wherein both kings should treat of the general affairs, and particularly what they were to do, in case the Turk should again invade Christendom.

While affairs abroad pass'd thus, our nation enjoy'd much security and quietness ; so that, if contention about religion had not happen'd,

they might have thought themselves happy ; which though it had its beginning from the divers explications of the Holy Scripture, yet many good men labour'd to reconcile them ; affirming, that whatsoever was necessary to the attaining of everlasting happiness, was so plainly, and so perspicuously set down there, as it needed no interpreter. And that, if any thing besides were taught, it was, if not erroneous, yet unnecessary to salvation. Howbeit, they would not deny, but divers points might be added, for the ampliation, conveniency, and ornament of religion, when they were deliver'd upon these terms, and not under those condemnations and penalties wherewith the more necessary parts were enjoy'd. Whereupon also they concluded, that if divers passages in the Holy Scriptures might seem obscure, it was God's will to have it so, who thought not fit to reveal them otherways ; as reserving a full knowledge to a second and better life. Yet, because divers, not content with this or any moderate reformation, did (through the violence of their spirits) run into those extremities, as they labour'd to draw all the doctrine of the Roman Church into a perverse sense ; much occasion of controversy was given ; while they who endeavour'd a peace so little prevail'd, as, (for the most part) like those who part affraies, they bore blows on either side. In which doubtful times King Henry put in execution all former laws against heretical persons, and books ; whereby one Thomas Bilney, batchelor of both laws, declaring himself with great vehemency in divers articles against the Roman Church, was (Aug. 19.) condemn'd to be burnt, and shortly after, for the same cause, (Nov. 27.) Bayfield a priest, and (April 30.) Baynam a lawyer. The whole narration whereof being extant in Master Fox, I shall mention no otherwise.

The next year, Jan. 15th, 1532. the parliament sate again till May 14th, where the commons persisting in their grievances against the clergy, which they compris'd in a book, and deliver'd (Mar. 18.) by their speaker ; the king answer'd, 'He would take advice, and hear the 'parties accus'd speak, and then proceed to a reformation ;' which follow'd in part, as appears in some statutes of this parliament. For, whereas it was usual in former times, that clerks who committed petty treason, murder, or felony, were (through a certain privilege of the Church) deliver'd to their ordinaries, who also thereupon, for lucre or other undue motives, did suffer them to make their purgation by such as nothing knew of their misdeeds, to the great scandal of justice ; it was now enacted, that none should have the benefit of this recourse to the ordinary, but those who were within holy orders, and yet to find sufficient sureties for their good abearing. This act yet not to extend to those, who being attainted of felony, or murder, are after admitted to their clergy, and so deliver'd to the ordinary. It was provided also, that ordinaries having such persons in their custody, might degrade them. and send them to the king's bench to be detain'd.

It was enacted also, how perjuries and untrue verdicts should be punish'd. And this was to the singular benefit of the subject ; their being no mischiefs so easie to be done, so irreparable in their consequence, or unlimited in their extent, as those of this kind.

And, whereas the commission of sewers, being about sea-walls, gutters, banks, etc. and dams, weres, etc. in fresh rivers, was not particularly enough set down heretofore ; it was now declar'd and interpreted. And this was much for the benefit of the sea-coasts, and making great rivers navigable.

Whereas also statutes of the staple were heretofore us'd only betwixt merchant and merchant, for such merchandise of the staple, as pass'd betwixt them ; the use thereof was now permitted to others of the king's subjects upon certain conditions. And this not only enlarg'd contracts, but strengthened much the sinews of them.

Whereas heretofore the king's subjects were ordinarily call'd by the citations to appear, in the arches audience, and other high courts of the arch-bishops of this realm, to answer to many surmis'd causes ; and that they who refus'd, were excommunicated or suspended from divine service ; it was now enacted, that none should be so cited but in certain cases declar'd in the said statute.

Feofments of lands also to the use of a church (as being little different from mort-main) were made void.

Whereas divers, having the benefit of their clergy, were afterwards committed to their ordinaries, and did there break prison, it was now declar'd felony.

Divers other good statutes pass'd also this session ; which yet, for being meerly legal, or limited to certain places, are not here recited.

This year also an act pass'd concerning annates, or the first fruits of bishopricks, paid usually to the see of Rome, for the obtaining of palls, bulls, etc. The preamble and consideration whereof was (as I find in the records,) 1. That great sums of money already pass'd out of the kingdom that way, (being no less than 160,000*l.* since the second year of Henry VII.) 2. That more was likely to be shortly transported, by reason many of the bishops are aged. 3. That the first use and grant of them was for maintaining arms against infidels. So that it was enacted, that they should henceforth cease, and no more money be paid to Rome to that intent, except as is hereafter specified, (*viz.*) lest the court of Rome should think themselves irremunerated for their pain, in making and sealing bulls in lead, etc. it was ordain'd, that there may be allow'd for the said bulls five pounds in the hundred, according to the rate of the bishopricks clear value above all charges. And if any man, being chosen to a bishoprick, and presented by the king to the pope, shall hereupon find any let or hindrance, by restraint of his bulls, upon convenient suit for the same ; then he may be named and presented by the king's highness to the arch-bishop of the pro-



vince : who shall consecrate him ; or, the said arch-bishop delaying under pretence of want of pall, bull, etc. the person so nam'd, shall be consecrate, and invested by any two bishops of the land, whom the king shall appoint thereto ; and shall be held and reputed thereafter as a compleat bishop. But of this act we shall speak again when we come to the 25th year of the king. For though it past the parliament now, and the king gave his assent thereto ; yet power was reserv'd for him to annul or to confirm the same any time within two years next following.

Moreover, in this statute, the king and his parliament declare, that they do not intend to use any extremity or violence, before gentle and courteous ways have been attempted. But if it shall please the king to propose an amicable composition to the pope, and his holiness shall be content either to abolish or moderate those annates ; then the composition so made, to stand firm. But if, upon the said amicable propositions, the realm cannot be disburden'd, and that, for the continuance of the same, the pope shall unjustly vex, and disquiet the king or his subjects by any excommunication, etc. Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the king's highness, his heirs and successors, kings of England, and all his spiritual and lay subjects of the same, without any scruple of conscience, shall and may lawfully, to the honour of almighty God, the increase and continuance of vertue, and good example within this realm, (the said censures, excommunications, interdictions, compulsories, or any of them notwithstanding) minister, or cause to be ministred throughout this said realm, and all other the dominions and territories belonging or appertaining thereunto, all and all manner of sacraments, sacramentals, ceremonies, or other Divine service of holy Church, or any other thing or things, necessary for the health of the soul of mankind, as they heretofore at any time or times have been vertuously us'd or accustom'd to do within the same. And that no manner of such censures, excommunications, interdictions, or any other process or compulsories shall by any of the prelates, or other spiritual fathers of this region, by any of their ministers or substitutes, be at any time or times hereafter publish'd, executed, or divulg'd in any manner of ways.

This act being pass'd, our king made use thereof to terrifie the pope, which also took effect ; as I find by our ambassador's letters dated from Rome, April 29th. 1532. though together (as they were instructed from hence,) his holiness was told by them, that our king had reserv'd the whole business to his own power and direction ; which however it appeas'd the pope a while, yet as matters pass'd afterwards, the statute had his final confirmation, anno 25. Henry VIII.

I SHALL begin this year's history with the affairs of Queen Katherine ; who, by her proctor at Rome, assisted with the advice and power of the

imperialists, negotiated puissantly with the pope ; so that, notwithstanding our king's indignation for her prosecuting him in this manner, she urg'd still the appeal, beseeching the pope to cite the king, by himself or proctor to appear. But the pope thought fit rather gently thus to exhort our king to take again his wife Katherine.

‘ CLEMENS Pap. VII.

‘ CHARISSIME in Christo fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quod pro nostra in te benevolentia, tuoque ; honore et salute falsum esse cupimus, relatum nobis est, et à multis confirmatum, serenitatem tuam, quæ non solum antea, verum etiam post motam litem inter te et charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Catharinam Angliæ Reginam illustrem, super validitate matrimonii inter vos contracti, eam apud se, ut decebat, in sua regia curia tenuerat, atque ut Reginam et uxorem habuerat, et tractaverat, à certo citra tempore eam non solum à se et sua curia, sed etiam à civitate seu loco suæ residentiae separasse, alioque misisse, loco autem ejus quandam annam in suum contubernium, et cohabitationem publice recepisse, eique maritalem affectum uxori tuæ debitum exhibere ; quæ res, fili charissime, si modo vera est, tuque ; parumper animum ab humanis affectibus collegeris, non dubitamus, quin, etiam tacentibus nobis, perspecturus sis, quam multis modis indigna te fuerit, vel ob contemptum litis-pendentiae et judicii nostri, vel ob scandalum ecclesiæ, vel ob communis pacis perturbationem ; quæ omnia ita à recto et religioso principe, qualem te semper habuimus, aliena sunt, ut, tanquam tuæ naturæ et consuetudini repugnantia, etsi nobis indies magis confirmantur, difficilius tamen credamus. Quid enim minus tibi, et tuæ probitati convenit, quam hinc apud nos, per oratores et literas super causa istuc remittenda, instare, inde te ipsum tuo facto causa decidere ? Quid simile tui, armis et scriptis olim ecclesiam et sanctam fidem defendisse, nunc tali facto ecclesiam videri contemnere ? Jam vero communis salus et tranquillitas à nullo unquam nostri temporis rege acrius quam à te custodita est, qui bellum pro ecclesia olim susceptum, et gloriose confectum, pro communi quiete deposueris ; semperque arbitet quidam pacis et communis concordiae inter Christianos principis conciliandæ existimatus ; quo magis hæc nova de te audientes, admiramur simul ac dolemus, unum hoc tuum factum, si modo verum est, ab omni vitæ tuæ gloria et consuetudine discrepare. Quamobrem cum nec rem tantam non explorare certius, nec neglectam omittere debeamus, hanc ad te, quasi amantis et solliciti patris vocem præcurrere voluimus, antequam judicis ulla partes tecum sumamus. Faciunt enim tuæ celsitudinis dignitas, vetera tua in nos merita, nostraque ; ex his erga te benevolentia, ut tecum omni respectu et lenitate agere velimus, sumpta parentis persona, et judicis tantisper deposita, donec ex tuis literis consilium progrediendi capia-

'mus. Cupimus quidem, fili, ut diximus, hæc penitus falsa esse, aut  
 'non tam aspera quam nobis referuntur, teq; ipsum deinceps, pro tua  
 'singulari sapientia, providere, ne cuiquam de serenitate tua omni  
 'virtute conspicua in hoc tantum obloquendi detur occasio. Si quis  
 'enim vel ex Catholicis dolens, vel ex hæreticis gaudens audiat, te  
 'Reginam, quam in uxorem accepisti, regumq; filiam, Cæsarisq; et  
 'regis Romanorem materteram, viginti amplius annis tecum commora-  
 'tam, prolemq; ex te susceptam habentem, nunc à tuo thoro et con-  
 'tubernio procul amovisse, aliam quoq; publice apud te habere, non  
 'modo sine ulla licentia nostra verum etiam contra nostram prohibi-  
 'tionem; is profecto necesse est, ut sententiam quodammodo de  
 'optimo principe ferat, tanquam ecclesiam et publicam tranquillitatem  
 'parvi faciente, quod nos scimus ab intentione et voluntate tua longis-  
 'sime abesse: in tantum, ut si quis alius hoc idem in tuo regno audeat,  
 'quod à tua serenitate factum dicitur, nullo modo te probaturum, sed  
 'etiam severe vindicaturum pro certo habeamus. Quamobrem, fili,  
 'etiamsi tu rectissime sentias, ut nos quidem constanter credimus, tamen  
 'causam præbere rumoribus et scandalis non debes; hoc præsertim tem-  
 'pore tam calamitoso, plenoq; hæresium, et aliarum perturbationum;  
 'ne tuum factum latius pateat ad exemplum. Sunt enim facta regum,  
 'præsertim illustrium, sicut tua serenitas est, proposita quasi in specula,  
 'hominibus cæteris ad imitandum. Nec præterea negligenda tibi est  
 'communis salus, et totius Christianitatis tranquillitas, quod semper  
 'fuit optimorum regum. Nec, fili, debes serenissimos Cæsarem et  
 'Romanorum Regem, dictæ Catharinæ nepotes, nulla te prosecutos  
 'contumelia, hac tam gravi injuria, indecisa lite, afficere, et exinde  
 'pacem perturbare universalem, qua sola adversus imminentem nobis  
 'Turcam tuti sumus; ne scandali in ecclesia, periculi in tota Christiana  
 'republica causam præbeas, proptereaq; rex cœlestis à te irritatus,  
 'tantam suam erga te benignitatem aliqua severitatis amaritudine  
 'permisceat. Te igitur, fili, per eam, qua semper te sumus prosecuti  
 'benevolentiam, semperque, si per te liceat, prosequemur, omni studio  
 'et amore hortamur, et paterna charitate monemus, ut, si hæc vera  
 'sint, quæ tuam veterem pietatem et gloriam denigrant, tute ea corri-  
 'gere velis, ipsam Catharinam Reginam ad te humaniter revocando,  
 'atq; in eo reginæ honore, et uxoris quo decet affectu, apud te  
 'habendo: ipsam vero annam à publico tuo convictu et cohabitatione,  
 'propter scandalum, removendo, donec nostra sententia inter vos  
 'subsequatur. Quod nos quidem, etsi est à te debitum, tibiq; est  
 'maxime futurum honorificum, beneficii loco recepisse à tua serenitate  
 'videbimur. Nam quod te in pristina tua voluntate erga nos, obser-  
 'vantiaq; erga hanc sanctam sedem, cum qua mutuis officiis et  
 'beneficiis semper certasti, conservare maxime cupimus; summo sane  
 'cum dolore, ad ea descenderemus juris remedia, quorum necessitatem  
 'non nostra privata contumelia, quam tibi libenter, condonaremus, sed



'Dei omnipotentis honor, publicæque utilitatis, et tuæ animæ salutis ratio ad postremum nobis, quanquam invitis, imponeret, sicut etiam nuntius apud te noster hæc tuæ serenitati uberius explicabit. Datum apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris, die xxv<sup>to</sup>. Januarii 1532. Pont' nostri anno nono.

'Blosius.'

'CLEMENT VII. Pope.

TO our most dear son in Christ, etc., health and apostolical benediction. What in our tender affection towards you, for the sake of both your honour here, and your salvation hereafter, we should be glad to find false has been reported to us, and by many hands confirm'd, concerning your highness, that although not only before, but since the controversy has been depending about the lawfulness of the marriage contract between your self, and our most dear daughter in Christ, the most excellent Catherine Queen of England; you entertain'd the said Catherine in your palace, and liv'd with her as your queen and wife, as it was fitting you should do; yet now of late you have not only remov'd her from your person and court, but have banish'd her from the city, the usual place of her residence, and sent her to another place, taking in her room publickly to your bed and conversation, a certain Lady Anne, with whom you cohabit, and to whom you shew that conjugal love and affection, which is only due to your wife, the said queen. Which thing, most dear son, if it be true, and you would lay aside carnal affections, and give your self leisure to think, we doubt not but that, although we were silent herein, you would soon perceive upon how many several accounts it is unworthy your highness, either as it is a great contempt of our judgment and sentence, which you thus refuse to stay for, as it is a publick scandal to the Church, or as it is a manifest violation of the publick peace; all which things are so contrary to the principles of a virtuous and religious prince, as we have always esteem'd your highness, that though they have daily more and more been confirmed unto us, yet we have found great difficulty to believe them, as things wholly repugnant to your nature, and perfectly contrary to your usage. For what can be more unnatural to you, or less agreeable to your integrity, on one hand, both by your letters and by your ambassadors, to implore our assistance in determining your cause, and on the other, by your actions to judge and decide it your own self? To contemn the authority of the Church by such a proceeding, how unlike is it to the actions of him, who has so well defended by the power of the sword, and by the strength of argument, our most holy faith and the Catholick Church? Surely the publick peace and tranquillity have by no prince of our age, been more carefully preserv'd than by you, who piously undertook a war for the Church, gloriously prosecuted it, and

'at length for the sake of publick peace and quiet desisted from it,  
 'from whence your highness has been justly esteem'd the arbiter of  
 'peace and common concord among Christian princes; wherefore  
 'when we hear these strange things concerning you, it raiseth both  
 'our admiration, and encreaseth our grief, that this one action of yours,  
 'if it be true, should cast a blemish upon the glory of your former life  
 'and behaviour. Wherefore as we could not but enquire into the truth  
 'hereof most carefully, and ought not to pass by a matter of this  
 'weight with neglect, we were willing to send you this kind admonition,  
 'as of a loving and affectionate father, before we are forc'd to deal with  
 'you in the severer methods of an impartial judge. The high dignity  
 'of your majesty, your most deserving services to us, and our most  
 'tender love and affection to you, makes us choose to act towards you,  
 'with all respect and gentleness in the person of a kind parent, and so  
 'long lay aside our office as a judge, till by your letters we shall see what  
 'measures will be most proper for us to take. We wish, dear son,  
 'as we have said, that these things were false, or at least not so bad as  
 'they are represented to us; and farther, that you your self would take  
 'such care of your singular wisdom, that no body may in this thing  
 'have occasion to speak ill of your highness, whose virtues have in all  
 'your actions been so conspicuous. For if any Catholick, to his great  
 'grief, or any heretick to his mighty joy, should hear that you have  
 'now remov'd afar off from your bed and presence, your queen whom  
 'you married, the daughter of a king, the aunt of the emperor, and king  
 'of the Romans, after she had liv'd with you more than twenty years,  
 'and had several children by you; that you have openly taken another  
 'woman to your bed, not only without our license and dispensation,  
 'but also contrary to our express prohibition; he cannot but in some  
 'measure make this judgment of the best of kings, that he is one that  
 'little regards the authority of the Church, and nothing values the  
 'publick peace, than which we are satisfied nothing can be farther from  
 'your highness's will and intention; insomuch that should any one in  
 'your kingdom dare to do this which is reported of your highness, we  
 'surely know that you would be so far from approving, that you would  
 'most surely punish it. Wherefore, my son, as we most certainly  
 'believe that your knowledge is rightly inform'd herein, so ought your  
 'practice to be such, as not to give occasion to scandalous reports;  
 'especially in these dangerous times, which so abound with heresies,  
 'and other most grievous calamities, lest what you do, should grow a  
 'precedent and example for others: for the actions of princes,  
 'especially those so illustrious as your highness, are looked upon  
 'as marks and patterns whereto others may direct their aim, and  
 'whereby they may form their practice. Nor ought your highness to  
 'neglect the common safety, and overlook the peace and tranquillity of  
 'Christendom, to which the best of princes have never fail'd to pay, as

'in duty bound, a regard. Nor ought you, my son, to offer this injury to  
 'the most serene princes, the emperor and the King of the Romans,  
 'the said Queen Catherine's nephews, who have never given you  
 'offence, by thus proceeding before your cause is determin'd, thereby  
 'disturbing that universal peace among Christian princes, wherein  
 'alone, our safety from the Turks consists; lest you give occasion of  
 'much scandal in the Church, and of great danger in the Christian  
 'world, and so provoke the Almighty so far, as to change the great  
 'blessings he has so long pour'd down upon you into bitterness and  
 'affliction. We therefore of our tender love and affection, exhort you,  
 'and of our paternal duty, warn you, my son, that for the sake of that  
 'kind indulgence and favour which we have always shewn, and shall  
 'continue ever to shew you, unless you hinder us, that, if these things  
 'be true, that tarnish your former reputation of piety and glory, you  
 'yourself would amend them by affectionately taking again to your  
 'self your Queen Catherine, by giving her the honour and respect due  
 'to a queen, and the tenderness and affection due to a wife: and by  
 'removing the said Lady Anne from your bed and conversation, so  
 'long at least till your cause shall be determin'd, and we have given  
 'sentence herein. Which, although it be no more than your duty, and  
 'what will greatly conduce to your honour, and advance your glory;  
 'yet we shall take as a great mark of your highness's respect and good  
 'will towards us. For as our most earnest desire is always to preserve  
 'in you your good esteem of us, and your customary duty and affection  
 'to the apostolical see, which in your regard and your actions, you  
 'have never fail'd to shew; so we cannot without the greatest grief  
 'betake our selves to the sharper remedies of justice; to which the  
 'indignity offer'd to our own person herein, which we can willingly pass  
 'by, could never prompt us, nor indeed can any thing force us to it,  
 'but the honour of Almighty God, the advancement of the publick  
 'good, and the salvation of your immortal soul, as our nuncio with you  
 'has orders more fully to acquaint your highness.

'Given at St. Peter's, under the seal of the fisherman, Jan. 25. 1532.  
 'in the 9th year of our pontificat.'

But the pope had no good answer thereunto; for as the people  
 for the most part exclaim'd against the match (as our historians relate)  
 so the king would have found perchance some difficulty to appease  
 their scruples, when otherwise he could have satisfied his own. The  
 queen wanted not yet those who defended her cause publicly, both in  
 books and sermons (of whom the chief were Thomas Abel her chaplain,  
 and John Fisher Bishop of Rochester) and privately in discourse,  
 (especially women) though not sufficiently either to clear all objections,  
 or to remove the king from his affection to Mrs. Anne Bolen. Among  
 which, I must not forget one Temse, of the lower-house of parliament;



who motion'd, that they all should petition the king to take his queen again; which being advertis'd to our king, he (April 30.) sent for Thomas Audley, the speaker of the house, and told him to this effect. 'That he marvell'd any among them should meddle in businesses which 'could not properly be determin'd there. As for this particular, that it 'concern'd his soul so much, that he many times wish'd the marriage 'had been good, but since the doctors of the universities had generally 'declar'd it unlawful, he could do no less than abstain from her 'company. Which therefore he wish'd them to take as the true 'reason, without imputing it to any wanton appetite: since, being in 'the one and fortieth year of his age, it might be justly presum'd such 'motions were not so quick in him. All which, that they might the 'better understand, he had inform'd himself in all parts of Christendom, 'concerning strange marriages; and that, saving in Spain and Portugal, he could never find that any man had so much as married two 'sisters, if the first were carnally known. But for the brother to marry 'the brother's wife was so abhorr'd among all nations, that he never 'heard any Christian so did but himself; and therefore wish'd them 'to believe that his conscience was troubled.' Shortly after which (May 11.) the king sent for the speaker again, and told him, that 'he 'had found that the clergy of his realm were but his half subjects, or 'scarce so much. Every bishop or abbot, at the entring of his 'dignity, taking an oath to the pope derogatory to that of their 'fidelity to the king, which contradiction he desir'd his parliament 'to take away.' Whereupon these two oaths by the king's command being read and consider'd, the parliament so handled the business, as it occasion'd the final renouncing of the pope's authority about two years after.

While these things thus pass'd, King Henry commands his agents at Rome, (the Bishop of Worcester and Sir Gregory Casalis) to present unto the pope the opinion of divers famous lawyers, in favour of his cause; procuring also learned men from all parts of Italy, to come to Rome, to offer disputation for the same. To second this again, King Henry in Jan. 1532. sends William Benet, Doctor of Law, to Rome, with instructions to this purpose. But because it was found, that, by the continual intercession of the queen and emperor, the pope intended shortly to cite the king to appear at Rome, either in person or by proxy; he dispatches thither about February, Edw. Karne, Doctor of Law, to be his excusator, and to remonstrate, that his grace is not bound by law so to appear. But the pope making difficulty to admit this excusator, it was (March.) disputed in the consistory, whether he ought to be heard or no? But much time being spent herein, the queen's agents require (April.) the pope to proceed in the principal cause. In the mean while our king, by Sir Francis Bryan, importunes Francis to intercede for him with the pope; who, thereupon by letter, dated March 16. informs his holi-

ness, that 'the request of the King of England is just, and he ought to relieve him. Or else they two, (being *une mesme chose*, and who 'have so well deserv'd of him) shall be forc'd to seek such other remedies, as shall not please him,' etc. To enforce this most earnest letter, Francis sends Gabriel de Grammont, Bishop of Tarbe, lately made cardinal) to the pope, who yet, being continually urg'd by the imperialists to proceed against the king, and hearing (besides) first the prohibition of annates above-mentioned, and afterwards that a certain priest was committed for maintaining the papal authority, and that another priest (being put in prison by the Archbishop of Canterbury for favouring Luther) after he had appeal'd to the king *tantum dominum supremum*, was set at liberty, proceeds to citation; and calling a consistory (July 8.) commits the hearing of the cause to Paulus de Capisucci Dean of the Ruota, and appoints the month of October 1532. for the king's appearance, protesting *alioqui procedetur*, etc. In the mean time, he writes to our king, certifying him what was done, (yet omitting the clause of *alioqui procedetur*) intreating him further to send a proctor; making (July.) also this overture to our agents, that he will be content that all the process shall be in England, except only the final decision, which (because there is question of the papal authority and the law divine) he will reserve to himself. The term (Nov. 4.) prefix'd for our king's appearance being expir'd; Capisucci cites our king again, or his proctors, or finally his orators. To all which Edward Karne answer'd publicly Nov. 14. 1532. That the proceeding was undue, both as the question concerning his excusation was not decided, and that he could not get a copy of the citation; and finally as it was not congruous to the breve sent to the king concerning this business. Besides, that the emperor was so powerful in Rome, that he could not expect justice, wherefore, unless they desisted, he declar'd, that he must appeal from thence to the able men in some indifferent universities. And that, if this were refus'd, he protested then a nullity in all that they did. But the pope, as little regarding this, goes to Bononia shortly after, to meet the emperor, according to an agreement made a good while since betwixt them; promising our agents yet, that notwithstanding the queen's proctors sollicitation, nothing of moment should be done in this cause, till the emperor were departed.

The Turk now threatening Germany, the Elector of Mentz, and Ludovicus Prince Palatine interpos'd offices for reconciling the emperor and the Protestants: the treaty whereof began April 4. and so continued until July 23. When news of the coming of the Turk being brought, both parties condescended to this capitulation concluded at Noremberg.

That no man should be troubled for cause of religion, till the council be held, (which the emperor will labour to procure to be summon'd

within six months, and held within a year following) or some other way of determination of controverted points be found.

Whereupon also the Protestants (being seven princes, and twenty-three cities) offer'd him aid against the Turk, who, this year, 1532. upon colour of putting Johannes Sepusius in possession of that crown, invaded Hungary, which also he prosecuted in that peremptory manner, as without admitting any reasons from the emperor, or indeed allowing him any other title than the King of Spain, (for he said there was no emperor but himself) he brought in an army of 300,000 men into Hungary. And because his equipage was singular, I presume the reader will take well the description of it ; for his own person, he was cloath'd only in a rich robe of crimson broider'd with gold ; but his cimitary and dagger, as also the saddle and bit of the horse, on which he rid, was set with stones of inestimable value. Then follow'd his visier-bassas, and Abraym his favorite, and houshold retinue ; being about 12,000 men. Before him went 4000 horse with the standard imperial, and 4000 Janizaries of his guard, 400 slaves on horseback in a rich livery, and fifty chariots carrying his most precious treasure, and some of the choicest beauties of the Seraglio, and especially the admir'd Espanziel a Macedonian, and 4000 horse to guard them, besides 200 brave horse richly furnish'd, which were led by the hand. His pages were 100 on horseback, whereof one more gorgeous than the rest, and his lacquies 1000, richly apparell'd likewise in a livery, all of these (last mention'd) wearing great plumes. After which follow'd his dogs and hawks in no small proportion.

With this train Solymán marches to Belgrade, then turning to the left hand of the Danubius he besieges Giuntz : whence being repuls'd, he sent out his captains to forage the country ; who after committing all sorts of cruelty, were at the last defeated and slain : and now Solymán finding great forces rais'd against him, and prepar'd to give him battel, retir'd, with as little success as he had three years (Oct. 16. 1529.) since at Vienna ; this army of the Christians consisting, as I find, of 90,000 foot, and 30,000 horse, was rais'd by the emperor, who yet did not think fit to conduct them, in person, as coming from Lintz in Austria to Vienna, no sooner than that Solymán was departed from Hungary ; whence he sent to Rome a dispatch of the 4th of October, desiring the pope to meet him at Genouia. About which time he receiv'd news from Andrea Doria, whom the last summer he had commanded to scour the Mediterranean Sea, and to land where he thought fit. Whereupon Doria with a great fleet, and 10,000 soldiers, setting forth from Messina in Sicily, Aug. 18. passing by Cephalony and Zante, came to Morea, and landed at Coron, (anciently call'd Corone, not Chæronea, in Bœotia, Plutarch's country, as Sandoval mistakes it) and battering it both by sea and land, took it by composition, (Sept. 21.) where leaving for garrison 1500 Spaniards, he return'd with great spoils and honour to Genouia.



This while our king finding he could obtain no satisfaction from the pope, hastens the league with Francis, formerly projected, to a conclusion ; and the rather, that he heard this meeting betwixt the pope and the emperor would shortly follow. In emulation whereof therefore an interview betwixt him and Francis was concluded, in that form which Cardinal Woolsey heretofore had set down upon the like meeting projected, Anno 1527.

The articles of treaty formerly concluded betwixt Thomas Earl of Wiltshire, and Ormond Lord Privy Seal, together with Edward Fox, the king's almoner, on the one part, and Gilles de la Pomeraye on the other part, were these.

'I. That all former treaties shall remain in force, so that, if any conditions in this treaty be not perform'd, the former treaties yet, especially that of perpetual peace, shall stand firm.

'II. That if the Emperor Charles any way shall invade each of them directly or indirectly, in the lands they now hold, they shall be bound to send mutual aid, (viz.) the King of France to the King of England (within three months warning) to the place appointed 500 men at arms, (arm'd *à la Francoise*,) or any other less number, which the King of England shall pay according to the rate they use to have of the French king. The King of England to the King of France such a number of archers on foot as he shall require, so it exceed not 5000 ; to receive pay of the French king, according to the rate of England. And if either the horsemen or archers pass the sea, these into France, or those into England, then, besides this pay, there is such provision to be made for victual, by the prince under whom they serve, that the soldiers may well live and maintain themselves by their pay. And if the said emperor shall attempt anything by sea, the prince invaded giving two months notice to the other, shall receive for aid a navy, (in which shall be 15,000 soldiers, well arm'd and equipped, which navy both kings shall be bound to maintain for six months together, or longer if need be, at their own costs, to defend and secure against the said emperor the sea and shores on both sides, from the Isle of Ushant to the place call'd the Downs, between Sandwich and Dover.

'III. If the emperor or his governors shall detain the goods, or ships, or persons of the English merchants in his dominions, the King of France shall summon him to make restitution, which if he denies, he shall lay hold on and arrest the emperor's subjects, and goods in his kingdom, etc. nor shall release them till satisfaction be given. And in like manner is the King of England bound to the King of France.

'(But, if for any probable cause, and particularly for any contain'd in the articles of the former treaty between him and the Kings of England and France, or for justice deny'd, after he had requir'd it, the emperor shall arrest any of the subjects of the two kings, or their

'goods, then the other is not bound to see him indemnified, according to the former article. Provided, first, that the emperor made it appear, that it is for a just cause. Secondly, that he arrest no more than may countervail his pretended loss. Thirdly, provided also that the number of ships arrested by the emperor, be not above five or six, and that for some particular interest or deed betwixt them and him.) This third article shall not be extended to the merchants of higher Germany, and the subjects of Charles *jure imperii*.

'Neither of the two kings may make a new league, friendship, or affinity with any prince or estate, to the prejudice of the other. If he do, it shall be counted void, and of no effect; this treaty, being minuted 23 June 1532. was to be sign'd five months after.'

And now the time of the interview approaching, our king pass'd the seas to Calais, 11 of Octob. 1532. with a royal train, and Mistress Anne Bolen, (lately (Sept. 1.) created Marchioness of Pembroke.) And going thence (Oct. 20.) to Bologne, the young princes, the children of Francis, meeting him, were recommended to him by the king their father. Who, after many compliments, conducted him to the abbey; where they both lodg'd in the same house. Many courtesies were exchange'd, and many designs projected betwixt those princes concerning religion, and other affairs of Christendom, for the space of four days that they stay'd together; which being past, Francis return'd with our king to Calais, in this order, that, while Francis was on French ground he gave place, but when he came to the English pale, he receiv'd it. Being now come near Calais, the Duke of Richmond, a goodly young gentleman, bravely attended, met him. All the soldiers of the town also, and servants to the nobility, richly apparell'd, made a guard for their entrance into the streets. The lodging which Francis was brought to, was most richly furnish'd with cloth of gold and tissue, imbroider'd in some places with pearl and precious stone. And their several services brought in a hundred and seventy dishes all of massive gold. The marchioness also made them a curious and rich masque, in which both kings danc'd. After which Anne de Montmorency, a noble man of a most ancient and generous family, grand-maister, and Mareschal of France, and Philip Chabot Seigneur de Bryon, and Admiral of France, were (Oct. 28.) accepted into the order of the garter. Francis himself (who was also of this order) sitting in his stall at their election. And this was in lieu of the taking (Oct. 25.) of St. Michael by Francis at Boulogne. And here the two king's advis'd what in their particular should be done against the Turk; for, though news were already brought of his retreat, yet because that he had left behind him a great part of his forces, and that it was thought he intended to return, it was agreed betwixt these princes, the next year to being an army into the field, of 70,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, and not to part without mutual consent. That they should send to the princes

in Italy or Germany, to require passage and victuals at a reasonable price, etc. This being settled, our king complain'd of the ill usage the pope gave him in the affairs of his divorce, in regard he was cited to appear at the court of Rome by himself or proctor ; whereas it was usual in these cases to send judges to the place ; it being not reasonable that either a proctor should be trusted with the secrets of his conscience, or that himself should abandon his realm to go in person to so remote a place. Whereupon they began mutual complaints against the pope for the annats and exactions taken upon the subjects in either country, which they promis'd to remedy, by summoning him to a council, and in the mean while to send their ambassadors to require reparation, protesting, that otherwise (by calling provincial councils in their several kingdoms) they would give that order which was fitting : and, for this purpose that the cardinals of Tournon and Grandmont, should be employ'd ; who also were authoris'd to tell the pope, that, whereas an interview had been propos'd betwixt him and the French king at Avignon or Nizza, that it might be, that the King of England his good brother, could be persuaded easily to go along with him, for ending all controversies, if his holiness were dispos'd thereunto. In the mean while, the Bishop of Auxerre, the French ambassador at Rome, should certifie the pope, that the said cardinals would be present at the interview betwixt the pope and emperor, to the end they might mediate with the pope, for giving King Henry judges in his own kingdom, to decide the point of the divorce. After which, coming to speak, (as I find by our records) concerning his intended match with the new marchioness, Francis encourag'd him to proceed ; promising, if the cause were question'd, to assist him to the uttermost, whatsoever should come of it. In which discourses purposing *fier la partie* for the chief affairs of Europe, they pass'd four days at Calais. After which time the king conducted him to the French ground, bid him farewell 30 Oct. 1532. and so return'd to Calais. Yet as the weather was then tempestuous, he pass'd not the seas before the 14th of Nov. on which day some write, he privately married the marchioness, though others place it on the 25th of January following, Rowland Lee afterwards Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and President of Wales, (under whom it began first to be govern'd by the laws of England) celebrating the marriage in the presence of the Archbishop Cranmer, the Duke of Norfolk, and her father, mother, and brothers, etc. which yet was not publish'd till the Easter following. Not long after which (or as some have it in the beginning of the next spring) the king sent George Bolen Lord Rochfort, to Francis to acquaint him with the marriage, and to desire him (if occasion were) not to fail his promise. Furthermore he requir'd his advice, how it were best to publish it, since it could not be long conceal'd. He also acquainted him how the Scots under the Earl of Mur-



ray had done some hostile acts in his kingdom ; wishing him therefore not to take it ill if he reveng'd himself on the Scots ; intreating him further, that if the interview betwixt the pope and him (then secretly projected) must needs follow (which yet he wish'd were protracted) that he would remember his cause, then depending in Rome, as he was often desir'd.

The emperor who was well inform'd of this interview, hastned his with the pope. And because the pope could not be persuaded to come to Genoua by sea, the meeting was agreed at Bononia, Dec. 20. 1532. where also the two cardinals above-mentioned, were on the part of Francis. And now they treated of the general affairs, but not with that intireness and satisfaction which formerly past ; for the pope retain'd still some grudge concerning the business of Ferrara above-mention'd. Therefore, when the emperor (according to his promise given to the German princes) prest him to call a council, he deferr'd it ; and, when he wish'd him to renounce all friendship with our king and Francis, he excus'd himself, saying, they were Christian princes. Again, when he requir'd that Catharine de Medicis, the pope's niece (between whom and the Duke of Orleans, second son to Francis, a treaty past) should be dispos'd of to Francisco Sforza ; he reply'd she was already promis'd. Only, it seems, he accorded all that could be requir'd concerning our king. Insomuch, that unless he would contribute puissantly for and against the Turk (for which purpose the pope promis'd his letters) the emperor was then assur'd that all that could be done in favour of Queen Katherine, should be immediately dispatch'd. Which also the emperor (now more than ever offended at our king's league with Francis) took so well, that in contemplation thereof, he not only withdrew his forces out of Lombardy, but gave peace to Italy, as by a league then concluded betwixt them more fully appear'd. Some cardinals being made at this interview, the ambassadors of France demanded a cardinal's hat for Hierom, Bishop of Worcester ; which the emperor oppos'd, saying, 'he would have taken it less ill, that the 'French king should have su'd for four hats for his own subjects, than 'one for any appertaining to our king, especially for him who had 'been a diligent agent in the divorce.' Many designs here likewise were projected, and among them one by the Bishop of Como, who for deciding all controversies, said it was necessary that the pope, the emperor and French king should meet together, which, yet, was not finally approved unless our king made the fourth. But this also in regard of the little security those princes could mutually give or receive, being judg'd improbable, was rejected. Shortly after which the pope and emperor took leave of each other.

During this interview, I find in our records a Portugeuze, in the name of David King of the Ethiopians (vulgarly call'd Prete Jan) presented (Jan. 31.) himself ambassador to his holiness ; for authorizing of which

charge he brought with him not only letters of credence (translated out of the Chaldee to the Italian and Portugal tongues) wherein the said king declar'd himself to be descended from Queen Candace, mention'd in the Acts of the Apostles, but a crucifix of gold ; the further effect of his employment being to require some excellent artificers, and 2000 arquebusiers, whom he would use in a war against the Turk in Egypt, when his holiness would compose the differences in the western parts, and join all Christian princes for recovery of the Holy Land ; pretending thereupon in the name of that king to render obedience to his holiness as the true successor of St. Peter. But this (as Augustino de Augustini an Italian there present and sometimes servant to Cardinal Woolsey, hath (Feb. 2.) it in his letter to Cromwel) made the rest suspected ; and the rather that other circumstances made it probable, that this ambassador was suborn'd partly by the Portugal to countenance his monopoly of spices towards those parts (much grudg'd at by his neighbour princes) and partly by the pope to advance his authority and reputation. But to return to our history.

Our king having notice of the foresaid interview, and finding that the emperor, who seem'd a while to desist from the eager prosecution of his aunt's cause, was now more vehement than ever ; sends instructions to his agents at Rome, to protest in his name, that he was not bound either in his own person, or by his proctor to appear there, urging, for this purpose, the determination of some universities, and particularly of Orleans and Paris. Notwithstanding which, he permitted Doctor Bennet to make (as of himself) divers motions to the pope, the principal whereof in our records I find these. First, that seeing by the opinions of lawyers, and the council of Nice, the matter ought to be decided *in partibus* ; and that by the laws of England the determination (it concerning the succession) cannot elsewhere be made ; it would please his holiness that the Archbishop of Canterbury taking to him two eminent bishops or abbots, or the whole clergy of his province, should decide the same. But this being dislik'd by the pope, Bennet secondly propos'd, whether he would refer the determination to Sir Thomas More, or the Bishop of London, to be nominate by the king, and let the queen or emperor name another, and the French king the third, and let the Archbishop of Canterbury be the fourth. But this also being rejected, Bennet came, it seems, to the last degree of the instructions, which was, that if the cause might be heard in England, and that the queen refus'd the sentence, she should have the benefit of her appeal before three judges, one of England, one of France, and the third from the pope, who also should discuss the matter in some indifferent place. But the pope allow'd not this, saying, 'since he saw 'the king would needs conserve his authority, he would likewise con-  
'serve his, and proceed *via ordinaria*.'

Before yet I conclude this year, I shall relate some particular home-

businesses. Among which, I find that our king having gotten York-house (now White-hall) upon the cardinal's conviction in a præmunire, did newly enlarge and beautifie it, buying also the hospital and fields of St. James, and building the palace there. For which purpose he compounded with the sisters of the house for a pension during their lives. Not long after which, he suppress'd the priory call'd Christ-Church in London, distributing the canons, being Franciscans, into other houses of that kind, and bestowing the church-plate, and lands, on Sir Thomas Audley, newly made lord keeper of the great seal. For Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, after divers suits to be discharg'd of his place, (which he had held two years and a half) did (May 16.) at length by the king's good leave resign it. The example whereof being rare, will give me occasion to speak more particularly of him. Sir Thomas More, a person of sharp wit, and endued besides with excellent parts of learning (as his works may testifie) was yet (out of I know not what natural facetiousness) giving so much to jesting, that it detracted no little from the gravity and importance of his place, which though generally noted and dislik'd, I do not think was enough to make him give it over in that merriment we shall find anon, or retire to a private life. Neither can I believe him so much addicted to his private opinions, as to detest all other governments but his own Utopia, so that it is probable some vehement desire to follow his book, or secret offence taken against some person, or matter (among which perchance the king's new intended marriage, or the like, might be accounted) occasion'd this strange counsel, though, yet, I find no reason pretended for it, but infirmity and want of health. Our king hereupon taking the seal, and (June 4.) giving it, together with the order of knight-hood, to Thomas Audley speaker of the lower-house, Sir Thomas More without acquainting any body with what he had done, repairs to his family at Chelsey, where after a mass celebrated the next day in the church, he comes to his ladies pew, with his hat in his hand (an office formerly done by one of his gentlemen) and says, 'Madam, my lord is 'gone.' But she thinking this at first to be but one of his jests, was little mov'd, till he told her seriously, he had given up the great seal; whereupon she speaking some passionate words, he call'd his daughters then present to see if they could not spy some fault about their mother's dressing; but they after search, saying, they could find none, he replied, 'Do you not perceive that your mother's nose standeth somewhat awry;' of which jeer the provok'd lady was so sensible, that she went from him in a rage. Shortly after, he acquainted his servants with what he had done, dismissing them also to the attendance of some other great personages, to whom he had recommended them. For his fool, he bestow'd him on the Lord Mayor during his office, and afterwards on his successors in that charge. And now coming to himself, he began to consider how much he had left, and finding that it was not above



one hundred pounds yearly in lands, besides some money, he advis'd with his daughters how to live together. But the griev'd gentlewomen (who knew not what to reply, or indeed how to take these jests) remaining astonish'd, he says, 'We will begin with the slender diet of the 'students of the law, and if that will not hold out, we will take such 'commons as they have at Oxford ; which, yet, if our purse will not 'stretch to maintain, for our last refuge we will go a begging, and at 'every man's door, sing together a *Salve Regina* to get alms.) But these jests were thought to have in them more levity, than to be taken every where for current ; he might have quitted his dignity, without using such sarcasms ; and betaken himself to a more retir'd and quiet life, without making them or himself contemptible. And certainly whatsoever he intended hereby, his family so little understood his meaning, that they needed some more serious instructions. So that I cannot persuade my self, for all this talk, that so excellent a person would admit at fit times, to give his family that sober account of his relinquishing this place, which I find he did to the Archbishop Warham, Erasmus, and others.

THIS year of 1533, February 4. the parliament sat again.

The chief laws enacted were ; that all victuals should be sold by the larger kind of weight call'd averdupois. That the price of a pound of beef or pork should be a half-penny at most, and of mutton or veal three farthings, and less where it was usually sold for less. Which I therefore remember that we may compare the rate of those times with these. This law yet was finally repeal'd, in regard unseasonable years did not permit a certain rule in these things, and some of the lords of the council appointed to set the prices ; whereof in its place.

That they who kill'd any person attempting to rob by or near the high-way, or that broke houses, should be acquitted, without forfeiting either goods or lands.

That no appeals should be made out of this realm for these reasons, (viz.) That whereas the kingdom of England was a just empire, furnish'd with such able persons both spiritual and temporal, as could decide all controversies arising in it ; and whereas Edw. I. Edw. III. Rich. II. Hen. IV. and other kings of this realm, have made sundry ordinances, laws, and statutes, for the conservation of the prerogative, liberties, and pre-eminences of the said imperial crown, and of the jurisdictions spiritual and temporal of the same, to keep it from the annoyance of the see of Rome, as also from the authority of other foreign potentates attempting the diminution or violation thereof ; and because notwithstanding the said acts, divers appeals have been sued to the see of Rome in causes testamentary, causes of matrimony, and divorces, right of tythes, oblations and obventions, to the great vexation and charge of the king's highness, and his subjects, and the delay

of justice ; and, forasmuch as the distance of the way to Rome is such, as the necessary proofs and true knowledge of the cause, cannot be brought thither, and represented so well, as in this kingdom ; and that therefore many persons be without remedy : it is therefore enacted, that all causes testamentary, causes of matrimony, and divorces, tythes, oblations, and obventions, either commenc'd or depending formerly, or which hereafter shall commence in any of the king's dominions, shall be heard, discuss'd, and definitively determin'd, within the king's jurisdiction, and authority in the courts spiritual and temporal of the same, any foreign inhibition or restraints to the contrary notwithstanding. So that, although any excommunication or interdiction on this occasion should follow from that see, the prelates and clergy of this realm should administer sacraments, and say divine service, and do all other their duties, as formerly had been us'd, upon penalty of one year's imprisonment, and fine at the king's pleasure ; and they who procur'd the said sentences, should fall into a præmunire. As for the orders to be observ'd henceforth, it was enacted, that in suits commenc'd before the archdeacon or his officials, appeal might be made to the bishop of the said see : and from thence within fifteen days to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or Archbishop of York, respectively in their provinces, and so likewise to the archbishops in the king's other dominions. Or if suit be commenc'd before the archdeacon of any archbishop or his commissaries, then appeal may be made within fifteen days to the court of arches, and so to the archbishops, without further appeal. In all which cases, the prerogative of the Bishop and Church of Canterbury was reserv'd. That if any suit arose betwixt the king and his subjects, appeal might be made within fifteen days to the prelates of the upper house in the convocation then sitting, or next call'd by the king's writ, there to be finally determin'd. And that they who shall take out any appeal contrary to the effect of this act, or refuse to obey it, they, their adherents and counsellors, shall incur the penalty of the statute of xvi Rich. Secundi. And thus the spirituality finding the power invested formerly in the pope, to be deriv'd now in great part on them, did more easily suffer the diminution of the papal authority.

All former statutes also made against the excess of apparel were repeal'd, and new orders given, which yet stood not long ; there being no measure it seems for things that depended so much upon fancy and opinion. It is now time that we return to our history.

Among the many things concluded at the late interview (June 4.) at Bononia, we may remember one was, that the pope should write to our king to send aid against the Turk, who having fail'd (accidentally) in his intentions, he said this summer would puissantly invade Christendom. But our king answer'd by his ambassadors, that the emperor's ambition was the cause thereof, and the rashness of the pope, who at the emperor's request had lately excommunicated John Sepuse Vayvode of Transil-

vania and elect King of Hungary, and so forc'd him to seek foreign aid ; which ought to put his holiness in mind, that he be wary how he proceeded with potent princes. Yet if the pope in his own particular were afraid of the Turk, that he should come to Avignon, and that he and Francis would undertake his protection, since the emperor was resolv'd to consent to the German princes, about some innovation in religion ; only to diminish his holiness's power. How the pope yet relish'd this motion, appears not ; but certainly I find that as long as he was so aw'd in Italy, neither did Francis think it safe to treat, or our king to repose intire confidence in him, though now the Cesarean forces being withdrawn, a private treaty betwixt the pope and Francis took effect ; insomuch that Francis now began secretly to fall off from our king. For as the pope together with giving Catherina de Medices (daughter to Lorenzo, late Duke of Urbin) in marriage to the Duke of Orleance, had promis'd his assistance to him for recovering his claims in Italy, which he passionately desir'd, so he was dispos'd now, though not altogether to forsake our king, yet at least to decline the conventions betwixt them, at their late interview. And to induce the pope to draw Francis on his side, it may be thought no small motive, that he had upon his own authority, not only levied some tenths upon the clergy in France, but prepar'd forces to assist the Protestant princes ; which so scandaliz'd his holiness, as he thought it safer to permit a war of dominion (though in Italy) than of religion in Germany assisted by the French. And certainly, as the times then stood, the pope had reason to fear a defection in more than one prince. The pope also wanted not his designs upon Modena and Rheggio, wherein he hop'd Francis would second him against the emperor, whom he hated still for approving the late sentence in favour of the Duke of Ferrara. Which places now he intended to give his niece, together with the duchy of Urbin, when it could be gotten. For performance of all which, the French writers say a treaty was (March. 1531.) concluded. Our king (being well inform'd of all, and particularly knowing that Francis, notwithstanding both their late private treaty at the interview, and divers reiterated professions of friendship, had upon the pope's breve and request executed some persons in France, who it seem'd oppos'd the the papal authority, and recall'd from banishment one Bede a bitter enemy to the king's divorce,) thought it now his best expedient to stand to the decision of his own clergy : whereunto it conduc'd much, that Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, being lately dead, Thomas Cranmer (an able person) much favour'd by the nobility, as our historians say, and lately imploy'd in the king's business in Italy, and at this present in Germany, was, though absent, chosen (Aug. 23. 1532) to this place. Neither indeed could the king's clandestine marriage be much longer hidden, the new queen being quick with child : so that he resolv'd shortly, both to publish his marriage, and to require his clergy to pro-



ceded to a sentence concerning the divorce. His parliament, in the mean time, so favouring his intentions, that they made the aforesaid act against appeals to Rome, to the no little displeasure of Queen Katherine, who found thereby how dangerous it would be (in point of our law) to insist on hers. Howsoever, I find, she had many openly favour'd her cause, without that our king thought fit to punish them.

Queen Katherine was now at Ampthil in Bedfordshire ; and because it concern'd the king to acquaint her, with the causes of this second marriage, he sent again some grave persons to prepare her thereunto, wishing her together to submit. But she persisting still, Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury cited her to appear at Dunstable, being six miles off. Where for deciding this business, he appointed a court to be held ; and (May.) with him came the Bishops of London, Winchester, (being Stephen Gardiner) Bath, Lincoln, and many great clerks. Their first proceeding (April 11.) (as Sanders hath it) was a citation to our king to put away his wife Katherine ; protesting otherwise, that they would censure him. But the records which I have seen, mention only that Cranmer demanded and obtain'd leave of the king to determine the matter, since it caus'd much doubt among the common people, and fears of great inconveniencies in matter of succession. The court being now (May 10.) held, and the queen summon'd fifteen days together, without yet that she appear'd, the archbishop having first pronounc'd her contumacious, proceeds to sentence, which also he caus'd to be (May 23.) publickly read in the chapel of our Lady in the priory of Dunstable, before two notaries, and then sent to the king, desiring further to know his mind concerning his second marriage, as soon as he had advis'd with his council.

*The Tenor of the Sentence was this.*

' IN Dei nomine, amen : nos Thomas permissione divina Cantuarien.  
' Archiepiscopus, totius Angeliæ primas, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, in  
' quadam causa inquisitionis de et super viribus Matrimonii inter illu-  
' trissimum et potentissimum principem et dominum nostrum Hen-  
' ricum Octavum, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Regem, Fidei Defen-  
' sorem et Dominum Hiberniæ, ac serenissimam Dominam Cathari-  
' nam, nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandi Hispaniarum Regis filiam con-  
' tracti et consummati, quæ coram nobis in judicio ex officio nostro  
' mero aliquamdiu vertebatur, et adhuc vertitur et pendet indecisa, rite  
' et legitime procedentes. Visis primitus per nos et diligenter inspectis  
' articulis sive capitulis in dominica causa objectis et ministratis, una  
' cum responsis eis ex parte dicti illustrissimi et potentissimi Principis  
' Henrici Octavi, factis et redditis, visisque et similiter per nos in-  
' spectis plurimorum nobilium et aliorum testium fide dignorum dictis  
' et depositionibus in eadem causa habitis et factis ; visisque præterea  
' et simili modo per nos inspectis quamplurium et sere totius Christiani

'orbis principalium academiarum censuris seu conclusionibus magis-  
 'tralibus etiam tam theologorum quam juris peritorum responsus et  
 'opinionibus, utriusque denique Provinciæ Anglicanæ Conciliorum  
 'Provincialium assertionibus et affirmationibus, aliisque salutaribus  
 'monitis et doctrinis super dicto matrimonio desuper repective habitis  
 'et factis. Visisque ulterius et pari modo per nos inspectis, tractatibus  
 'seu fœderibus pacis et amicitiae inter perennis famæ Henricum Septi-  
 'mum nuper Regem Angliæ dictum nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandum  
 'nuper Regem Hispaniæ, desuper initis et factis; visis quoque peram-  
 'plius et diligenter per nos inspectis omnibus et singulis actis, actitatis,  
 'literis, processibus, instrumentis, scripturis, munimentis rebusque aliis  
 'universis in dicta causa quomodolibet gestis et factis, ac hic omnibus  
 'et singulis ita per nos visis et inspectis atq; à nobis cum diligentia et  
 'maturitate ponderatis et recensitis: servatisque ulterius per nos in  
 'hac parte de jure servandis; nec non partibus prædictis (viz.) præfato  
 'illustrissimo et potentissimo principe Henrico Octavo per ejus pro-  
 'curatorem idoneum coram nobis in dicta causa legitime comparsente,  
 'dicta vero serenissima Domina Catharina per contumaciam absente  
 '(cujus absentia divina repleatur præsentia) de concilio juris peritorum  
 'et theologorum cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus ad senten-  
 'tiam nostram definitivam, sive finale decretum nostrum in dicta causa  
 'ferendam sive ferendum six duximus procedendum et procedimus in  
 'hoc modum. Quia per acta, inactitata, deducta, proposita, exhibita,  
 'allegata, probata pariter et confessata, articulataque capitulata partis,  
 'responsa testium, depositiones, et dicta, instrumenta, munimenta,  
 'litteras, scripturas, censuras, conclusiones magistrales, opiniones, con-  
 'silia, assertiones, affirmationes, tractatus et fœdera pacis, processus,  
 'res alias et cætera præmissa coram nobis in dicta causa respective  
 'habita, gesta, facta, exhibita et producta. Necnon ex eisdem et diversis  
 'aliis ex causis ac considerationibus, argumentisque et probationum,  
 'generibus variis et multiplicibus, validis quidem et efficacibus quibus  
 'animum nostrum in hac parte ad plenum informavimus plene et evi-  
 'denter invenimus et comperimus dictum matrimonium inter præfatos  
 'illustrissimum principem et Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum,  
 'ac serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, ut præmittitur contractum  
 'et consummatum, nullum omnino et invalidum fuisse et esse, ac  
 'divinio jure prohibente, contractum et consummatum extitisse. Idcirco  
 'nos Thomas Archiepiscopus Primas et Legatus antedictus, Christi  
 'nomine primitus invocato, ac solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes,  
 'pro nullitate et invaliditate dicti matrimonii pronunciamus, decerni-  
 'mus, et declaramus, ipsumque prætensum matrimonium fuisse et esse  
 'nullum et invalidum, ac divino jure prohibente contractum et con-  
 'summatum, nulliusque valoris aut momenti esse, sed viribus et firmi-  
 'tate juris caruisse et carere, præfatisq; illustrissimo et potentissimo  
 'principi Henrico Octavo ac serenissimæ Dominae Catharinæ non

‘licere in eodem prætenso matrimonio remanere etiam pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus, ipsosque illustrissimum et potentissimum principem Henricum Octavum, et serenissimam Dominam Catharinam quatenus de facto et non de jure dictum prætensum matrimonium ad invicem contraxerunt et consummarunt, ab invicem separamus et divortiamus, atque sic separatos et divortiatos, necnon ab omni vinculo matrimoniali respectu dicti prætensi matrimonii, liberos et immunes fuisse et esse pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus, per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis.

‘Maii 23. 1533.’

‘IN the name of God, Amen: We Thomas by Divine permission Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolical see, in a certain cause of enquiry of and concerning the validity of the marriage contracted and consummated between the most potent and most illustrious prince, our sovereign lord Henry VIII. by the grace of God, King of England and France, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of Ireland, and the most serene Princess Catharine, daughter of his most catholick majesty, Ferdinand, King of Spain, etc. of glorious memory; we proceeding according to law and justice in the said cause, which has been brought judicially before us in virtue of our office, and which for some time has laid under examination, as it still is, being not yet finally determin’d and decided, having first seen all the articles and pleas which have been exhibited and set forth of her part, together with the answers made thereto, and given in on the part of the said most illustrious and powerful prince Henry VIII. ; having likewise seen, and diligently inspected the informations and depositions of many noblemen and other witnesses of unsuspected veracity exhibited in the said cause; having also seen, and in like manner carefully consider’d not only the censures and decrees of the most famous universities of almost the whole Christian world, but likewise the opinions and determinations both of the most eminent divines and civilians, as also the resolutions and conclusions of the clergy of both provinces of England in convocation assembled, and many other wholsom instructions and doctrines which have been given in and laid before us concerning the said marriage. Having farther seen, and with like diligence inspected all the treaties and leagues of peace and amity on this account, enter’d upon, and concluded between Henry VII. of immortal fame, late King of England, and the said Ferdinand of glorious memory, late King of Spain, having besides seen, and most carefully weigh’d all and every of the acts, debates, letters, processes, instruments, writs, arguments, and all other things which have pass’d and been transacted in the said cause at any time; in all which thus seen and inspected, our most exact care in examining, and our most mature deliberation in weighing them, hath by us



'been us'd, reserving herein whatsoever of right ought to be by us  
 'serv'd. Furthermore, the said most illustrious and most powerful  
 'prince King Henry VIII. in the foremention'd cause, by his proper  
 'proctor having appear'd before us, but the said most serene Lady  
 'Catherine in contempt absenting her self, (whose absence may the  
 'Divine presence always attend) by and with the advice of the most  
 'learned in the law, and of persons of most eminent skill in divinity,  
 'whom we have consulted in the premises, we have found it our duty  
 'to proceed to give our final decree and definitive sentence in the said  
 'cause, which accordingly we do in this manner. Because by acts,  
 'warrants, deductions, propositions, exhibitions, allegations, proofs and  
 'confessions, articles drawn up, answers of witnesses, depositions, in-  
 'formations, instruments, arguments, letters, writs, censures, determina-  
 'tions of professors, opinions, councils, assertions, affirmations, treaties  
 'and leagues of peace, processes and other matters in the said cause  
 'as is above-mentioned before us laid, had, done, exhibited, and  
 'respectively produc'd, as also from the same and sundry other  
 'reasons, causes and considerations, manifold arguments, and various  
 'kinds of proof of the greatest evidence, strength and validity, of  
 'which in the said cause we have fully and clearly inform'd our selves,  
 'we find, and with undeniable evidence and plainness see, that the  
 'marriage contracted and consummated, as is aforesaid, between the  
 'said most illustrious prince King Henry VIII. and the most serene  
 'Lady Catherine, was and is null and invalid, and that it was con-  
 'tracted and consummated contrary to the law of God. Therefore  
 'we Thomas, archbishop, primate and legate aforesaid, having first  
 'call'd upon the name of Christ for direction herein, and having God  
 'altogether before our eyes, do pronounce, sentence and declare for  
 'the nullity and invalidity of the said marriage, decreeing that the  
 'said pretended marriage always was, and still is null and invalid, that  
 'it was contracted and consummated contrary to the will and law of  
 'God, that it is of no force or obligation, but that it always wanted,  
 'and still wants the strength and sanction of law ; and therefore we  
 'sentence, decree and declare, that it is not lawful for the said most  
 'illustrious and powerful prince Henry VIII. and the said most serene  
 'Lady Catherine, to remain in the said pretended marriage ; and  
 'we do separate and divorce from each other the said most illustrious  
 'and most powerful King Henry VIII. and the said most illustrious  
 'Lady Catherine, in as much as they contracted and consummated the  
 'said pretended marriage *de facto*, and not *de jure* ; and that they, so  
 'separated and divorc'd, are absolutely free from all marriage bond,  
 'with regard to the foresaid pretended marriage, we do pronounce,  
 'decree and declare by this our definitive sentence, and final decree,  
 'which we now give, and by the tenor of these presents publish.

'May 23. 1533.'

The king hereupon (according to the decree of the last parliament) commands strictly Katharine should no more be call'd queen, but Princess Dowager, and widow of Prince Arthur ; and dispatches messengers both to Rome, and to the emperor (then in Spain) to declare and justify the proceedings, not omitting together to satisfy Francis thereof, as shall be told in his place. The oration made (July 6.) to the emperor (whether by Doctor Hawkins then resident in his court, or Sir Thomas Wyat, as Fox hath it) did in effect remonstrate, that since his highness did still esteem him to be his friend, confederate and ally, he thought good to acquaint him with his actions, and among them, his divorce, and therein particularly the justice of the cause, and order of the process, in which nothing being omitted, which might satisfy himself or others, he hath found, at last, that the marriage with Queen Katharine was indispensable, as being against the law of God, nature, and man ; yet that herein he us'd not his own judgment alone, or his subjects (though enough to quiet his conscience) but requir'd it of foreign parts and universities, and among them those of Bononia (though depending of the popes) and Padua (though menac'd by the Venetians) and hath found them, and many other, so consentaneous to his divines, that (some few partial places and persons only excepted) they all determin'd in favour of his highness's cause ; the further confirmation whereof, by publick disputation and proof, he should willingly offer his majesty, were it not too great an injury to that which is pass'd in this realm, to dispute it in any other country ; especially when it is contrary to the laws of the land : so that he trusted his prudence would take it as a thing done, and justly done, and not to marvel if the king his master, for the weal of his soul, as well as benefit and peace of his realm, had taken a course which otherwise he would so little have thought of, as he wisheth no such occasion had ever been given him ; wherein, he hopes it will appear, how much respect is given both to the pope and your self, since otherwise his highness should not have sent so many ambassages to you both, or spent so many years in clearing these points, without receiving yet any fruit but delay and insatisfaction. Insomuch, that he perceiv'd, after the cause had depended almost seven years space, he was in a labyrinth, out of which he saw no likelihood to get, had he not stept right forth at once to the maze's end. Yet if this were all, he could better suffer it : for since at last the necessity of clearing his conscience, and satisfying his people, had made him give a period to his suits, the pope not content with his former vexations, cited him to appear at Rome, and publish'd divers slanderous breves against him, requiring the cause to be determin'd before him ; through a general council hath long since determin'd, that all matters should be ended, where they begun. So that if the Archbishop of Canterbury as metropolitan of the realm had at length given sentence on the king's part, he

thought the question should not be so much, whether it were done according to the common fashion, as whether in it self it were right, whereof therefore he would treat with the pope apart, desiring his majesty howsoever to take well this declaration, since his highness reputed him still his friend, thought this account due to him, as hoping further, he would not be less friendly hereafter, than he had been heretofore. To which the emperor answer'd little more that I can find, 'than that he well knew how matters pass'd, and that he would 'advise with his council,' what further was to be done ; giving by this short and sharp reply, just suspicion of preparing war against England, as he had more than once threatned. For which purpose, as 1529. he had practis'd with the Earl of Desmond in Ireland, so now he treated secretly with James King of Scotland, to whom also he sent his order. Our king not ignorant hereof, takes occasion (upon expiration of the late five years truce) to give ear unto the complaint of the Earl of Angus, (then at Barwick) and to permit Sir Arthur Darcy to enter the country and forrage it. Which he did in April 1533, burning divers towns, and carrying away much booty. Pretending for cause thereof, the restitution of the Douglasses. But while James, a valiant prince (as his many expeditions in person against the out-laws did declare) prepar'd to be reveng'd, the French king taking notice of this difference compos'd it, though not without some difficulty. Notwithstanding, which, the treaty with the emperor continu'd. For whereas the young king being not long since desirous to match in France, found some interruption, he harkned now to an offer from the emperor. And his faithful servants thought it time, as having run no small hazard in his night-walks. And now three Maries, all of the emperor's family, were mention'd to him ; his sister Mary Dowager of Hungary, Mary of Portugal his niece by his sister Leonora, and Mary our princess. Neither will the reader think it so strange, that the emperor presum'd here so far with our king's daughter, whom we shall consider (as I find in our records and Bellay's history) that he offer'd her afterwards to the Dauphin ; as intending, together with troubling this kingdom, to make this princess a reward of their ambition who assisted him. The answer (1535.) which James return'd was, that he should most desire the match with England, if conveniently it could be effected ; saying yet, that after her he would gladliest have a daughter of his sister of Denmark. But Charles saying, she was already promis'd, the business of marriage ended so, for the present, the treaty of friendship nevertheless being in some kind entertain'd. Whereof our king being advertis'd, labour'd to break it, proposing to his nephew a match with Isabel, sister to Henry King of Navarre. For which purpose he also sent Sir Henry Knevet to Margaret Queen of Navarre, who gladly enterain'd the motion.

This while, the Duke of Albany was sent by Francis unto the pope,



to treat in appearance of a war against the duke, but really to conclude the design'd marriage with Catherina de Medices, to whom the said duke was near allied. Which match though the emperor had heretofore oppos'd; yet now considering how expedient it was for his affairs to divide Francis from our king, he resolv'd privately to give assent to it, as judging fewer inconveniences would follow that way, than in both kings join'd against him. Before yet he would declare himself, he told the pope he should require these conditions from Francis. 1. To innovate nothing in Italy. 2. To confirm again the treaty of Madrid and Cambray. 3. To obtain some assurance from him, that he should consent to the calling of a general council. 4. That he would labour effectually with the King of England not to proceed any further in his divorce. To all which the pope gave no other answer, but that he would mediate therein, being not able (as he alledg'd) to dispose otherwise of so puissant a prince.

And now because the reader may expect an account why this general council, promis'd (1532.) within a year's space to the Germans; formerly by the emperor, solicited by our king and Francis, submitted unto by the Protestant princes, took yet no effect at the time appointed; I thought fit to deliver the chief passages thereof: since I dare say no age ever produc'd a juster occasion for the calling of it. Which therefore also I shall relate with more particularity, that none was more forward herein than our king, only when it might be held in some free place and manner; as knowing well that nothing either formerly had, or now, could more authorise any solemn error, than a factious and partial assembly, under what general or specious title soever. Nevertheless, as it concern'd the emperor in point of honour and advantage, chiefly to procure this work, our king and Francis were content a while to look on. And three motives I find were presented by the emperor to the pope. '1. The settling of the business of religion. '2. Resistance against the Turk. 3. Accommodation of differences 'betwixt Christian princes.' The pope having receiv'd these, reply'd only, 'that he would commit the business to some principal person of 'his council,' who making this following remonstrance, the pope thought fit to send it to the emperor; which finally was, that 'concerning religion, they thought it a dangerous point to admit Protestants 'or hereticks to dispute any of the opinions, which holy councils, have 'formerly determin'd. Since thereupon also they might take occasion 'to call in question the articles of Christian faith. On the other side, 'when they were forbidden to defend their doctrine, they might think 'themselves worse us'd than the Arrians and other hereticks heretofore, and pretend they were condemn'd unheard, and so return home 'more obstinate than ever. II. If they have contradicted the 'determinations of former councils, what hope is there that they should 'stand to this? And what a scandal would it prove to be disobey'd?

‘Besides, how unseasonable and hard would it be for the pope to compel them to a strict observation of the decrees establish’d there, when the emperor and other Christian princes, had so much to do both one against another, and against the Turk? III. That there was small likelihood of convincing the Protestants as long as they wholly adhere to the letter of the Holy Scripture, without admitting the interpretation of fathers or councils, who by Divine inspiration may be thought to have clear’d many doubtful places : so that if once they call’d in question the authority of the Church, there could be no ground for deciding controversies. IV. That it is probable, their demand of a council was not so much with the intention to obey it, as to avoid the punishment due from the magistrate; since their request was to have liberty of religion till a council had determin’d the controversies, which could not be suddenly done. V. That the Protestants might find some excuse to depart from any determination, as they did (1530.) from the diet at Augsburgh. Besides, if there were difference of opinions, and some should condescend to an alteration in part, it might cause a schism, and consequently a setting up of council against council, or of pope against pope, as hath formerly happen’d. And again, that whether the pope were declar’d above a council, or a council above the pope, inconveniences would follow. VI. That whether the authority of convoking this council were permitted to them, or to the emperor, it might take up more time and years, than the emperor could spare to attend it.’ 2. As for the second motive of calling this council, being the invasion of the Turk, it was answer’d, That ‘the hostile preparatives being ready, and the assembly of a council in all likelihood so slow, it was more fit to think of taking arms, than of entring into school disputations, especially since under this colour, the Protestants might evade, alledging they were not oblig’d to contribute any thing till the business of religion were settled ; moreover, that this would but occasion the Turks coming, as knowing it would tend wholly to his damage and hurt, and consequently, would but hasten him the more to prevent it. Furthermore, that if the council gave no content to the Protestants, it might cause them to seek protection from the Turk, as the Wayvod of Transilvania had lately done, and under pretence of evangelical liberty seize on the goods of the Church.’ These motives from the emperor, together with this politick answer of the pope, being brought to Francis by the Seigneur de Praet, and his reply requir’d thereunto, Francis after deliberation said, that ‘notwithstanding there were inconveniences in calling a council, there were far greater if they omitted it. It being certain there was never any other lawful and ordinary way for decision of controversies in religion. Insomuch, that all future ages would condemn not only his holiness, but all the Christian princes of the times when they did not procure it. Wherefore his opinion was, that

‘they should assemble a council without yet neglecting the other point propos’d. And for this end, that all Christian princes by their letters and ambassadors should advise together before the council were call’d, and each of them set down what they in their particular thought fit to be done. Whereupon also, they should send to Rome jointly to demand a free and secure place of meeting, where the points projected might be resolv’d. In discussion whereof, therefore, such intire and honest liberty should be permitted to all and every one, as they might frankly discover themselves. Only, that they should not interpose any thing concerning their private differences and quarrels. For the better performing whereof, it should be agreed, that no decision of former councils should be urged to the hindrance of an ingenuous and free communication concerning these points ; when yet it should be alledg’d that the questioning of former acts would but open the way to frustrate this. Since it would give occasion unto many to withdraw themselves, who otherwise would be present at the council. For preventing whereof, therefore, it were expedient that each of them should send their ambassadors or deputies with unlimited commission to treat concerning the points in controversy. Which also should be laid down in writing, to the intent that by common vote and consent they might afterwards be determin’d. With this caution, yet, that in the mean while all particular enmities should be laid aside or quench’d. And that till this were done, and the several superiors of the said ambassadors or deputies acquainted with the proceedings (so that absolute power thereupon might be given them to conclude) it was unseasonable to call a council. But if they chose this way, it would follow that either the inferior number would submit to the greater, and consequently conform themselves to one common way in religion, or at least they would remain without excuse, or cause of exception, when on so good and indifferent terms the determination of a free council had been offer’d them.’ All which were signified by his ambassadors.

It was now toward the end of February, 1533. when the emperor receiv’d this answer, who as he was disaffected to Francis, did easily misinterpret his meaning, taking all his advice in a counter sense : first, ‘Because he thought it unreasonable, that the ambassadors of Christian princes and Protestants should project the points and articles to be treated of in the said council, since it could be thought no less than an artifice and invention, to restrain and diminish the authority of the said council, which together with all that could be treated therein, ought intirely to depend on the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and not on the opinions of men. Secondly, because Francis had made no particular answer concerning contribution for resisting of the Turk, as if he thought the danger of his neighbours in this kind did not concern him.’



Which remonstrance being brought (in form of a reply or complaint of the emperor) to Francis, he answer'd, 'That he cou'd not but 'marvel how the emperor should so much mistake him, since together 'with an ample declaration of his opinion concerning the affair of 'religion, he had declar'd likewise, that the ambassadors and deputies 'should not neglect the other point, whose resolutions also concerning 'resistance of the Turk, he thought not only more effectual and proper 'than those of a council, but of a quicker dispatch. And for the other 'point concerning the restraint or diminution of the council, it was 'sinisterly and malignly interpreted. For when they should send 'ambassadors from all parts with so pure and sincere affection and 'zeal for the good of the Church, and defence of Christendom, he could 'do no less than believe that the Holy Ghost will assist and direct 'their assembly. And howsoever that any thing concluded in this 'kind should be esteemed no more than as a beginning or preamble to 'the council. Nevertheless for the giving more entire satisfaction to 'the emperor, he thought fit to declare, that if the emperor did not 'approve the said assembly of ambassadors, he for his part would 'mention it no further; only when the emperor would but please to 'take notice that himself made the first overture thereof, as by the 'articles brought by Du Praet might appear. For the rest, he wish'd 'it might be a true universal council, and not a national or provincial, 'as it must be term'd, when all Christian nations did not assist there- 'in. And as for war against the Turk, tho' he had already paid '1,200,000 crowns, and must pay 800,000 more, yet if the Turk in per- 'son should assail Christendom, he would not only hazard his own blood 'and his subjects to oppose him, but hope the emperor would do the 'like.' But neither was the emperor satisfied herewith. For as he thought Francis would make use of this assembly for contriving some design or enterprise against him, so he secretly declin'd it. Francis likewise, as he was wholly won to the pope. and intente to the business of Italy, labour'd not much to advance a business, so suspected and dangerous to the Roman see. So that the diffidence and jealousy betwixt these princes broke off the council at this time, when it seem'd so necessary for the peace and welfare of Christendom. Howbeit the emperor (who departed from Genöia, April 8. and was now in Spain) lest he should be thought not to comply with his promise, obtain'd (Aug. 1532.) from the pope, that these following conditions should be offer'd to John Frederick Elector of Saxony in the room of his father, lately deceas'd. 'That it should be free and open to all, as in times 'past. That assurance should be given on both sides to stand to 'whatsoever should be decreed there. That they who could not be 'present, should send their deputies. That in the mean while, nothing 'should be innovated. That the place should be Piacenza, Bononia, 'or Mantua, at their choice. That if any princes neither came them-

'selves, nor sent, they should yet be concluded by the decrees of the council, and if they disobey'd, that the emperor and other princes should see justice done. That if these conditions were accepted, the council should be summon'd within six months following the date hereof (being towards the end of March, or beginning of April, 1533.) and held within a year after.' For more authorising of which propositions, the emperor commanded his ambassadors to second the legate. The Duke of Saxony hereupon, after deliberation with the other Protestant princes and states at Smalcald, return'd (June 30.) this answer: 'That the council could not be free as long as the pope, who was a party, should sit as judge. That the cause of religion, as being grounded on the Scriptures, should be determined by them, and not by school-opinions. That the place ought to be (as the emperor had promised) in Germany, if it should be free and open unto all.' Our historians say also, that the pope sent (in May) to our king to be present at the council, or at least to send thither: but when the messenger (being requir'd to it) shew'd a commission, which had neither place nor time express'd, he was dismiss'd.

While these things past, our king by a dispatch to Francis requires him to send hither some trusty person, to whom he might with all confidence communicate such things as could not fitly be committed to paper; intreating also that the said person might be instructed in all the passages of affairs (wheresoever) since the interview. For though the king by message, sent formerly by the Lord Rochfort, had acquainted Francis that he was privately married, yet as he had many particularities to speak of, and might besides have use of the assistance which Francis had offer'd, so he desir'd one on that part to whom he might freely open himself. Hereupon Francis sends (March) Guillaume du Bellay Seigneur de Langey with these instructions: that he should persuade our king to be at the interview betwixt the pope and him, as being better able than any else to justify and defend his proper cause, assuring him, that he should be as safe, both in his passage to, and stay there, as in his own kingdom, nevertheless, if he thought not fit to come, that at least he should send one in whom he might repose intire confidence. He was charged also to inform our king, how Francis had made those ordinances concerning horse and foot, and the sea-businesses, which were agreed betwixt them. Lastly, he was commanded to desire our king's advice concerning the affairs of the Protestant princes of Germany, who instantly crav'd their joint assistance.

When Monsieur de Langey was come, and had expos'd these particularities, our king answer'd: that since the Bishop of Rome (for so he now term'd the pope) after many dissimulations, and delays, would not decide the business of the divorce, he had for discharge of his conscience referr'd it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as being not

able to support any longer the continual vexations wherewith his mind was afflicted. And that the said archbishop and divers bishops and principal persons of the clergy having sentenced a nullity in his former marriage, and declared the dispensation for it void, as given in a case which being *ex jure Divino*, could not be dispens'd with ; he had thereupon privately married the marchioness, without yet that he had intention to disclose it before May next. About which time he hoped also that the interview betwixt his master and the said bishop would be, and that the said bishop therefore would do him justice. If not, that he would publish his marriage, and withdraw himself totally from the yoke and dominion of the bishop's Church. Concerning the tyranny and usurpation whereof, he had compos'd a large and ample treatise ; the title whereof was, '*De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis, contra Pontificis tyrannidem et horribilem impietatem,*' as Beutherus hath it ; though (for my part) having seen no such book, I conceive it was that '*De vera differentia Regiæ Potestatis et ecclesiasticæ, et quæ sit ipsa virtus et veritas utriusque,*' made about this time ; which nevertheless he said he would not publish, until he saw what right the bishop would do him ; desiring the said king in the mean time not to abandon him, since the bishop had vaunted, he would set all Christendom against him, which the emperor also, in his discourse with the pope had averred, discovering how by the means of Scotland he would revenge his aunt's quarrel. Some intelligence whereof was brought our king by the said Seigneur de Langey, who crossing the seas from Boulogne to Dover, was assaulted by some Scotchmen of war, who hovering in our seas to espy their advantage, set upon the gallion that Langey went in, so that had he not made use both of sails and oars, he had been overtaken or sunk ; their number being superior, and ordnance playing continually on him. They overtook yet a ship of his consort, which having sails only, and not oars, could not escape them. Monsieur de Langey being now dismiss'd, acquainted Francis with our king's resolution. Whereupon also, he hasten'd his interview with the pope, which after variety of places propos'd, was finally resolv'd at Marseilles, the emperor's ambassadors at Rome in vain opposing it.

And now the news of the Archbishop of Canterbury's sentence, and open marriage of Mistress Anne Bolen, being come to the pope's ears, and together with it an information concerning the book our king had compos'd against the pope's authority (which also more than any thing else offended him) the whole college of cardinals, especially such as were for the emperor, became humble suppliants to the pope, that he would proceed rigorously against our king ; which also the pope accorded, tho' not in that peremptory and publick manner as was afterwards done ; for I find that this sentence was not definitive in the principal cause, as the imperials desir'd, and Sanders mistakes it, but



only declarative in the point of attemptats, (as they call it) in that King Henry (the cause yet depending) had divorc'd himself without the leave and authority of the pope. Therefore it was (July 11.) declar'd that all his actions herein were subject to a nullity, and himself to excommunication, unless he restor'd things *in integrum*, for which time was allow'd him till the end of September following. These proceedings being reserv'd, and the censures thus suspended, argued that the pope was willing before he went any further to see the success of his interview with Francis, which was accelerated by this means. For as the pope knew well that the emperor was already sufficiently incens'd against the king, so it was easy for him to collect, that if he could gain Francis, nothing afterwards could hinder him to fulminate. And he had reason to chuse this way of treaty; for I find all his interviews succeeded well with him. Nevertheless, the emperor as he knew not how far this new treaty might extend, labours by his ambassadors to retard it. But they failing, he took another course; for being advertis'd that the pope intended to make use of some of his gallies for this journey, he sent a command that they should be employed against the Turk. But neither could this keep back the pope, who rather than not go, resolv'd to commit himself to the French gallies, and so to pass (May 18. 1532.) to Marseilles. Things being thus advanc'd, our king (in conformity to the proposition of Francis) sends the Duke of Norfolk, lately made Marshal of England, the Lord Rochfort, Sir William Paulet, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Francis Bryan, follow'd with some hundred and sixty horse, to repair to Francis, and afterwards attend the interview.

This while, our king being confident, that either by the pope's good permission, or his proper authority, he should be able to justify a cause which so many universities had sentenc'd on his side, proceeds to the coronation of his new queen, which also was perform'd (June 1.) with much solemnity. And the rather that the murmur of those who objected against the irregularity and deviation of our king's proceeding herein, might be hidden and recover'd in the pomp. Shortly (June 23.) after which, our historians say, Mary the Dowager of France dy'd, and was bury'd at St. Edmunds-Bury.

The Duke of Norfolk being now (July.) come to Francis (who was upon his journey to Marseilles) acquaints him with part of his instructions, which were to dissuade him from the interview and marriage propos'd, or, at least, to suspend it till the pope had given our king satisfaction; offering also aid for a war in Piedmont, if he would suffer no more monies to go out of his realm to Rome, and instead of the pope to erect a patriarch; which it seems was one of the private articles treated betwixt them, at the interview: but hearing, at the same time, of the declaration past at Rome against our king, he thought it too late to expect any favour from the pope, and therefore

demanded leave to return. Notwithstanding which Francis desir'd his stay, promising all the best offices and assistance to our king he could require, as soon as he should come to Marseilles ; protesting furthermore, that what offence soever was done to our king, he would take as to himself. But the duke being inform'd again, by our diligent agents, what had past at Rome, would omit no longer to advertise the king. Therefore, he posted away the Lord Rochfort to acquaint his highness with what was done, and to know his gracious pleasure ; whereupon the king, (Aug. 8.) upon advice with his council, thought fit to revoke, together with the said duke, the Duke of Richmond, then living in the French court, commanding also his ambassadors with the pope to return. Nevertheless, as Francis insisted with our king to send some other, if for no other end, yet at least to witness the earnestness and sollicitation wherewith he would pursue the king's affair with the pope ; so our king thought fit to send to Stephen Gardiner, not long before (Dec. 5. 1531.) made Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Francis Bryan, together with Sir John Wallop, to attend him at the interview. And here it is probable, that Francis had many designs, whereof also he resolv'd to prevail himself according to the occasion. For if he treated with the pope, he no less entertain'd his former correspondence with the princes of Germany, who sent to him (then being at Tholouse) a secretary of the Dukes of Bavaria, to tell him how, upon the consignment of 100,000 crowns, which the said king by treaty was oblig'd to pay in aid, and for the restitution of the Duke of Wittenberg, whose possession was withheld by Ferdinand, they now all agreed, that it should be put into the hands of the said duke ; desiring nevertheless that it might be done with all secrecy. To which Francis answer'd ; 'That the interview being past, he would send some one to acquaint him with his intentions.'

This while the Duke of Albany being departed with the gallies of France, to conduct the pope to Marseilles, news was brought to Francis of the death of one Merveilles, employ'd by Francis to Francisco Sforza (then in possession of the dutchy of Milan, by the emperor's favour, though not as yet of the daughter of Denmark, formerly destin'd unto him ;) the occasion whereof also I have thought worthy my relation. This Merveilles being a Milanese, had serv'd long in the French court, and was now by the good leave of Francisco Sforza received as a secret agent or ambassador for Francis ; the terms on which Sforza stood with the emperor, not admitting a more ouvert access. The servants of this Merveilles having a quarrel with one Castiglione concerning some words he had spoken against their master, did at last (July 3.) kill him in the streets ; which was reveng'd by the magistrate on Merveilles himself, whose goods he seized on, and afterwards by order of the duke privately cut off his head. Which being advertis'd (July 6.) to Francis, he fell into an extream passion,

saying he was his ambassador, and that herein the law of nations was violated. The resentment whereof also, as he thought common to all princes, so he acquainted the pope, emperor, and other potentates of Europe therewith, in high terms, not forgetting also to give our king a particular account thereof, together with his intentions ; protesting to them all he would have reparation. But when the emperor had receiv'd his letter, he return'd no other answer, but that Merveilles had deserv'd death, and was justly punished, he being no ambassador, but a subject of the Duke of Milan's. Whereupon the French ambassador hoping to satisfy the emperor, shew'd him private dispatches, by which it appear'd that the duke acknowledg'd him under that title. Notwithstanding which, the emperor made small account of them, as supposing the quality of an ambassador not wrong'd, as long as the person in question (besides that he was no subject of the French king) did not openly sustain the dignity of his place ; whereupon also this act was so far from being chastised by him, that it did but hasten the marriage of Sforza with Christine the King of Denmark's second daughter, whom the emperor immediately sent for, and gave much about the time that the Duke of Orleans married Catherina de Medicis. Notwithstanding which, Sforza sent his chancellor to Francis, alledging by way of excuse, that Marveilles was no more but a private person, though authoris'd sometimes to treat ; neither was he ever acknowledg'd publickly by any other title than his vassal and subject ; so that not to have done right to another subject kill'd by his procurement, had been to the derogation of justice and his own authority. Besides, he said Merveilles was such an outrageous and mischievous person, that he had been told divers times on the duke's part, that he did not like of his abode there. As for the secret manner of his being put to death, he said, it was to avoid ignominy, in case Francis for delivering some of his messages (when there was occasion) should repute him his ambassador. But the excuse (as it imply'd some contradiction) did but exasperate Francis, who told the chancellor, that if intire satisfaction were not given, he would in some fitting time and place procure it.

About this time, the queen being (Sept. 6.) brought to bed of the Princess Elizabeth, (who happily succeeded to this crown) the christening following shortly after, with much solemnity, where the Archbishop of Canterbury was godfather, and the Dutchess of Norfolk and Marchioness of Dorset godmothers. Howbeit the divorced Katharine and her daughter were not only much grieved, but divers that favour'd her cause, writ, and spoke against the late marriage : a nun of Kent also, pretending (Nov.) to prophesy thereon, of whom and her feigned miracles (about this time discover'd) we shall make mention hereafter.

It was now Oct. 6. 1533. when the pope, conducted by the Duke of Albany, came by sea to Marseilles, where Montmorency received him. His publick entrance into the town (being the next day after his



arrival) was in a rich chair, carry'd on the shoulders of two men, himself wearing his pontifical ornaments, (the tiara or triple crown only excepted) before him a white hackney was led, on which the sacrament was carry'd. After him follow'd all the cardinals, and his niece Catharina de Medicis (the Dutchess of Urbin) with a great train of cavaliers and ladies. Francis at the same time, that he might seem to give the pope intire possession of the town, going out thereof, but the next day returning thither, and after many complements to the pope, coming to business, the intended marriage was concluded, the pope himself marrying the young couple. Her portion in money was but little, being only but 100,000 crowns, but in expectation and titles great; since a pretence to Urbin in the right of her father Lorenzo de Medici, to whom Leo X. gave the investiture to the disinherison of Francisco Maria Conte di Feltri, (who at this present was in possession thereof) as also the donation of Rhèggio, Modena, Rubieira, Pisa, Ligorno, Parma and Piacenza by the pope, or something equivalent to them, did make her thought a match worthy of the son of Francis; especially, when so potent a prince should undertake her cause, not without hope of uniting these places to the rights he claimed in Italy. After which, the pope was often solicited by Francis in the behalf of our king, that at least the time of declaring the censures against him might be prorogu'd. But the pope answering only, that tho' the term prefix'd for fulmination were now past, yet he would omit further process till he came to Rome. Our agents not content herewith proceed in their instructions, and Edmund Bonner (as I find by an original of his to our king) getting audience of the pope, Nov. 7. in respectful terms, and under protestation that his majesty intended no contempt of the see apostolick or holy Church, intimated to him King Henry's appeal to the next general council lawfully assembled, exhibiting also the authentick instruments thereof (made before the Bishop of Winchester;) at which the pope being much incens'd, said, 'he would refer it to the consistory.' Which being held Nov. 10. he answer'd Bonner, 'That, concerning the king's appeal, he rejected it, 'as being unlawful, and against a constitution of Pope Pius. Secondly, 'for the council, he would procure it, as belonging to his authority, and 'not to King Henry's. Thirdly, for the original instruments (which 'Bonner required back) he denied them,' and so dismiss'd him; 'desiring Francis only, that he would persuade our king to conform 'himself to his ancient devotion and obedience to the Roman Church.' Shortly after which, being November 12, 1533. the pope return'd. I find moreover, that the Archbishop of Canterbury at this time suspecting the pope would proceed against him, by the advice of our king, made his appeal also to the council: which he desir'd our agents to intimate to the pope. The success whereof yet doth not appear in our records.

Here also, at the requisition of Francis, he made four French cardinals, which added to six more, who held that dignity, made the emperor see that the pope intended to strengthen the French party in Rome. Besides, as the pope did fear lest Francis should usurp upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in his kingdom, he gave him the nomination of the heads and chiefs, not in monasteries alone, but in all elective benefices in his kingdom ; which was politickly done ; for he prevented thereby that power which Francis might have assum'd, especially when he had stood to the conventions he made with our king at their last interview. By which means also, he disposed Francis to oppose the emperor about calling a council, shewing together how inconvenient it would be to the Roman Church, as affairs then stood.

Francis not forgetting, this while, to send to Germany, both in favour of the Duke of Wittenberg, and to comfort the Protestant princes in their perseverance, promised to do all that he could for them in a defensive way : he omitted not also to send Jehan du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, to our king, both to acquaint him with all the passages at Marseilles, and to induce him to send ambassadors to Rome to treat with the pope concerning the suspending of this fulmination, which he said highly concern'd him. But our king, who was in some part acknowledg'd already *supremum caput ecclesiæ* in his dominions, replying, he would advise with his council hereof, one who much favour'd the papal authority, spake in this manner.

'SIR, Your highness is come to a point which needs a strong and firm resolution, it being not only the most important in its self, that can be presented, but of that consequence as will comprehend your kingdom and posterity. It is, whether, in this business of your divorce, and second marriage, as well as in all other ecclesiastical affairs in your dominions, you wou'd make use of your own, or of the papal authority ? For my part, as an Englishman, and your highness's subject, I must wish all power in your highness : but when I consider the ancient practice of this kingdom, I cannot but think any innovation dangerous : for if in every temporal estate it be necessary, not only to keep order, but to come to some supreme authority, whence all inferior magistracy should be deriv'd, it seems much more necessary in religion, both as the body thereof seems more susceptible of a head, than any else, and as that head again must direct so many others. We should above all things therefore labour to keep an unity in the parts thereof, as being that sacred bond which knits and holds together not his own alone, but all other government. But how much, sir, should we recede from the dignity thereof, if we (at once) retrenched this his chief and most eminent part ? And who ever liked that body long whose head was taken away ? Certainly, sir, an authority received for many ages, ought not rashly to be rejected ;

'for is not the pope *communis pater* in the Christian world, and arbiter of their differences? Doth he not support the majesty of religion, and vindicate it from neglect? Doth not the holding of his authority from God, keep men in awe, not of temporal alone, but eternal punishments, and therein extend his power beyond death it self? And will it be secure to lay aside these potent means of reducing people to their duty, and trust only to the sword of justice and secular arm? Besides, who shall mitigate the rigour of laws in those cases, which may admit exception, if the pope be taken away? Who shall presume to give orders, or administer sacraments, or grant pardons, dispensations, indulgences, and other mysteries of the Church? Who shall be depositary of the oaths, and leagues of princes, or fulminate against the perjur'd infractors of them? For my part (as affairs now stand) I find not, how either a general peace among princes, or any equal moderation in human affairs, can be well conserv'd without him. For as his court is a kind of chancery to all other courts of justice in the Christian world, so if you take it away, you subvert that equity and conscience which should be the rule and interpreter of all laws and constitutions whatsoever. I will conclude, that I wish your highness, as my king and sovereign, all true greatness and happiness, but think it not fit (in this case) that your subjects should either examine by what right ecclesiastical government is innovated, or inquire how far they are bound thereby; since, besides that it might cause division, and hazard the overthrow both of the one and the other authority, it would give that offence and scandal abroad, as foreign princes would both reprove and disallow all our proceedings in this kind, and together upon any occasion, be dispos'd easily to join against us.'

*To which was reply'd by one in this manner.*

'SIR, If he who propos'd this question, had resolv'd it as well, I should not have needed to return an answer. But since from principles we admit as true, he draweth consequences which follow not, I shall according to common reason crave leave to examine his arguments, without insisting upon any thing urged out of either Testament, or controverted by the theologians of this time. Nothing is more certain, than that there is a necessity of establishing some supream power in spiritual as well as temporal affairs; only the question will be, whether they be better united in one person, or divided into two? I am for one, especially while the precincts of both be of the same extent, and the magistrate no way obnoxious: for can we suppose a government without religion, or a religion without a government? Will the bare precepts of theology contain people in their duties, unless the secular arm concur? Or, the inflicting punishment with a high hand suffice to teach a good life, or bring men to everlasting happiness? Besides,



‘can a kingdom be safe, if the secular magistrate command one thing,  
 ‘and the spiritual another? Must not the subject on these terms be  
 ‘suspended betwixt his obediences, or distracted into some schism or  
 ‘rebellion? Which inconveniences as they cannot be deny’d, so  
 ‘neither do examples want thereof, both anciently betwixt emperors  
 ‘and popes, and of latter times, as well in this kingdom as divers  
 ‘others, where not only scandal and dissention, but even ruins and  
 ‘desolation follow’d on this occasion. It being manifest thus, how  
 ‘fitly both powers are conjoined, the next question will be, who is most  
 ‘proper to exercise them in this kingdom? But it is clear that the  
 ‘popes are not. For besides that they want title, succession, election,  
 ‘possession, or whatsoever else may establish government for the  
 ‘temporal part, they cannot so much as aptly administer the spiritual,  
 ‘while the distance betwixt us and them is so great, that they neither  
 ‘can take timely notice of the proceedings and deviations of the  
 ‘clergy, or give that order and redress which is fitting; so that  
 ‘although by a frequent admitting of appeals to Rome, they strive to  
 ‘take away this difficulty, it is rather increased. The causes brought  
 ‘thither being sometimes undecided for a long space, sometimes  
 ‘wholly frustrated, while people had rather let fall their suits, than be  
 ‘at the cost of bringing their witnesses with them to so remote a  
 ‘place, as neither their health or means can reach unto. Of which, as  
 ‘also many other inconveniences in this kind, the Germans in their  
 ‘*centum gravamina* have not long since complain’d, without that the  
 ‘whole court at Rome could devise a due remedy, as long as the  
 ‘determination of ecclesiastical affairs was so commonly avok’d thither.  
 ‘Whereby it follows, that the pope, as being neither secular magistrate  
 ‘in this kingdom, nor within a just distance to exercise the spiritual,  
 ‘cannot lawfully pretend to an absolute power in either jurisdiction. It  
 ‘remains, that princes of this kingdom successively assume it, both as  
 ‘their person and office hath in it a mixture of the temporal and  
 ‘spiritual power, and as the precincts they claim in ecclesiastical  
 ‘affairs are no longer than their swords can reach to, and secure, nor  
 ‘their interests other, than to conserve at home a perpetual peace of  
 ‘religion; which also will be with so much advantage to their subjects,  
 ‘as while the same authority animates and gives life unto all, none of  
 ‘the members can easily prevaricate, or fall away. If any yet will  
 ‘deny this maxim, he may be convinc’d by examples of popes them-  
 ‘selves, who practise this mixed power not only in their territories  
 ‘about Rome, the *Patrimonio della Chiesa*, but in their more remote  
 ‘dominions, with that singular benefit to their vassals, that they more  
 ‘than any other in Italy, are exempt from being drawn into contrary  
 ‘parts. So that if it be clear as well by reason as by precedents, that  
 ‘both powers may subsist together, and be exercis’d by one and the  
 ‘same person, I think none will deny, but that it will be so much the

'more equal, to place them in a temporal than a spiritual monarch, as  
 'it imports more to give good laws, and exhibite justice, than to dispute  
 'controversies (where the grounds of religion are already settled) and  
 'to resist foreign invasions, than to declaim against vice, and the non-  
 'payment of church-duties : out of which therefore may be concluded,  
 'that there is no more necessity of a pope over us, or (if you will) over  
 'all churches in the world (when they could be converted to Christianity)  
 'than to assign one universal monarch over it. There being in the  
 'frame of government as well as all other bodies, a certain symmetry  
 'and proportion, beyond which it cannot conveniently be dilated.  
 'These things thus appearing, it may be considered now, whether the  
 'pope have not yet another incapacity for swaying all the ecclesiastical  
 'affairs of this kingdom, in his being so obnoxious to other princes.  
 'But this also is evident, since the French and Spaniard so constrain-  
 'ing him on either side, that he must submit to the stronger, or suffer  
 'such imprisonment and outrages as he hath lately done, it will be  
 'dangerous to constitute him our supream judge in these affairs of  
 'religion, which regard matter of state. For suppose he would be  
 'impartial between such princes as may press him equally, shall we  
 'presume he will be so to us, who stand not in the same relation of  
 'nearness and interest unto him? Nevertheless, I shall easily grant  
 'that he may wish us well, or bestow his blessing on us ; but where  
 'his person or estate will be concern'd, I do believe it would be so  
 'unsafe for him to do us right, that it would be an unmannerly thing  
 'to ask it. But may he not in some cases yet be retain'd as judge in  
 'ecclesiastical affairs, and arbiter of the differences of Christendom?  
 'For my part, I shall accord it, as long as he complies with his place  
 'of *communis pater*. But if through interdictions, censures, excom-  
 'munications, fulminations, and the like, he proscribe, and exterminate  
 'those, who otherwise might give him a due respect, doth he not  
 'relinquish his name? Especially while without regard to the quiet-  
 'ness of men's consciences, the peace of Christendom, or the unity of  
 'religion, (which might easily follow, when the unnecessary points  
 'were laid aside) he (for the conservation of his authority in this king-  
 'dom only) procures foreign princes to invade it. Whereupon there-  
 'fore, he so little exerciseth his pastoral charge, (instituted at first for  
 'the safeguard and ease of the secular magistracy) as he now disturbeth  
 'all, whereas he ought so much rather to use a discreet moderation, as  
 'he sees that princes can both reign without him, and contain their  
 'subjects (whether spiritual or temporal) in their accustom'd obedience  
 'and devotion, out of which therefore he may collect, that until these  
 'ecclesiastical affairs be permitted to princes, which cannot aptly be  
 'determin'd without them, there will be small hope of an accommoda-  
 'tion. And for these reasons also, we can as little admit him arbiter of  
 'the temporal causes betwixt us, and any other Christian prince, though

' otherwise the function be so necessary, as (it seems) there is no so  
 ' good means for avoiding the many wars, and deciding the controver-  
 ' sies betwixt them. But it is alledged still, that in deserting the pope's  
 ' authority, some diminution of religion may follow : alas ! if religion  
 ' stood not on firmer principles than these, it were worse grounded  
 ' than any other knowledge : for were not the laws of piety and good-  
 ' ness so written (at first) in the heart, as mankind had no other  
 ' direction for attaining his everlasting happiness, for about two thou-  
 ' sand years, and until the decalogue was given? And is that again  
 ' any thing else but an explication of these laws? Besides, is there  
 ' not a doctrine of faith deliver'd us in some part of our belief or  
 ' creed (and I say in some, for the beginning thereof, as well as certain  
 ' articles towards the end, are general notions both written in our  
 ' hearts, and received in all religions.) And have we not through the  
 ' reverend authority of the Church for many ages, declaring and con-  
 ' firming this faith, accepted thereof, and the ten commandments, and  
 ' therein submitted our selves to all that is required in either Testa-  
 ' ments, and will they yet exact new beliefs, and obtrude new articles?  
 ' When the laws of God, only written in men's hearts, and the  
 ' decalogue, for so many ages were thought to suffice for salvation.  
 ' Let them say what they will ; I find no reason to believe, that the  
 ' Divine wisdom imposeth more, or proceedeth by other rules than  
 ' those that were deliver'd to our fore-fathers ; or that some such  
 ' obliquation of religion hath happen'd as the course of his providence  
 ' should be varied too. And therefore, though I shall be content,  
 ' that the illustration or explication of some points may be worth the  
 ' Church's labour, I can never agree that the principles and foundation  
 ' of this structure should be stirr'd, or exhibited on other terms.  
 ' Neither indeed should the Roman Church in true wisdom procure  
 ' it, the majesty of religion being no ways so well conserv'd, as by  
 ' asserting such a perfection, antiquity, universality, and visibility in  
 ' the more necessary parts thereof, as may argue the care which God  
 ' hath over mankind in all ages, without omitting, together, to represent  
 ' the doctrines of faith, and of God's mercy, in middle times after such  
 ' manner, as may be for our instruction. And thus their auditors,  
 ' being informed, not only what parts of religion have been received in  
 ' all ages and countries, but what his particular providence hath added  
 ' in sequent times, may glorify him for both. Nevertheless, if popes  
 ' shall be so far from these charitable and temperate ways, as they will  
 ' still intermix and trouble all things ; if they shall confound and join  
 ' together the certain, and the uncertain, and compel men equally to  
 ' the belief of all they teach, ought not princes in this case to prevent  
 ' distractions? Ought they not to extinguish usurpations in religion,  
 ' and together, vindicate her from error and neglects? While in giving  
 ' a due lustre and protection with the temporal sword, they make her



'become more reverend and awful. Which duty also is so much more  
 'requisite in them, as it is not in the power of any else to perform it.  
 'Neither should we fear, lest our princes should grow too absolute  
 'thereby; when it is the most assured way for conserving, not the  
 'outward only, but inward peace in this kingdom. Not that this  
 'authority may be at length devolv'd to such as would abuse it;  
 'there being a possibility of bad popes, as well as bad princes. And  
 'that *incommodum non solvit argumentum*. And thus, sir, may all  
 'innovation be taken away in religion, and all defects restored by  
 'your highness in your dominions, without either suffering sophistry  
 'or pedantism to be taught instead of true doctrine, or that the  
 'hierarchy of your kingdom should be divested from their ancient  
 'dignities and rights. Since as your highness pretends not to create  
 'new articles of faith, they may continue still to expound the old, in  
 'their several kinds, and give light to the hard places in the scripture,  
 'read divine service, administer sacraments, and the like, and together,  
 'exhort men to piety, charity, good life, repentance, and whatever else  
 'may conduce to everlasting happiness: whereof also when the pope  
 'would take such notice, as to confirm and approve our proceedings,  
 'we might (if your highness so pleas'd) return that respect to him, as,  
 'upon his publick declaration, that he doth not only ratify our confes-  
 'sion of faith, but relinquish all his pretences, which may derogate  
 'from your regal authority, and behave himself (for the rest) *tanquam*  
 '*communis pater*, such points might be referr'd to him, as your clergy  
 'could not conveniently determine, and his dignity together, be so far  
 'forth acknowledg'd, as he might still retain a primacy, according to  
 'his ancient patriarchal right, without intermeddling yet with that  
 'supremacy, which your convocation-house hath already decreed for  
 'your highness. And now to come to the present question concerning  
 'the divorce; I must say, I cannot find, what the pope should take ill.  
 'For is any thing done by our archbishop, but what, not only the pope  
 'himself, but the most famous universities of Christendom have declared  
 'lawful? So that, if after six years suspension of the cause, we have  
 'determined the business, as himself confessed he would have done,  
 'but for fear of the emperor; what offence can he take? Will he  
 'complain, he is not able to do us justice, and yet be scandalized if it  
 'be done by others? Or shall the executing of what he thought  
 'reasonable, be judg'd a fault, when the not executing thereof must (in  
 'all equity) have made us the greater criminals? Let us therefore send  
 'to desire his consent. It hath been already intimated unto us, that it  
 'was not so good to ask a license, as a pardon, we will hope then from  
 'a confirmation of the archbishop's sentence. And thus both the one  
 'and the other authority may be conserv'd, without that we should need  
 'to fear any foreign invasion, as long as the general vote of our  
 'kingdom shall establish what (in a sort) it hath agreed unto.'

And to this opinion our king inclined, and so much the rather, that about this time the pope's sentence against him was openly set up at Dunkirk in Flanders; so that to prevent further inconveniences, the king (as our records shew) advised with his council Dec. 2. First, to inform his subjects of his appeal to the council-general, and the justice thereof. Secondly, of the unlawfulness of the dowager's appeal to Rome, and the late statute against it, which said statute was (for that purpose) to be set upon every church-door in England, as also his majesty's said provocation, or appeal, whereof transumpt also were to be sent into Flanders. Thirdly, to command it to be taught, that the general council is above the pope, and that he hath no more authority in England, by God's law, than any other foreign bishop. Lastly, to send into Germany, to confederate with the King of Poland, John King of Hungary; the Dukes of Saxony, of Bavaria, the Landtgrave of Hess, etc. as likewise the Hanse-Teutonick towns, being Lubeck, Dantsick, Noremberg, etc. These things being resolv'd on, for a final answer, he desir'd the Bishop of Paris to certifie Francis, that if the pope would supersede from executing his sentence, until he had indifferent judges sent, who might hear the business, he would also supersede from the execution of what he was deliberated to do in withdrawing his obedience from the Roman see. But the bishop, who thought this alone not enough to reduce things into good terms, made an offer to negotiate the business at Rome; which our king gladly accepted, assuring him withal, that as soon as he had obtain'd what was demanded, he would send sufficient power and authority to confirm as much as was accorded on his part, as having entire confidence in his discretion and sufficiency, ever since his two years employment as ambassador in this kingdom. Whereupon the bishop, though in Christmas holydays, and an extream winter, posted to Rome: where he came (Dec.) before any thing was done, more than what formerly past: and here obtaining a publick audience in the consistory, he eloquently declared our king's message, representing both what he had obtain'd of our king, and shewing withal how advantageous it would be to the whole Church. Which so prevail'd, that they prefixt a day for receiving from our king a confirmation thereof. Insomuch, that a courier was dispatch'd to our King Henry, desiring his answer within the time limited. But the term being expir'd, and no answer brought, the pope resolv'd to proceed to fulmination of the sentence; which being advertis'd to Bellay, he repair'd to the pope and cardinals, (then sitting in full consistory) desiring them to stay a while, it being probable that the courier, either through cross winds, or other accidents in long journies, might be detain'd; concluding his speech, that if the King of England had six years together been patient, they might attend six days; which space only he desir'd them to give him, for the receiving of our king's answer; this proposi-

tion being put to the question, the plurality of voices carried it against our king, and the rather, that in this mean time, news came (March 19.) to Rome, that the king had printed and published the book written against the pope's authority, (which yet was untrue, for it came not forth till afterward, though it was not yet kept so close, but a copy was now come to the pope's hands) and that there was a comedy represented at court, to the no little defamation of certain cardinals. By reason whereof the sentence was so precipitated, that, what according to their usual forms could not be done in less than three consistories, was (March 23.) now dispatch'd in one : and so by a final determination (the copy whereof is in Fox) the marriage with Queen Catherine was pronounced good, and King Henry commanded to accept her for his wife, and in case of refusal, censures were fulminated against him. But two days of the six were not past, when the courier arriv'd with ample commission and authority from our king, to conclude and confirm all that the bishop had agreed in his name. Which was this, (as the writer of the Concilio Tridentino hath it) that King Henry was content to accept the judgment of that court, upon condition that the suspected and imperial cardinals should not intervene, and that indifferent persons should be sent to Cambray to be inform'd of the merits of the cause ; giving authority further for his proctors to appear in that court. At which, the more wise and temperate cardinals were so astonish'd, that they became humble suppliants to the pope, that he would advise how all things might be repair'd ; whereupon the business was again discuss'd. But all remedies being judg'd either late, or impossible, the sentence stood, and the emperor was made the executor of it. The bishop now returning toward France, met (April 7.) (as I find by our records) Edward Karne and William Revet, who were employ'd by our king for soliciting this important business. But as they understood by the bishop, that the first marriage was pronounced good, and the issue by it legitimate, so they judg'd it lost labour to proceed, and advertis'd all to our king, who became so sensible of the indignity wherewith he was us'd in this important affair, that he separated himself from the obedience of the Roman Church, but not from the religion thereof (some few articles only excepted) as shall appear hereafter. And thus (according to the relation of Martin du Bellay) did our king fall off. Who therefore in this present condition found nothing so fitting to be done, as to cherish the good affection of his subjects, who in a parliamentary way he found did many ways advance and second his designs. I shall for a conclusion add only the censure of Thuanus, concerning our king in this business, '*Certe in reliqua vita ita se gessit ille rex, ut eum, si æquiores ei prudentiores pontifices nactus fuisset, sponte se subjecturum ipsorum potestati fuisse appareret.*'

The emperor (now in Spain) being much troubled at the interview at Marseilles, yet conniv'd at it, as hoping at least the pope would dis-



suade Francis from favouring our king, or assisting the Protestant princes : therefore he did not much endeavour to hinder it : for as he knew the pope was passionately affected to the advancement of his kindred, so he judg'd it lost labour to oppose him therein ; since by ingrafting his family now in France, as well as by his former alliance with Spain, he might hold himself secure on either hand. Neither did he think that terrors could prevail, at a time when the pope must know, there would be use of all the imperial forces against the Turk, who besides that he threaten'd a general invasion, had now particularly besieg'd Corron, taken a year since by Andrea Doria, which a Spanish garrison held till they were forc'd to leave it again to the Turk in April 1534.

I will come now to the business of our parliament, holden this year from January 15. till 30. of March next, wherein these statutes were enacted :

That the prices of victuals should not be inhanced without just ground and reason. If they were, then upon complaint thereof, the lord chancellor (and others, who had authority given them herein) should tax the said victuals how they should be sold, either by the owners or by victuallers. Also that no corn or cattel be carried beyond sea without the king's license, unless either to Calais, Guines, Hammes, and their marches, or for victualling of ships, etc.

That no man indicted of murder, burglary, or other felony, and upon his arraignment standing mute, to prevent the process of the law against himself, shall have benefit of his clergy ; but law shall proceed against him for the crime whereof he is indicted, as if he had pleaded to the same, and thereupon had been found guilty.

Buggery was made felony.

Elizabeth Barton (call'd the Holy Maid of Kent) and complices were attainted of high treason, for conspiring to slander the divorce between the king and Queen Katherine, and the late marriage between him and Queen Anne.

Because by the greediness of some, who have gotten into their hands much cattel, and many farms, which they have turned from tillage to pasture (especially for sheep) old rents are raised, prices of things inhanced, and so, much poverty and theft ensu'd ; it was enacted, that no man should have in his own or farmed lands above 2000 sheep (yet that every temporal person may keep upon his inheritance as many as he will.) Secondly, that no man shall take and hold above two farms at once, and those to be in the same parish ; upon certain penalties there set down.

The statute of Henry IV. concerning hereticks was repeal'd. And it was enacted, that sheriffs in their turns, and stewards in their leets, may make inquiry and presentment of hereticks ; who being by two lawful witnesses accused, may be cited and arrested by an ordinary,

and being convict in open court, shall abjure their heresies ; and refusing so to do, or relapsing, shall be burnt.

Also the statute of Richard III. permitting free importation of all kinds of books, was repealed. And (for the benefit of our book-binders) it was enacted, that no bookseller should buy any books bound beyond sea ; nor any (though unbound) of any stranger, but by engross. And if the prices of books chanced to be raised above reason, the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, the chief justice of either bench, or any two of them shall moderate the same, upon a certain penalty.

Whereas the clergy have truly acknowledged, that the convocation is always assembled by the king's authority, and have promis'd his majesty, that they will not henceforth make or allege any new constitutions, without his highness's assent and license ; and whereas divers constitutions and canons provincial and synodal heretofore enacted, are thought to be prejudicial to the king's prerogative, and contrary to the statutes of the realm, and enormous to the people ; and the said clergy therefore hath humbly besought his majesty, that the said constitutions and canons may be committed to the examination of thirty two men to be nam'd by his majesty, viz. sixteen of both houses of parliament, and sixteen of the clergy, who may annul or confirm the same, as they find cause ; it is enacted, that all convocations shall be henceforth call'd by the king's writ, and that in them nothing shall be promulg'd or executed without his highness's license, under pain of imprisonment of the authors, and mulct at the king's will. And that his highness shall at his pleasure (seeing the time of this parliament is too short) appoint thirty two men, as aforesaid, to survey the said canons and constitutions, for the confirmation or abolition of the same.

And as concerning appeals, they shall be made (according to the statutes made the last year) from inferior courts to the archbishops, and for lack of justice there, to the king's majesty in his court of chancery.

As concerning annates us'd to be paid to Rome by archbishops and bishops, and bulls and palls to be had from thence, since there hath been heretofore an act pass'd, and the Bishop of Rome, otherwise call'd pope, being inform'd thereof, hath as yet devis'd no way with the king's highness for redress of the same ; his highness hath now confirm'd and ratified the same act, and every article thereof, and the parliament doth enact the same, with this addition, that from henceforth no bishop shall be commended, presented or nominated by the Bishop of Rome, nor shall send thither to procure any bulls or palls, etc. but that at every vacation of a bishoprick, the king shall send to the chapter of the cathedral a license (as of old hath been accustomed) to proceed to election, which election being deferr'd above twelve days next ensuing shall belong to the king, but being made within the time limited, shall be held firm and good, and the person so elected, after

certification of his election to the king's highness, and oath of fealty taken to him, shall be styl'd bishop elect; and so by his majesty, be commended to the archbishop of the province, to be invested and consecrate. And if the persons to whom this election, or consecration belongeth, neglect or refuse to perform the same, or admit, or execute any censures, interdictions, etc. to the contrary, they shall incur the penalty of the law of præmunire.

Whereas the people of this land hath been much impoverish'd by the usurp'd exactions of the Bishop of Rome, under the titles of Peterpence, procuration, expedition of bulls, delegacies, dispensations, etc. It is enacted, that such impositions be no more paid; and that neither the king's highness, nor any subject of his, shall sue for any dispensation, faculty, delegacy, etc. to the see of Rome, but that any such dispensation, etc. for causes not being contrary to the law of God, which were wont to be had from Rome, may be now granted by the archbishop of Canterbury, as well to the king's highness, as to his subjects: but in those things which were not wont to be granted by the see of Rome, the said archbishop shall not meddle, without the king's license. Provided, that all dispensations, etc. whose expedition at Rome came to four pounds and upwards, shall be confirm'd by the king's seal, and enroll'd in chancery, those below four pounds passing under the archbishop's seal only. That the fees for these dispensations shall be limited by the said archbishop, and the lord chancellor, and a part of the same (be they great or small) shall alway come to the king's hands. As for all monasteries, colleges, hospitals, heretofore exempt, the king only, and not the archbishop, should have authority to visit them.

Lastly, upon the suit of parliament to the king for the establishing of the succession to the crown (the uncertainty whereof hath caused heretofore great division and bloodshed in this realm) it was enacted, that the king's marriage with the Lady Katharine, wife and carnally known to his brother Prince Arthur (as was lawfully prov'd before Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury) as contrary to God's law, shall be held void: and she styl'd no more queen, but Dowager to Prince Arthur, and the matrimony with Queen Anne shall be taken for firm and good, and the issue thence procreate be accounted lawful; the inheritance of the crown to belong to the same in manner following, (viz.) first to the eldest son begotten by the king or Queen Anne, and to the heirs of the said son lawfully begotten: and for default of such heir, then to the second son, etc. and if Queen Anne decease without issue male, then the crown to descend to the son and heir of the king's body lawfully begotten, and the heirs of the said son lawfully begotten; and for a default of such issue, to the second son in like manner, etc. And for default of sons, that then the crown shall belong to the issue female of the king by Queen Anne; and first to the first begotten the Princess Elizabeth, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten.



And for default of such issue, then to the second daughter in like sort, etc. And for default of all such issue, to the right heirs of the king's highness. It was ordain'd that this act shall be proclaim'd before May next throughout the kingdom. And all persons of age shall swear to accept and maintain the same. They who refuse the oath standing guilty of misprision of high treason ; and they who speak or write against the marriage or succession here establish'd, to be adjudg'd traytors.

Besides all this, the present statute express'd certain degrees of prohibited marriage ; (amongst which, that between the brother and the brother's wife, was one) which being against God's laws, could not be dispenc'd with by man, and therefore no such marriages shall hereafter be made ; and those that are made already, shall be by the ordinary dissolv'd, and those that are already so dissolv'd, shall be esteem'd justly and lawfully dissolv'd, and the issue thence proceeding illegitimate.

The parliament rising, (March 30.) commissioners were sent abroad to require the oath of succession, which nevertheless John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, late chancellor, deny'd, (April 17.) yet so as they both profess'd a readiness to swear to the succession, but not to the whole act, (it containing divers other things. First, the indispensability of the first marriage, as being against the law of God. Secondly, of the legal proceeding in the divorce by Cranmer : Thirdly, some touches against the pope's authority, etc.) But which of these in particular offended them, they would not discover ; therefore though Archbishop Cranmer told Cromwel, it were not amiss to accept the oath as they offer'd it, both for satisfaction of the people, and the dowager with her daughter, and the emperor (who much rely'd on these mens authority,) they yet refusing, were sent to the Tower, where they continu'd till they were brought forth to their tryal and death, as will appear hereafter.

The pope having proceeded in those rigorous terms with our king (as is formerly mention'd) and for more authorising his sentence, made the emperor executor thereof, hop'd now to have his revenge, but he was deceiv'd. For though the emperor did gladly accept this overture, for his aunt Queen Katherine's sake, and the hope he had to dispose of the Princess Mary, as inheritrix of the crown, yet as he had deeper designs, in aspiring to the conquest of Italy, and indeed to an universal monarchy, he was no less glad of the occasion to take off our king from the pope ; howsoever each side prepar'd for war. The emperor's intention was, to give the Princess Mary to some one, who upon her title might pretend to the crown, whom therefore he promis'd to second. Our king and Francis not ignorant of the emperor's designs, agreed on the other side, partly to join with the Duke of Gueldres for invading the adjoining territories to France, and partly to renew the ancient claim to Navarre, and assail the emperor in those quarters. Yet neither did that of the emperor take effect, because there was no means to

recover the person of the Princess Mary. Nor this of our kings, because Francis employing his thoughts wholly on the affairs of Italy, did not think fit to comply openly with one against whom the pope had fulminated. Howbeit, our king, for defence of his authority and second marriage, neglected not to obtain from the parliament a confirmation thereof, and of the succession in that line (as is mention'd before ;) sending also to Queen Katherine at Bugden near Huntingdon, in sequence thereof, Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, and Cuthbert Tonstall, Bishop of Duresme, to signifie unto her, that he took it ill that she still claim'd the title of queen, etc. the passages of which negociation I have thought fit to transcribe out of the original record, as containing many material points concerning the whole frame of the business.

*Their Letter to the King, was this.*

' PLEASE it your highness to understand, that this day we repair'd to  
' the Princess Dowager, and there I the Archbishop of York, for an  
' introduction to declare to her the effect of our commission, said to her,  
' first, that your highness had often sent to her divers of your council,  
' and amongst them me, one, to declare unto her the invalidity of the  
' marriage, between your highness and her. Secondly, that carnal know-  
' ledge, which is the great key of the matter, is sufficiently prov'd in the  
' law as also some that were of the council do avow. Thirdly, that upon  
' proof so sufficiently made of carnal knowledge, divorce was made  
' between your highness and her. Fourthly, that upon divorce made  
' by lawful sentence, she was admonish'd to leave the name of a queen,  
' and not to account or call herself hereafter your highness's wife.  
' Fifthly, how that after your highness was discharg'd of the marriage  
' made with her, you contracted new marriage with your dearest wife  
' Queen Anne. Sixthly, that for so much as (thank'd be God) fair issue  
' is already sprung of this marriage, and more likely to follow, by God's  
' grace, that the whole body of your realm gather'd together in parlia-  
' ment, hath for the stablishment of this issue, by your dearest wife  
' Queen Anne, and the succession coming of this marriage, made acts  
' and ordinances against all them that would in word or in deed with-  
' stand them, and that for these purposes we were sent to her grace, to  
' the intent she might understand the true purpose of these acts, with  
' the pains ; lest by ignorance she should fall in any of them ; and so  
' I declar'd the act, Which thing being thus declar'd to her, she being  
' therewith in great choler and agony, and always interrupting our words  
' to the aforesaid points, made these answers following. To the first,  
' that she took the matrimony between your highness and her for good ;  
' and so always would account herself to be your highness's lawful  
' wife, in which opinion she said she would continually (till death) per-  
' sist. To the second, she utterly denied that ever carnal knowledge

'was had between her and Prince Arthur, and that she would never  
 'confess the contrary ; and with loud voice when mention was made  
 'of that point, she said, they ly'd falsly that so said. To the third, she  
 'answer'd, that she is not bound to stand to that divorce made by my  
 'Lord of Canterbury, whom she call'd a shadow, and that although he  
 'had given sentence against her, yet the pope had (May 20.) given  
 'sentence with her, whom she took for Christ's vicar, and therefore  
 'would always obey him, as his faithful daughter. To the fourth, she  
 'answer'd, that she would never leave the name of a queen, and she  
 'would always take herself for your highness's wife. To the fifth, she said  
 'that this marriage, made after her appeal, which she made by your  
 'highness's leave and consent, is of no value. To the sixth, she  
 'answer'd, that she is not bound to the acts of the parliament, for so  
 'much as she is your highness's wife, and not subject to your highness,  
 'and also because these acts were made by your highness's subjects in  
 'your favour, your highness being party in this matter ; with divers  
 'other unseeming words. Unto which her answer, I the Bishop of  
 'Duresme replying, forasmuch as she had said in her communication,  
 'that both I and the residue of her council had always shew'd unto  
 'her, that her matter is just, and good ; I said, that all the question  
 'whereupon we were consulted at such time as the legates were here,  
 'depended only upon the validity of the bull and breve, albeit I said,  
 'that sith that time divers other questions had risen and been debated  
 'by many universities, the chief of Christendom, of which one was  
 'Bononia, the pope's own town ; and by them concluded, that after the  
 'decease of the brother, who had had carnal knowledge with his wife,  
 'the brother living might not marry the said wife by any dispensation  
 'of the pope, because it was forbidden by the law of God. And for-  
 'asmuch as the pope (albeit the said conclusions, have been by learned  
 'men sent from your highness, declar'd unto him) never made answer  
 'to maintain lawfully his power to the contrary, but rather in confirma-  
 'tion of the opinions of the said universities, said at Marseilles, that if  
 'your grace would send a proxie thither, he would give the sentence for  
 'your highness against her, because that he knew that your cause was  
 'good and just ; which his saying was according also to an epistle de-  
 'cretal sent hither by the legat Campejus, whereof the effect was, that  
 'if marriage and carnal knowledge were had betwixt Prince Arthur  
 'and her, the legates should pronounce for the divorce, according  
 'whereunto proofs were brought in before the legats, and also since,  
 'before the convocations of this realm, and the Bishop of Canterbury,  
 'and by them allow'd and approv'd as sufficient and lawful : whereby  
 'doth plainly appear, that the sentence given by the pope to the con-  
 'trary was not vailable, because it pronounced the dispensation, (which  
 'he had no power to grant, seeing it was against the law of God) to be  
 'good ; therefore I had now chang'd my former opinion, and exhorted



‘her to do the semblable, and forbear to usurp any more the name of  
 ‘a queen ; specially for that the sentence she sticketh so greatly unto,  
 ‘was given after your grace’s appeal to the council general, and inti-  
 ‘mate to the pope, so that it could not be vailable. And that if she  
 ‘should so do, she might thereby attain much quietness for herself, and  
 ‘her friends, and that she being conformable so to do, I doubted not  
 ‘but your highness would suffer her to have about her such persons as  
 ‘should be to her pleasure, and intreat her as your grace’s most dearest  
 ‘sister, with all liberty and pleasure, with divers other things which by  
 ‘her much enterlacing, I was forc’d to answer unto. The specialities  
 ‘whereof, and of her obstinacy, that she will in no wise, ne for any  
 ‘peril of her life or goods, relinquish the name of a queen, we do not  
 ‘remit for tediousness unto the wisdoms and discretions of my Lord of  
 ‘Chester, Mr. Almoner, and Mr. Redell, who like as they have very  
 ‘substantially, wisely, and effectually order’d themselves in the execu-  
 ‘tion of the premisses, so we doubt not, but that they will sincerely  
 ‘report the circumstances of the same unto your highness, whom we  
 ‘beseech Almighty God long to preserve in much honour, to His  
 ‘pleasure, and your heart’s desire. At Huntington, the 21st day of  
 ‘May.

‘By your highness’s most humble subjects, servants and chaplains,

‘Edovard Ebor.

‘Cuthbert Duresme.’

Notwithstanding which answers of the princess dowager, such was the gentleness of our king, as betwixt the memory of his former love and the pity on her present condition, contenting himself to have dissolv’d her family, and removed from her all such as would not serve her as princess only ; he pass’d them over with much calmness. Howbeit he resolv’d to punish rigorously her adherents, and particularly Elizabeth Barton (call’d the Holy Maid of Kent) who had almost stirred up more than one tragedy ; for being suborn’d long since by monks, to use some strange gesticulations, and to exhibit divers feign’d miracles, accompanied with some wisely unsoothsayings, she drew much credit and concourse to her, insomuch that no mean persons, and among others Warham, late Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, gave some belief to her ; so that notwithstanding the danger that was to give ear to a prediction of hers (Nov.) that Henry VIII. should not live one month after this marriage with Mistress Bolen, she was cry’d up with many voices, Silvester Darius, and Antonio Pollioni, the pope’s agents here, giving credit and countenance thereunto. But the plot being (Jan. 15.) at last discover’d, she was attainted of treason in the parliament, and executed (April 21.) with her chief complices shortly after. At which time also she con-

fess'd their names who had instigated her to these practices, and whom she had acquainted with her revelations. Among whom were More and Fisher ; whom yet the king pardon'd upon their several submissions, not suffering the bills to pass, which were put into the parliament against them.

After many bickerings betwixt the English and Scotch, a truce first, and afterwards a peace was concluded betwixt our king and King James. On the King of Scots part, March 23. came to London, William Stuart Bishop of Aberdeen, Robert Reid Abbot of Kinlos, and Adam Otterburne, a lawyer. To treat with these on our king's behalf, were (April 12.) appointed T. Audley chancellor, Cromwel secretary, and Edward Fox almoner.

The treaty was for perpetual peace, which was concluded May 20. during their joint lives, and a year after, and sworn by King Henry, Aug 2. and by King James, July 9. It was also agreed, that King Henry shall deliver to the King of Scots the fortress of Edrington, lately taken by the English, and the King of Scots shall not impute breach of peace to King Henry, if he entertain Archibald Earl of Angus his brother, or his uncle, and if the said Douglasses should chance to invade Scotland, redress should be made according to the laws of the Marches, and the peace remain between the two kings. Which that it might continue during their lives, as was then agreed, Queen Margaret by letters solicited Queen Anne and Cromwel the secretary (July 4.) While this peace was treated, I find by our records the Lord William Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk was sent into Scotland, to carry King James the Order of St. George, whereunto he was also accepted at Windsor the next year, July 28. He had instructions also to acquaint him with an interview intended betwixt our king and Francis, whereat he was intreated to be present, and for this purpose to pass through his kingdom, that they both together might go to Calais ; which favour was acknowledg'd by James. But as the interview in France was disappointed, so our king, who desir'd much to confer with his nephew, invited him to York. Whereupon King James propos'd the business to his council, who judging Newcastle to be the fitter place, made an excuse for the present, promising yet the year following to meet, if he so thought good. Nevertheless, as our king well knew upon what ground this meeting was deferr'd, the Lord William Howard, and William Barlow, elect Bishop of St. Asaph, was sent to make certain overtures and propositions to that king, whereof in its due place,

This year Charles, the emperor being in Spain, intentive chiefly to the proceedings of the Turk, and his brother Ferdinand in Germany, desirous to govern without home opposition, such a peace was accorded with the Duke of Wittenberg, and such favourable usage given the Protestant princes, that the pope complain'd, (June 29.)

openly of Ferdinand's partiality to them. But Ferdinand excus'd all with reason of state. Which also the pope accepted the rather, in that the Anabaptists (who taught a doctrine more contrary to monarchy than the Lutherans) did then prevail in many places, and particularly held Munster in Westphalia. So that because the Duke of Wittenberg, promised to contribute some forces to the besieging of that place, he said he had concluded an advantageous peace. For as no man knew how far the innovations of these times might reach, it was thought to be of much importance, that they had drawn one side to oppose the other. In France also about this time, the doctrine of the evangelicks began to take root, though so covertly, that few durst openly avow it; yet as they found favour and protection from Margaret Queen of Navarre, and Anne Dutchess d'Estampes, so the king himself, whether for deciding the cause, or love of these two ladies (whereof one was his sister, and the other his favourite) refus'd not to confer privately with divers of the reform'd, and to give some such tacit assent to their doctrines, as thereupon growing audacious, they adventur'd to set up papers in the court, and publish libels against the Church of Rome, in such manner, as Francis being incens'd thereat, caus'd the authors to be sought out, and (Nov.) burnt. Not yet but that he could have been content to have had some points reform'd, and the papal authority diminish'd a little, but that he fear'd it might cause a division in his realm, as he saw it had done in the empire. Therefore, following a violent course, and improper to convince those who are well persuaded of their religion, he condemn'd the professors thereof to the fire. While yet on the other side (as the French historians confess) he enter'd into a league with the Turk, to the no little scandal of his own, and all the Christian religion. But as this was not without some great design, so he instituted certain legionary soldiers, or regiments of foot throughout France, to the number of 42,000 men, each of the legions being compos'd of 2000 harquebusiers, and 4000 pikes, and halberdiers, who were commanded by twelve captains (having 500 a piece) under six colonels; while to draw the people voluntarily to support this charge, the king exempted the gentry from the service they ow'd the crown, by reason of their tenures and fees, and the roturier or peasant from all impositions, saving twenty solz apiece. Many good ordinances also were made for the entertaining and ordering this militia. Neither did the king misdoubt that the putting of arms into so many of his subjects hands would redound to his prejudice, or the people fear that their liberty should be oppress thereby. So that it gave not only security at home, but reputation abroad; all which was done, while the emperor prepar'd for a voyage to Tunis, the relation whereof also, I shall set duly down.

This year (Sept. 26.) Pope Clement VII. took his end. For as he had been troubled long with a weakness in his stomach, which his phy-



sician Curtio advis'd him to remedy by change of diet, so being not able in an infirm state to suffer such an alteration, he sunk under his disease and died. This pope was one, who having prov'd the variety of good and ill fortune, more than any other of his sort, had learn'd at last to make use of all ; he was happy in his interviews, as returning ever with some advantage, without that the committing himself to the power of those puissant princes whom he met, did diminish his authority, in a time when they wanted neither will nor occasion to bring it lower. He was a passionate lover of the advancement of his family, for which purpose also he sometimes chang'd the whole face of the affairs of Europe. His riches were rather in jewels than money, as being more proper to dispose unto them he affected. He was provident enough in conducting all affairs where arms did not intervene, but withal so timorous, that it was reproach'd to him. The historians of those times, besides, note him to have been of little faith. Both which properties seem the more credible, that he so often varied in his treaties with our king. Insomuch that he may be thought for more than one reason to have wilfully lost him. Into this place succeeded Alessandro of the house of the Farnesi, as being by a full conclave immediately chosen (Oct. 12.) neither did his age, being 67, exempt him, while every one thus might hope in his turn to succeed. Which opinion also he so cunningly entertain'd, as he was thought to have us'd some art to make himself thought more sickly than he was.

Our king, who still suspected that the pope and emperor had their designs upon him, did now labour every where to hinder them, and strengthen himself. For which purpose also this occasion was given ; Frederick King of Denmark dying about this time, and leaving the crown in competition between his son Christian (yet a child) and Frederick Count Palatine, who had married Dorothy, eldest daughter to Christian II. and the emperor's sister, the Lubeckers and Ham-burghers offer'd our king for the sum of 100,000 crowns to make a king in that country which should be at his devotion, and thereby exclude the interest which the emperor of his niece had to that crown. Concerning which, our king taking advice with his council, it was thought fit to propose the business to Francis, both that our king might experiment his affection, (which he had lately found cold) and ease himself of the charge, half whereof therefore he desir'd Francis to support. But what answer Francis return'd, appears not ; only I find by a Dutch history, as well as by our records, that a great sum of money was (May 25.) lent by our king, whereupon also they proceeded in their war, which yet at last being compos'd, our king demanded repayment.

The Lord Dacres of the North (July 9. as our historians have it) was arraign'd at Westminster of high treason, but as the principal witnesses produc'd against him by his accusers (Sir Ralph Fenwick

and one Musgrave) were some mean and provok'd Scottish men, so his peers acquitted him, as believing they not only spoke maliciously, but might be easily suborn'd against him, as one who (having been warden of the marches) by frequent inroads had done much harm in that country. And thus escap'd that lord to his no little honour, and his judges, as giving example thereby how persons of great quality, brought to their tryal, are not so necessarily condemn'd, but that they sometimes may escape, when they obtain an equal hearing. The 11th of August, this year, our king, as he was watchful over the voice and affection of his people, so for the finding out how they would take his design of putting down religious houses, began with the remove of some. And therefore suppress'd at Greenwich, Canterbury, Richmond, and other places, the Observant Fryars, noted to be the most clamorous against him, and for them substituted the Augustines, placing the Observants again in the room of the Gray-fryars, as some have it, though others mention not this latter exchange; which passages, though of no great moment, in regard of that which follow'd, our king was glad to find no worse interpreted, since they serv'd to establish his authority.

I shall come now to the laws enacted in the parliament, held Nov. 3. this year, which were important, and such as testified the great respect and awe born by our nation unto their king.

The first was to this effect; that albeit the king was supream head of the Church in England, and so recogniz'd by the clergy of this realm in their convocation, yet for more corroborations thereof, as also for extirpating all errors, heresies, and abuses of the same; it was enacted, that the king, his heirs and successors, kings of England, should be accepted and reputed the supreme head on earth of the Church of England (call'd *Ecclesia Anglicana*) and have and enjoy, united and annex'd to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and stile thereof as all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging or appertaining. And that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time, to visit and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend, all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reform'd, repress'd, order'd, redress'd, corrected, restrain'd, or amended most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of vertue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquility of this realm; any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding. Which act, though much for the manutention of the regal authority, seem'd yet not to be suddenly approv'd by our king, nor

before he had consulted with his council, (who shew'd him precedents of kings of England, that had us'd this power) and with his bishops, who having discuss'd the point in their convocations, declar'd, (June 1.) that the pope had no jurisdiction warranted to him by God's word in this kingdom. Which also was seconded by the universities, and by the subscriptions of the several colleges, and religious houses so far as they bound their successors thereunto. Howsoever, the business was both publickly controverted in foreign countries, and defended here by many at this present, while they produc'd arguments for rejecting the pope's authority, and together maintain'd it necessary, that such a power should be extant in the realm for supporting and strengthening of the religion profess'd in it, and excluding the impertinent and ill-grounded reformations of many sectaries of those times. The arguments of all which, may be seen in the king's book *De vera differentia Regiæ, et Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis* (which we have formerly mention'd) as being printed and publish'd on this occasion; whence also the learned Bishop Andrews in his *Tortura Torti*, seems to have drawn divers assertions of the regal authority, to which therefore the curious reader may have further recourse.

It was also declar'd treason, to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the king, queen, or his heirs, or to attempt to deprive them of their dignity or titles.

Also, that no traitor shall have benefit of sanctuary. And though he be out of the realm, yet upon commission given by the king for his tryal, if he be found guilty by the jury, the law shall proceed against him as effectually, as if he were present.

An act also made the last parliament for an oath to be taken by all the king's subjects for the surety of the succession by Queen Anne was now confirm'd, and the oath prescrib'd, for the more validating whereof also, it was declar'd that all former oaths concerning succession taken by the king's subjects, should be reputed thenceforth vain and annihilated.

That towards the augmentation, maintenance and defence of the king's royal estate and dignity of supream head, the first-fruits of all benefices, dignities, offices, etc. spiritual, shall be paid to his highness. As also a yearly revenue, being the tenth part of all such livings (the prior and the brethren of St. John's of Jerusalem not excepted.)

Whereas also it was doubted, lest in these troublesom times some commotion might follow in this kingdom, and that particularly Wales, as being a strong and fast country, might be a refuge for ill-affected persons, and the rather that there were so many lordships marches in those parts (the several lords whereof having ampler power than they now enjoy, did protect offenders flying from one place to the other) divers laws were enacted against perjuries, murders, felonies in Wales: passage over Severn also at unlawful times was prohibited;



and clerks convict in Wales, not to be releas'd till they found sureties for their good abearing. Notwithstanding which, the year following, upon mature deliberation, Wales was united and incorporated totally unto the crown of England; it being thought better to adapt that people into the same form of government with the English, than by keeping them under more severe and strict laws than others in the island were subject unto, to hazard the alienating of their affections.

An act also was made, declaring by whom, and in what manner bishops suffragans should be nominated and appointed, and what their authority and priviledges should be.

And thus after a free and general pardon from the king, enacted, the parliament was prorogu'd. The act of supremacy being thus pass'd, the king proceeded more confidently to abolish by proclamation, the pope's authority out of his kingdom, and establish his own, the doctrine whereof he commanded not only to be often preach'd in the most frequent auditories, but taught even to little children, injoining further that the pope's name should be raz'd out of all books, his resolution being after this time to treat with him no otherwise than as an ordinary bishop. In sequence whereof also, he not only proceeded (June 25. 1535.) with an high hand against all the opposers of his supremacy, (as shall be related in its due place) but accepted a voluntary oath or promise, under their hands and seals, from his bishops, declaring their acknowledgment of the same, together with renunciation of the pope's pretended authority, and any oath or promise made to him heretofore. The form of this oath or promise given by Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, Feb. 10. 1535. may be seen in Fox, to which we remit the reader.

IN the beginning of this year (1535.) Philip Chabot Seigneur de Bryon, Admiral of France, being sent to our king, acquainted him how the Count of Nassaw had been on the emperor's part with our king his master, and among other overtures of agreement, propos'd to him two marriages; to which yet he would return no answer without our king's advice. One was betwixt the Dauphin and the Princess Mary our king's daughter (which also Bellay mentions, adding that notwithstanding the instances which Francis made, the emperor would not declare his further intentions herein); the other was betwixt the emperor's son and the French king's youngest daughter. To which points, as also some others here following, our king commanded his agents in France to return this answer. 'That he marvel'd much at the emperor's 'malice, in meddling with things which belong'd not to him; and therefore desir'd Francis to surcease this treaty, since he knew well enough 'how to keep his daughter out of the emperor's reach. Secondly, he 'commanded them to tell Francis, that the emperor's intention (notwithstanding all his promises) was to divide him first from his league

'with England, and afterwards disappoint him ; for though he had understood by the said Bryon, that the emperor upon some conditions had offer'd to Francis (for one of his sons) a pension of 100,000 crowns, payable yearly out of the dutchy of Milan, and Milan it self after the death of Sforza, he desir'd him to give no credit to such improbabilities.' And here, I must observe that Bellay, who speaks of the pension, saith nothing of the dutchy itself ; so that it may be that Bryon stretched this point. And whereas the said Bryon had told him these things should be treated of by the two sisters, Queen Leonora, wife to Francis, and Mary, the widow of Hungary, (now Regent of the Low-Countries, who, I find by the Spanish history, did afterwards meet at Cambray) he thought he disparag'd this business to commit it to women. After these points, and some others (which as they follow'd not, I spare to rehearse) he commanded them to intreat Francis to procure a revocation of the censures of Clement, late pope, against him. And to tell him, that he would send commissioners shortly to treat of a match betwixt the Duke of Angoulesme (his third son) and the Princess Elizabeth our king's daughter, which should be more advantageous than the emperor's offer. Whereupon, this year in May, our king who knew there was no so good way, to prevent the danger on the part of Scotland, as by taking off the French, and besides would have been glad that the pope's censures were retracted, sent the Duke of Norfolk, the Bishop of Ely, Sir William Fitzwilliam, and Doctor Fox, to treat with the French king's commissioners, being Philip Chabot Admiral, and Gillaume de Poyet, afterwards Chancellor of France, to this effect, as I find by their instructions.

To require Francis, together with his children, as also his spiritual and temporal nobility, to enter into bond to revoke the censures given at Rome, (which I conceive had his original from some proposition which Francis made of reconcilment with the pope.) That he, his nobility and universities should declare the late marriage to be good, and bind themselves to maintain the same, which if granted, then to proceed to the treaty of marriage, upon certain conditions, whereof these are the principal.

That all former treaties shall stand in force. That when the parties came to sufficient years they should ratifie the marriage. That Monsieur de Angoulesme should be presently sent to our king to be brought up in England. That if he succeeded to the crown, the dutchy of Angoulesme should be free from homage to the French kings. That he should not change the laws of the realm, and that sufficient security and caution should be given for this purpose. But some of these being thought to be high demands, our king sent shortly (June.) after George Bolen Lord Rochford with power to modifie and allay some points, yet so as he insisted still, Francis should bind himself and his three sons to revoke the censures ; and to declare, that it was enough if the Duke

of Angoulesme came hither when the espousals were to be made. At last, (June 6.) by third instructions, our king said, he was content to accept the single bond of Francis for revocation of the censures, and that he was pleas'd that the Duke of Angoulesme came six months only before the compleat marriage. To the first of which points the French commissioners agreed, but the latter they refus'd ; affirming that it was sufficient, if the young duke came to consummate the marriage. This while Sir John Wallop (ambassador in France) being commanded to propose the same conditions to Francis, was so sharply answer'd, that our commissioners resented it. Nevertheless, as some articles were agreed on the part of the French commissioners, so they again demanded what help our king would give to the king their master towards the recovery of his mother's land in Savoy. Whereupon, as also about the pension usually paid to our king, some wrangling words were interchang'd, while we demanding that which was in arrear, they desir'd to be exonerated of the whole ; and thus the treaty remain'd imperfect ; yet so as I find by a letter of Sir Gregory Casalis, how Francis had propos'd this renunciation with much earnestness, and not a few threats unto the new pope. Though as Paulus III. was by nature slow (as Casalis observes) and that the emperor, besides, had his designs in Scotland and Ireland at that time against our king, so no effect followed. For which yet none suffer'd so much as the pope himself, it being certain our king hitherto passionately desir'd to be, if not reintegrated, yet at least in good terms with the Roman Church, as far as with his dignity he might.

This while, Haradin Barbarossa King of Argier, that famous pirate (who for commanding in an unbounded and higher element than the earth, gloried in some sort to be superior to the princes thereof) obtain'd the kingdom of Tunis, so true is the ancient verse, *Ille cruce[m] pretium sceleris tulit, hic diadema*. This man being sent for by Solyman, and constituted admiral in the spring, 1534. with 100 sail of all sorts ; 8800 soldiers and 800,000 ducats, began his expedition for Christendom the same day that Solyman undertook his for Persia. His principal design was upon Genoa, as being incited thereunto by Francis, as the Spanish history hath it ; in his way to which, he burnt or took many ships in Sicily or Italy, (Aug. 1.) sacking divers towns, and making many captives ; yet as he knew all this would not be such a prize for Solyman as the beautiful Julia Gonzaga, he commanded 2000 Turks to land (Aug. 7.) by night, and seize on her person, being then in Fundi in the kingdom of Naples ; but she, half naked, escap'd them. Some difficulties yet appearing about the design of Genoa, Barbarossa makes for Tunis, which at last, between stratagem and force, he took, Aug. 22. 1534. and made himself king thereof ; Muley Hazem, the true prince, flying for his more security unto the mountains. Which being advertis'd to the emperor, he thought fit to prevail him-



self of the occasion. As hoping that Solymán's being in Persia, and the troubles and confusions, which are incident to unsettled and usurp'd governments, would make his design easy. And as he was one who knew the use of spies in any great enterprise, he descended so low, as to give (Nov. 14.) particular instructions to one Luys Presendes, a Genouese, well acquainted with Africa, which are at large set down by Sandoval. The effects of which were, that he should have certain monies given him, wherewith he should buy a ship and commodities to traffic with Tunis, and by those means insinuate himself into the acquaintance of the principal persons both in the town, and about Barbarossa, and thereupon either to make a party with the discontented citizens, with whom the emperor might join, or else to penetrate the designs of Barbarossa; for which purpose also he had liberty, and letters of credence to make himself ambassador, and negotiate with Barbarossa, when he thought it expedient for the emperor's service to proceed that way; giving him authority further, to promise assistance to Barbarossa for the conquest of Africa, when he might be drawn to depend on the emperor. But whether through want of dexterity to use such different instructions, or that otherwise another who was privy to his employment did discover him (which some affirm) he was seiz'd on by Barbarossa and put to death. Which being related unto the emperor, did but hasten his expedition against Tunis, wherein he resolv'd to go in person.

This while, Francis, who was intentive to the actions of the emperor, both as himself had his designs in Italy at that time, and that he had entred into a secret league with the Turk, thought fit to acquaint Barbarossa therewith, by the means of one Monsieur de Forrest a Frenchman, who from thence was commanded to go to Constantinople, and procure succours for him; the success whereof we shall tell hereafter; and now the emperor being assisted by the pope, and John King of Portugal, and attended by Don Luys, son to the said John Andrea Doria, and the prime nobility of Spain, set sail from Barcelona, May 31. and coming to Calari in Sardinia, departed thence June 13. 1535. with 25,000 foot, and about 2000 horse, besides the nobility and adventurers, and 10,000 seamen. All which being carried in 250, or 300 sail, came before Goleta, a fort of sixty paces one way, and sixty five the other, situate on a strait at the mouth of the lake or bay within which Tunis stands. Which place, though defended bravely, was (July 14.) at last taken, together with a great part of the fleet of Barbarossa. After which, the emperor leaving the lake on the left hand, march'd (July 20.) to Tunis, (where Barbarossa was) being a city of about 10,000 houses, and three leagues south from Goleta. But certain slaves whom the Moors intended to burn with their prison, escaping out of it, and taking arms at the same time that the forces which Barbarossa sent to defend the passage were routed by the imperialists,

Barbarossa with about 7000 men, and much riches, fled out of the town, quitting his reign so, after that he had enjoy'd it not a full year. Some of the townsmen hereupon coming to the emperor, and acquainting him herewith, Muley Hazem interceded (July 22.) with the emperor, that two hours space might be given before he permitted the army to enter, alledging for this purpose also some probable inducements; when yet the crafty Moor, intended nothing thereby, but the gaining so much time for the townsmen to hide their most precious riches, from the rapine of the soldiers: to which purpose also, he gave them private warning. The emperor at last (Aug. 6.) entring, and together giving liberty to many slaves, restor'd it to Muley Hazem upon these conditions, that he should suffer him to retain Goleta, Bona, Vizerta, and some other places belonging to the kingdom of Tunis. That certain churches for Christians should be allow'd. That he shall no more make Christians slaves, or protect pirates, from whom that king drew a great revenue, being a fifth of all they took. And now Charles finding no more to be done in those parts, the year being far spent, and his men sick of calentures, and being not ignorant besides of the designs of Francis in Italy, came to Trapaca in Sicily Aug. 20. 1535. from whence he went shortly to Naples.

During this expedition Francis (Aug. 28.) fell sick, the suppos'd cause whereof (as I find by our records) was a grief he took, that a servant of Monsieur de Forrest, returning with a dispatch concerning his negotiation with the Turk, was intercepted by the Duke of Urbin, and all the treaty by this means discover'd to the emperor; yet, at length (Nov.) taking heart, and recovering, he sent our king word thereof, who thereupon commanded a solemn procession to be made to St. Paul's in London.

While the emperor was at Tunis, Francis having provided a great army under the command of Philip Chabot, Admiral of France, sent to his uncle Charles Duke of Savoy, for passage through his country, giving out, that he desir'd it only to revenge the death of his ambassador Marveilles upon Francisco Sforza. But the duke conscious that he had lent money heretofore to Bourbon, and bought lately the contado of Asti (belonging to the house of Orleans) of the emperor, and besides had accepted the emperor's order, when he refus'd the French, wanted not occasion to suspect the entrance of so potent an army into his country: therefore he denied passage. Whereupon Francis incens'd, sends to require of the duke the inheritance falling to him by Louïse of Savoy his mother. Demanding also restitution of a great part of Piedmont, and the marquisate of Saluzzo, as belonging anciently to the counties of Provence and Dauphine, and seignory of Arles. The duke (as being allied to Charles, by his wife Beatrix, sister to Isabella the empress) sends to him for aid, being now in Sicily, and to induce him hereunto, he offer'd to give him all the lands he held on this side the

mountains in exchange for so much in Italy. This being reported to Francis, inrag'd him so much the more against the duke, so that he commanded his army to enter Savoy ; whereof in his place.

Charles seeing these preparations of Francis, and being unable for the present to resist them (his army being return'd sick and much weakned from Tunis) for gaining of time, thought fit to renew the propositions of alliance and accord, formerly mention'd to Francis, not omitting the while to levy forces in Germany. Neither did he think to find any so strong opposition in Francis, as long as he hop'd that he had given our king enough to do in the parts of Scotland and Ireland. But as that of Scotland by our king's industry took no effect, so that of Ireland was prevented, as by this narration drawn chiefly out of our records may fully appear.

The Earl of Kildare being (as is abovesaid) now restor'd again to his liberty and pardon'd, return'd into Ireland, conducted by Sir William Skeffington, master of the king's ordnance, who was also made deputy there about 1530, and Ossory displac'd. But some stirs arising, which Skeffington was not able to quiet, the king thought fit to reinplace Kildare, as a man much esteem'd by his countrymen. Thus was he made deputy in Ireland again, about 1532. where he pacified the country, and May 19. 1533. under the title of Deputy to Henry Duke of Richmond and Somerset, Lieutenant of Ireland, held a parliament at Dublin. But the old grudges between his family and Ossory's, beginning to break out anew, and himself being accus'd to have invited O Neale and others to spoil the countries of Ossory, not without suspicion of further design, he was sent for by our king, with command to substitute at his departure some able man, who might govern during his absence. This charge was (June 11. 1534.) committed to Thomas his eldest son : who shortly after (hearing that his father was convict, and to be put to death in England) rose up in arms, and combining with O Neal, O Carol, etc. of the Irish nobility, committing divers outrages, and particularly July 26. 1534. murder'd Doctor John Allen Archbishop of Dublin, heretofore Woolsey's chaplain and commissary, and forc'd the citizens of Dublin to take truce with him till Michaelmas, and in the mean time to admit some bands of his men into the city, to lay siege to the castle, (which was defended against him) while himself with the rest of the army depopulated the country of Ossory. The news whereof being brought into England, the old earl then in prison, died as is thought of grief, and the king appointed Sir William Skeffington by the name of Lord Deputy of Ireland, under the lieutenant thereof the Duke of Richmond, with a well-provided army, to suppress the rebel. For tho' some of the Irish nobility stood firm to our king, and particularly the Earl of Ossory, and his son James Lord Butler, whom Fitzgerald had in vain solicited ; yet they were not able to make head against him. And



here it is remarkable how politickly that family strove to preserve it self : for though three of the five brothers of the late Earl of Kildare were against our king, two others offer'd their service to him : who yet (as it was danger either to receive or refuse them) were but coldly welcom'd. Michaelmas now approaching, (when the truce with Kildare expir'd) Francis Herbert having been sent from Dublin at the beginning of these stirs, to give notice thereof to King Henry, return'd with a comfortable promise of succours, and a command to defend themselves ; whereupon the citizens suddenly laying hold on the rebels, who besieg'd the castle, shut their gates, and stood upon their guard. Which Fitzgerald understanding, comes with an army of 15,000, and assail'd the city, which yet was stoutly maintain'd by the townsmen, and particularly by Francis Herbert, who behav'd himself so well, that as I find by several original dispatches of Finglas, Chief-justice of Ireland, dated in Nov. 1534. the city by his politick and manful defence was preserv'd ; insomuch, that if he had tarried three days longer, it was said, both it and the castle had been lost. I find also by their original dispatches, dated in the same month, that he shot and kill'd twenty four of the rebels with his own hand, whereof twenty in one day. For which service also, he was afterward made knight, and one of the king's council in Ireland. Notwithstanding which, as he was single, and the city much press'd by Kildare, who had intercepted all victuals, water and fuel, so at last they were inforc'd (Oct. 1.) to treat upon certain conditions, which were, that the citizens should set at liberty such of his men as they had taken, and labour to procure his pardon of the king, within sixteen weeks ; and he on the other side should desist from hostility, during the said space, and redeliver their children. Being thus departed from Dublin ; two days after Sir William Skeffington arriving on the coast of Ireland with his army, a false report came, that the city was yielded, whereupon a council of war being assembled, the resolution was, that John Salisbury and Sir William Brereton (two of the captains newly come over) should be sent to Dublin with some forces, being about 500 men, to relieve it (if it were possible,) and that the lord deputy should set sail for Waterford, where, about the same time, Sir John Saintlo, and Sir Rice Mansel, landed with 500 soldiers ; who, joining with the Earl of Ossory, spoil'd the country of Kildare : while Brereton and Salisbury coming during the aforesaid truce, enter'd the town without any difficulty, where also they resolv'd to proceed hostily against Kildare, as having, during this respite, destroy'd some part of the country adjoining, contrary to his promise. While affairs pass'd thus, the generals on either side made use of the time. For as Kildare sent to the emperor for obtaining supplies, (in which business a servant of the Earl of Desmond, in whom the emperor had a special confidence, was employ'd) so the lord deputy (being now come to Dublin) treated

(Oct.) with the nobility, to discover their affection, as not knowing otherwise, how to form a party amongst them, on which he might rely. For which purpose also he thought it not amiss to conclude a truce with Kildare, until the fifth of January. Kildare in the mean time encouraging his soldiers with hope of succours from Spain ; the assurance whereof being brought him (Dec. 14.) by the Earl of Desmond's servant, he forgot not to write (Dec. 26.) unto the pope, complaining of our king's defection from the Roman Catholick faith, and together desiring that he might hold the kingdom of Ireland from that see upon payment of a yearly tribute. In these uncertainties, Sir John Allen, Knight, formerly secretary to the Archbishop of Dublin, now master of the rolls there, a dexterous person, gave the king this advice, that he should quickly publish, whether he would pardon Kildare, and so save charges, or otherwise prosecute war against him ; since he said, that until this were declar'd, the gentry of Ireland durst not oppose Kildare, as fearing that when he were restor'd, he would revenge himself on all those who oppos'd him. In the mean while (Nov. 30.) the Earl of Desmond dying, leaves his estate litigious betwixt his brother and grandchild. The truce now expiring, our army (which took some few places at their last landing, and made some light skirmishes) lay idle for the most part ; insomuch that having gotten Kildare Castle, they suffer'd it to be lost again. At last, being commanded to proceed, the lord deputy in March following took Maynoth or Mynwob Castle, strongly fortified and defended by 100 of the choicest servants of Kildare. Which place our records say was gotten by battery and assault ; so that Hollingshead seems to be mistaken when he writes, it was (March 23.) betray'd by one Parese, foster-brother to Fitzgerald, the garrison being by him made drunk the night preceding, and that for this treachery, instead of a reward, the deputy commanded him to be hang'd. And further our records tell us, that one of the said garrison depos'd, that not only the emperor had promis'd to send thither 10,000 men, but that the King of Scots had assur'd them of aid ; arms in the mean time being brought in a great quantity from Flanders, and other places. Some defeats also were given to those troops of the rebels which appear'd. Nevertheless as they daily increas'd, and Skeffington was old, weak and slow in all his enterprizes, the Lord Leonard Gray, brother to the Marquis Dorset, though ally'd to Kildare, was (June 22.) (under the Duke of Richmond, who died shortly after) authorized to execute the place of Deputy Lieutenant of Ireland, to the no little grief and discontentment of Skeffington. Whereof Kildare being advertis'd, and for the rest finding himself reduc'd to some necessity ; by the delay of the emperor, and uncertainty he found in some of his complices, thought fit to yield himself to the king's mercy ; yet so as the Lord Gray, together with the other commanders, promis'd to intercede effectually with the king in his behalf. Which I find they perform'd,

and particularly the Lord Gray, whose sister the old earl had married. And thus Kildare was brought (Aug.) by the Lord Gray to London, and his five uncles not long after ; where, upon examination, the business being found to merit punishment, they were (Feb. 3. 1537.) at last executed. Notwithstanding the earnest mediation of the Lord Gray and others. And now these troubles of Ireland being ended, our king commanded the deputy to make peace with O Neale for a year or two, and together to summon a parliament, both for giving order to those grievances whereof the Irish complain'd, and for settling the business of supremacy and succession in that form it was establish'd in England. Whereupon it was assembled, May 1. 1536. And in it the acts of succession, of supremacy, of first-fruits, against appeals to Rome, etc. as also an act for the attainder of the late Earl of Kildare and his complices, were pass'd. And because the king had spent in this war forty thousand pounds, he demanded together with a present satisfaction for his charges, a yearly revenue for the future, which the lords spiritual and temporal accorded in great part, the clergy particularly giving him a twentieth part of their yearly rents, first for ten years following, and at last for ever. And thus the parliament was prorogu'd till the year following.

The supremacy being (Nov. 3. 1534.) (as is abovesaid) invested in the king, by the approbation of his parliament. The universities and bishops of this kingdom did not a little second him ; (and particularly Stephen Gardiner, whose Latin sermon, *De vera Obedientia*, to this purpose, with the preface of Doctor Bonner, (Archdeacon of Leicester, and about these times ambassador with the King of Denmark) being yet extant in print, and by John Fox digested to a sum) I shall not mention otherwise ; my intention being not (in a history) to discuss theological matters, as holding it sufficient to have pointed at the places where they are controverted, as far as the notice of them is come to me. Notwithstanding, as our king desir'd to give and receive all satisfaction herein ; so knowing that the esteem of Reginald Poole was great in foreign countries, and especially in Italy, where he now liv'd at Padua ; he sent unto him, desiring his opinion of his late actions freely, and in few words ; whereupon (May 23.) Poole writes, and dispatches to him his book *Pro Unitate Ecclesiæ*, inveighing therein against the king's supremacy, as also against his new marriage, and divorce of Queen Katherine ; exciting the emperor to revenge the injury offer'd her, concluding with an advice to Henry to reconcile himself to the Catholick Church, and the pope as head thereof. Our king having (June 14.) perus'd this, and knowing it could not long lie hid in Italy, (though Poole had promis'd not to publish it,) sends (July 15.) for him by post to come into England, to explain some passages thereof. But Poole knowing that it was declar'd treason there, to deny the king the title of supream head, which he had principally intended in



his book, refus'd, desiring the king nevertheless, as being now freed from her, who had been the occasion of all this, to take hold of the present time, and to reintegrate himself with the pope, and accept the council now summon'd, whereby he might have the honour of being the cause of a reformation of the Church in doctrine and manners, and that otherwise he would be in great danger. He wrote also to Cuthbert Tonsall Bishop of Duresme to incline the king hereunto. But this bishop (as appears in our records) reproving him for the bitterness of his book, and counselling him to burn the original, denies that King Henry hath separated himself from the Roman Church, but only freed himself from the unjust usurpations of the bishops of that see. (And to this purpose, another large letter jointly written after, from the Bishops of Duresme and London may be seen in Fox.) But Poole being at this time (1537.) invited to Rome by the pope, and utterly refusing to burn a Catholick book (as he said) like an heretick, our king hastned (July 26.) the publishing at home of a declaration, call'd the bishops book, sign'd by the Archbishop of Canterbury and York, and nineteen other bishops, 'wherein is alledg'd out of ancient histories 'and councils, how many hundred years had past, before the pope took 'on him this superiority over other bishops, and that it was contrary to 'the oath given, when any of them enters the papacy : which is, that 'they shall observe and keep inviolably the first eight councils, that 'decree a limited power to all bishops, and particularly the first council 'of Constantinople, which both excludes foreign jurisdiction every 'where, and allows bishops, within their several diocesses, an absolute 'power to determine controversies arising within their precincts; and 'together shews how the papal authority was first deriv'd from the 'emperors of those times, and not from Christ, whose kingdom they 'said was spiritual and not carnal; setting forth this doctrine further 'by arguments drawn from Holy Scriptures and some fathers.' But to return to 1535. neither the example of others which subscrib'd, nor the terror of the statute could hinder divers religious persons to continue in their former opinions; insomuch, that they openly spake against the king's supremacy. Which being made known, caus'd him to advise with his council concerning their punishment, some indeed thought that imprisonment, banishment, or the like, was chastisement enough for those, who confessing the king's supream authority in all temporal matters, did out of scrupulosity rather than malice, impugn the rest. But when it was objected again, both that the number was too great for either of those punishments, and that the law having made the offence to be death, it was not safe to go less, especially when some exemplary justice might contain the rest in obedience. Our king, who needed now no motive to security, resolv'd to proceed legally against them. Therefore some priors, and other ecclesiastical persons, that were criminal in this kind, being found guilty of the

statute, and this year condemn'd as traitors, were executed, (May 4.) being the first that suffer'd in this kind. This piece of justice was not yet grown so familiar to our king, but that it troubled him much, for he would have been glad not to be compell'd to such violent courses ; therefore he not only mourn'd inwardly, but caus'd his head to be poll'd, and his beard, formerly shaven, to be cut round, though others facetiously interpret it to be nothing else, than the putting upon a new dignity, a new countenance ; but if he proceeded thus rigorously against the opposers of his supremacy, he did no less punish the many pretended reformers and contradictors of the Roman Catholick religion. Therefore, as the last year he had condemn'd John Frith, a sacramentary, to the fire, (July 22.) so he now caus'd divers Hollanders in London, who had devis'd some different opinions by themselves, concerning certain articles of Christian religion, to be burnt (May 25.) in Smithfield. Shortly after which again, some others were (June 18.) executed for denying the supremacy. So that on both sides it grew a bloody time. Only, as our king found that the terrors already given, did not suffice to keep the rest in awe, he resolv'd to make some great examples.

Therefore, he laid hand on John Bishop of Rochester, who having been imprison'd now a year's space, for refusing to swear to the act of succession, and attainted therefore by parliament, was now urg'd with the supremacy ; which he disallowing (as having not given his voluntary oath or promise thereunto the last year, together with other bish<sup>ps</sup>) incurr'd the danger of the law. Which also was taken the worse, that in the convocation, (May 7.) 1530. he had yielded the title of *supremum caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ quantum per Christi legem licet*. Yet as the pope for more confirming him (May 21.) in his opinion, had declar'd him Cardinal of St. Vitale during his said restraint (though he profess'd, that if the hat lay at his feet, he would not stoop to take it up.) So our king understanding thereof was much more incens'd, both as the pope had conferr'd his most eminent honours on a man kept by him in prison, and guilty of the highest punishment his laws could inflict ; and as he knew of what consequence it would be, if his subjects was thus encourag'd to contemn his authority : therefore he resolv'd now to defer his justice no longer. Whereupon the said bishop as publickly convicted and condemn'd for divers points (the particulars whereof yet I have not seen, but only that on the seventh of May last in the Tower of London before divers persons, he had falsly, maliciously and traiterously said, that the king is not supream head of the Church of England,) was by the king's command openly beheaded June 22d. 1535. Thus did the pope's favour but precipitate the bishop's ruin : against whom notwithstanding, I find, the king did but unwillingly proceed, as having held him ever in singular esteem, for his learning and good parts. All which cannot make me believe

yet, that he was author of King Henry's book against Luther (as Sanders and Bellarmine will have it) or Sir Thomas More (as others say) though I doubt not but they might both revise it by the king's favour, and where it was needful also interpose their judgment. This while, the pope, who suspected not perchance that the bishop's end was so near, had for more testimony of his favour to him, as disaffection to our king, sent him the cardinal's hat, but unseasonably, his head being off. Nevertheless, as he had first desir'd Francis to mediate for him, he omitted not afterwards publickly to justify his actions, calling him by the name of *sanctissimus episcopus*, and *omnium cardinalium cardinalis*, and declaring, (in a breve subscrib'd by Blossius (as I find it briefly mentioned in our records, extracted by Sanders, and extant in the *bullarium*,) of which hereafter) both that he was innocent, and our king an heretick, etc. But this again was defended in an apology written here in elegant Latin, whether by Stephen Gardiner (who as I find in our records wrote a justification of the king herein) or some other; which I should have inserted but for the length, and as some would judge it for the vehemency. Though, as the king retain'd still all the chief articles of the Roman Church, it cannot be wondred if the author thereof did the more bitterly inveigh against one that had given his sovereign that odious title.

Our king being thus many ways exasperated against the pope, neglected no means of extirpating his chief agents and favourers, and, with them, all his authority in this country; therefore he proceeded against Sir Thomas More, committed at the same time, and for the same cause, with Fisher. For though (as Sanders saith) he would by the Bishop of Rochester's exemplary death have brought more to a conformity, yet finding that it was impossible, he commanded his council in the law to examine him concerning the supremacy (now enacted) more particularly. But Sir Thomas More, (as his indictment hath it) *malitiose silebat*, saying yet afterwards, (June 28.) 'I will not meddle with such matters.' He was accus'd also for holding secret intelligence by letter with the Bishop of Rochester, during their imprisonment; which appear'd both by the confession of the said Bishop, and in that they held the same language. It being observ'd that both of them said, in their examinations, 'The act about supremacy was like a two-edg'd sword; for if one answer one way, it will confound his soul, and if the other way, it will confound his body.' Yet Richard Rich the king's solicitor (made afterwards Lord Rich) come to him (June 12.) again, and having first protested that he had no commission to talk with him of that matter, (as believing perchance his former answer, or silence had sufficiently convinc'd, him,) did, as is in the record, demand then, 'If it were enacted by parliament, that Richard Rich should be king, and that it should be treason for any to deny it, what offence it were to contravene this act?' Sir Thomas More



answer'd, 'that he should offend if he said no, because he was bound 'by the act ; but that this was *casus levis*;' whereupon, Sir Thomas More said he would propose a higher case, 'Suppose by parliament it 'were enacted *quod Deus non sit Deus*, and that it were treason to con- 'travene, whether it were an offence to say according to the said act ;' Richard Rich replied 'yea,' but said withal, 'I will propose a middle 'case, because yours is too high. The king you know is constitute 'supream head of the Church on earth, why should not you, Master 'More accept him so, as you would me if I were made king by the 'supposition aforesaid.' Sir Thomas More answer'd, 'The case was not 'the same, because (said he) a parliament can make a king and depose 'him, and that every parliament-man may give his consent thereunto ; 'but that a subject cannot be bound so in the case of a supremacy, '*quia consensum ab eo ad parlamentum præbere non potest* (for so it is 'in my copy if it be not mistaken) *et quanquam rex sic acceptus sit* 'in Anglia, plurimæ tamen partes exterae idem non affirmant.' All which being produc'd together, and added to his refusal of the oath of succession, for which in the parliament of Nov. 1534. he was attainted of misprision of treason, as I find by the parliament rolls, was thought sufficient to condemn him. So that notwithstanding many subtil defences made by him, while he contended to have given no offence but in silence, (unless it were in comparing the statute to a two-edged sword, which yet he said, he alledg'd no otherwise, than to show how dangerous it was to answer,) and notwithstanding also his denying utterly the passage between the solicitor and himself in that sense (perchance he meant the Latin) which is above related, the jury in his tryal, July 1. before the lord chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, etc. declar'd him guilty of imagining to deprive the king of his title and dignity, which by a statute, Regni 26. was made high treason. This great person hereupon going (July 6.) shortly after to the place of execution, met among many friends one only enemy, who openly revil'd him, for a sentence heretofore given in chancery ; to which, yet he made no answer, but that 'if it were to do, he would do so again.' And, now being resolv'd to die, he return'd to his wonted facetiousness. Therefore, being to go up the scaffold, he said to one ; 'Friend, help me 'up ; and when I go down again, let me shift for my self as I can.' Being now mounted, the executioner (as the custom is) ask'd him forgiveness, which he granted, but told him withal, 'he should never have 'honesty by cutting off his head, his neck was so short.' Then laying down his head on the block, he bid the executioner 'stay till he had 'laid aside his beard, for (said he) it never committed treason.' After which, coming to some private devotions, he receiv'd his death. Thus ended Sir Thomas More, with so little consternation, as even the terrors of death could not take off the pleasure he had in his conceited and merry language, which many attributed to his innocence. For

certainly, though he fell into the danger of the law, they thought his intentions were rather to elude it with ambiguous answers, and an affected silence, than to declare himself any way. Beside, by an original of his, (about this time, (March 5.) written to Cromwel) it appears, that heretofore, upon perusing the king's book against Luther, 'he dissuaded him to exalt so much the papal authority, lest it diminish'd his own. Professing nevertheless, both out of the reasons urg'd in that book, as well as his private study of that question afterwards, he could not deny the pope a primacy ; however yet he could not hold it such, 'as that the authority deriv'd to him thereby, was to be preferr'd above 'a general council.'

This while (as I find in our records,) our king upon the death of Clement VII. hoping better of Paulus III. gave Sir Gregory de Casalis new instructions to advise him, to regard the King of England, and to consult with some learned men, in his cause, (not imitating Clement, who knowing the truth, conceal'd it) and these learned men to be chosen out of France. To this also the pope seem'd to give some ear, until news came (June 1.) to Rome, first, of the execution of divers monks in England for denying the supremacy ; and then of the death of More and Rochester. Whereupon the pope resolving to proceed against our king, begins to minute terrible bulls, whereof I find there were five several forms. But this which I find in the bullarium, and extracted by Sanders (dated Aug. 30.) was that which was approved and made use of, being to this effect. First, objecting to him, as well the divorce of Katherine, as the marrying Anne, and making laws against the pope's authority, and punishing those who contradicted (as lately the Bishop of Rochester.) He warns the king, to reform these faults ; or upon refusal cites him, and all that favour him, to appear at Rome within ninety days to answer ; which if they neglected, he excommunicates them all, and deprives the king of his realm ; subjects the whole kingdom to the interdict ; declares the issue by Anne, illegitimate ; forbids allegiance to his subjects, commerce with other states ; dissolves all leagues of princes with him ; commands the clergy to depart out of England, the nobility to take arms against him, etc. Having resolv'd this censure, yet I find, it was not openly denounc'd, till he saw all hope past of reclaiming King Henry, or at least that the emperor was at leisure to execute it, of which hereafter. Our king hearing of this, entertains friendship with the Protestant princes of Germany, and the rather that intelligence was brought, how the pope had declar'd he would give away his kingdom to some Roman Catholick prince of that country, as being (it seems) unwilling to greaten France or Spain therewith, lest afterwards himself should not be so able to sway the balance. Which I mention not, yet, as if it were probable to be effected, or that our king fear'd any such attempt, as long as he stood upon good terms with his subjects, but that by strengthening

himself in Germany, he might the better chastise that person, who upon the pope's encouragement durst undertake the enterprise. I do find also, that the French king did concur in this treaty with the Protestants, both, as upon the death of Pope Clement, the chief support of the great design in Italy did fall, and as he began to give some ear to the evangelicks in Germany, as appears by his sending for Melancthon, and other passages in Sleidan, which I shall hereafter set down. Howsoever, our king as he found that with no little asperity he maintain'd his authority at home, so he thought his care should be the greater to justify it abroad. Insomuch that he sent unto all places, (where he held correspondence) to give, together with an account of his actions, the reason why he had taken on him the supremacy. Therefore, Doctor William Barlow the king's chaplain, and elect brother of St. Asaph, being join'd in commission with Thomas Holcroft to James, labour'd to give him all manner of impressions, which might bring him to a conformity ; which Buchanan also mentions ; saying, that James was intreated to read over their arguments, and consider them. Notwithstanding which, as they were referr'd by him to his clergy, so (as the same author hath it) they, together with some learned men, whom our king offer'd to send, for further declaration of this point, were for the present rejected. Which again, being advertis'd to our king, he thought fit suddenly to employ the Lord William Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, and the said bishop, to James, to make him divers advantageous propositions, and withal to draw him to an interview. Whereunto, therefore, being press'd by them, and the rather that it was in sequence of a former proposition ; James, who had no disposition thereunto, sent (as our ambassadors write) to procure by a private messenger, a breve from the pope, inhibiting this journey ; so that until the receipt thereof he was forc'd to make other excuses ; by which, yet, I find he denied not a meeting with our king ; but desir'd him only, it might be in France, and the French king present ; as hoping, thereby (it seems) to be less constrain'd, than if he came single into our king's dominions ; all which, as it did but increase our king's jealousy of his his nephew's intentions (for he expected war from many hands, as the pope had threatned) so he endeavour'd but so much more to draw him on his side, as knowing of what consequence it was, to keep his kingdom safe on that part : and therefore, labour'd still, not only to induce him to abrogate the papal jurisdiction in his dominions, but made some other overtures ; both of creating him for the present, Duke of York (as Buchanan hath it) and for leaving him successor in this kingdom, in case he conform'd himself for the rest. But his clergy (however Queen Margaret had given hope thereof) being utterly averse, dissuaded him ; yet some operation I find it seem'd to have. For by an original dispatch May 2. 1536. James certified our king, that ' he had sent to Rome to get impetrations for reformation of



'some enormities, and especially, anent the ordering of great and many 'possessions, and temporal lands given to the kirk by our noble 'predecessors.' To which as our king not only gave credit, but a safe conduct to the messenger, as was desir'd ; so he seem'd to receive some satisfaction, and together hop'd, he would not, at least so soon, be drawn to assist his enemies, and therefore forbore a while to sollicite this point ; pursuing, nevertheless, the propos'd interview, but more slackly than before, but James had other designs, as shall be told the year following.

Our king finding thus, that businesses were safe on this part, proceeded more confidently in his intentions of suppressing, together with the pope's authority, all those who chiefly supported it. And because he thought monasteries did furnish more able men to contest with him in this point, than any part else, he advis'd how to proceed with them. Whereupon, one said thus :

'SIR, if in all affairs, betwixt your highness and any else, at home or 'abroad, it be the part of a counsellor to give a free and impartial 'advice, I shall, under favour, crave the same liberty in those things 'that intervene betwixt God and your highness, both because the duty 'we owe unto that Supream Majesty is transcendent, and that general 'and publick errors committed against Him, are of a more pernicious 'consequence than any else. In confidence of pardon, therefore, I 'shall presume to opine concerning the business of monasteries now in 'question. Sir, if it were first propos'd now, whether it were fit to 'erect them, I must confess I should give my assent ; not yet that I 'should allow any excessive number, or perchance approve all the 'rules observ'd in them. But wholly to exclude so pious a retrait for 'men unapt for secular business, or otherwise retir'd from the world, 'were, in my conceit, to leave those unprovided for, who, of all other, 'were most proper in a devout life to serve and glorifie their Creator. 'There is in my opinion, therefore, a due place left for monasteries ; 'yet, when they grow to that multitude, that either the just proportion 'they should bear in a state, is exceeded, or that, in effect, they should 'become a receptacle only for lazy and idle persons, I should wish to 'apply some convenient remedy. But, sir, who shall give it ? For if 'we refer all unto the pope, how could we ever hope of a moderation, 'especially while they are but retraits for so many servants enter- 'tain'd for him at other men's costs. And if your highness (especially 'since you have taken upon you the supremacy) should suppress them, 'what a scandal would follow ? For who would think, sir, at home or 'abroad, that your highness exercis'd your new charge therein, as you 'ought, or complied with your place ? Again, sir, what a wrong 'would it be to the founders of them, who had as much right to give 'some of their lands to that use, as their heirs have to enjoy the rest ?

‘Would they not say, this were to trench on the publick right, and to frustrate whatsoever either Divine or human laws have establish’d? Therefore, sir, be pleas’d not to think so much of their overthrow, as reformation; or if there be occasion to suppress some, as being supernumerary, yet since they are houses dedicated to God, be pleas’d, by all means, to convert the profit arising thence, to some other pious use, and howsoever, to reserve a sufficient number in every shire for either sex; and so shall your highness both excuse all obloquy, and together manifest the care you have to keep up those ancient monuments of devotion.’

To which another, who better understood the king’s mind, answer’d thus :

‘SIR, if it be true, that they speak enviously (that I may say nothing else) who would reduce all reason of state to the sober principles and doctrines of faith, it is no less certain, that they speak prophanely who wholly exclude them. In state there is use of all : only as it is a symmetrical body, nothing in it must pass proportion. Inasmuch, as neither the secular magistrate or clergy, on the one side, nor the soldier, merchant, artificer and husbandman on the other, shall exceed a just quantity. The due composition of it being such, as there may be those who may labour and fight, as well as pray for it. Else, who would not change our generals and captains to bishops and deans, and our shipping and forts, to chapels and religious houses? But what a proportion, sir, doth the clergy now hold, when the fourth part of the revenues of the kingdom is imploy’d that way. For, sir, when the tenth we pay them in one kind, and the lands they hold in another, are estimated, they amount to this rate or more, as I am inform’d. I shall not yet be hasty to suppress them. I confess all true which was now said, and do not only admit the piety of their institution, but the use that may be made of some few, as two or three in every shire. Neither, shall I ever consent that more should be suppress than were needful, and yet the money imploy’d for your highness’s most urgent occasions only. The supernumerary part of them, and your forests being by me held like jewels of your state, which though they yield not ready coin, may ever be converted to it; I should for this reason (when there were no other) conserve them as much as were possible. But, sir, when I consider again, how the Pope or Bishop of Rome (as your highness commands him to be call’d) hath threatned to join all Christian princes against your highness, and that in these monasteries he nourishes a seminary of factious persons that oppose your supremacy; and what instruments they may be of stirring sedition in your highness’s kingdom, at the same time that some foreign power should invade it, I cannot but wish some good order were given. I should think fit therefore they

‘were instantly visited, and those who were unable to keep the vows they made at their entrance, to be permitted to go to some more active life, and the vices of the rest, not only chastis’d, but care taken to punish those who henceforth speak or behave themselves licentiously. And, so far forth, certainly your highness will make but lawful use of your supremacy. As for the suppression of any, not I, but some violent and inexcusable necessity must be the counsellor. If your highness have any other way to defend your self against the threatened invasions, I shall never advise you to this ; and yet that, no further than to bring your estate to a just temper.’

Our king considering the reasons on both sides, said, he would cause the monasteries to be severely visited, and the enormous crimes of them, (having been formerly rather subject to pecuniary mulcts, than corrected as they ought) to be exemplarily punish’d, and a reformation given to all abuses. Protesting nevertheless, that he would suppress none, without the consent of his parliament, among whom, he did politickly foresee, that some for conscience sake, (the Roman religion being now much cried down) and others for avoiding the charges of war (then menaced) would sooner lay the burden on those monasteries, than take it on themselves ; whereof in its due place. And now Cromwell the secretary, a man so disaffected to those houses, as he was thought a favourer of the reformers, being made general visitor, imploy’d Richard Layton, Thomas Leigh, William Detre, Doctors of the Law, Doctor John London, Dean of Wallingford, with others, giving them instructions in 86 articles, for visiting monasteries every where ; by which they were to enquire into the government, behaviour, and education of the persons of both sexes. To find out all their offences, and to this purpose give them encouragements to accuse both their governours and each other. To command them to exhibit their mortmains, evidences, and conveyances of their lands ; to produce their plate and money, and give an inventory thereof. Together with which the king gave forth injunctions to be observ’d, some tending to the establishing of his supremacy, some touching the good government of the houses ; as that no brother go out of the precinct ; that there be but one entrance ; that no woman frequent the monks, nor any man the nuns, etc. And some for education, as, that a divinity lecture be every day read and frequented. That the abbot daily expound some part of the rule of their order, shewing yet, that these ceremonies are but introductions to religion, which consisteth not in apparel, shaven heads, etc. but in purity of mind. That none shall profess or wear the habit till twenty-four years of age. That no feigned relics nor miracles be shewed. No offerings to images, etc.

Upon these and other injunctions, joyn’d to the inquisition aforesaid, the commissioners found means to make divers monasteries obnoxious ; for upon the petition of divers monks who were weary of their habit,



some alledging for their excuse, that they were profess'd before they came to the years of discretion ; others, that the late injunctions were too strict to be observ'd ; the king seizing on the house, commanded that they who were profess'd under twenty-four, should be set at liberty, as being thought too young to make a vow as they ought, or indeed to keep it. That they who were above twenty-four, when they made their vow, might have leave to depart if they would. At which time the men, if in orders, should have a priest's habit given them, and forty shillings in money ; the nuns should have only a gown, such as secular women wear, and liberty to go whither they would. The condition yet of some being better, who for surrendring their houses to the king (to which by threats and fair words they were induc'd) got small pensions during their lives. Others, by paying great sums to the king and Cromwell, redeem'd their monasteries from the present calamity ; yet so, as even from these also, divers jewels and church-ornaments were taken away to the king's use. Which being done, Leigh and the rest at their return, gave that accompt of their employment, and particularly of their feigned miracles and relicks, as well as sinful and sluggish life of the religious orders, as not only Cromwell with much violence said, their houses should be thrown down to the foundation ; but the whole body of the kingdom, when it was publish'd to them, (which I find industriously procur'd) became so scandaliz'd thereat, as they resolv'd if the king ever put it into their hands, to give remedy thereunto : yet were not all alike criminal ; for some societies behav'd themselves so well, as their life being not only exempt from notorious faults, but their spare times bestow'd in writing books, painting, carving, graving, and the like exercises, their visitors became intercessors for them. But of those, as I find not many mention'd, so they were involv'd at last in the common fate ; it being thought dangerous to use distinction, both lest the fault of manners (which might be corrected) should be taken by the people as the sole cause of their dissolution ; and as it was pretended that the revenues should be employ'd to some better uses. Not long after which again, the king caus'd all colleges, chantries, and hospitals to be visited, not omitting to take a particular survey of all the revenues and dignities ecclesiastical within his kingdom, which was return'd to him in a book, to be kept in the exchequer.

Our king having thus omitted nothing which might prevent or frustrate their designs who were most able to offend him, thought it his part now, to assure those who he thought might be of most use. Therefore he sends (Dec. 4) Fox, Bishop of Hereford, to the Protestant princes in Germany, assembled at Smalcald, to exhort them to an unity in doctrine, wherein he offered his best assistance by conference with their divines, as being the only ground of establishing either peace at home, or correspondence abroad ; that unless this were done,

it would be a great prejudice to them in the council now propos'd, which yet he took to be pretended only as an intention and artifice of the pope's to entertain time, and in the mean while to sow division among them, as he doth now incite Christian princes against England for rejecting his tyranny. Therefore they were not to expect a free council, how much soever promis'd, yet if they desir'd a council, they should attend till all Christian princes were at peace with each other ; and that it ought to be held in an indifferent place, it being impossible otherwise, but that it should be partial and factious. That this being done, as he had expell'd the pope's authority out of his dominions, so he would joyn with them to restore God's true worship. And so the bishop concluded, desiring only some might be appointed to whom he might speak of these businesses privately. To which, after due thanks, they answer'd, (Dec. 21.) that really there was no difference among them, there being none who would not stand to the Augustan confession : that they took well his highness's admonition about the council general, now promis'd at Mantua. But that, (as they had answer'd Vergerius the pope's legate) they did not think either that the place was fit, or that the pope had the sole right of calling or ordering of it, which belong'd as well to the emperor and other princes. For the rest, they said, they would appoint some who might communicate privately with the bishop, as was requir'd, of which we shall speak more hereafter.

In the mean while Ferdinand, who more desir'd to hear of peace in the empire, than school-arguments, how well soever disputed, confirm'd the treaty made 1532. of which the Duke of Saxony (who came from him to Smalcald) advertis'd the Protestants, who (Dec. 24.) decreed, 'That the league betwixt them, made 1530. for mutual defence 'in the cause of religion, now shortly expiring, should continue ten 'years longer, and that they would take into their confederation, all 'who receiv'd the Augustan confession.' To this diet Guillaume de Bellay Seigneur de Langey (imploy'd from Francis) came likewise. But his advices, though for the most part conformable to our kings, were not so acceptable. For as Francis by confederating himself with the Turk (that formidable enemy of Germany) had disoblig'd the whole nation on the one side ; so by burning divers evangelicks in France, he had on the other side much incens'd them all against him ; which displeasure, being fomented many ways by Ferdinand, had interclud'd almost all correspondence betwixt them, till by Monsieur de Langey's industry it was reviv'd. Who to appease them alledg'd not only some excusatory letters formerly sent, but said his master could not make any alliance, nor lend any aid to any prince against them. Nor would burn any for holding the tenents of the Augustan confession, unless they were both authors of dissention in his kingdom, and despighted the ancient ceremonies of the Church.

After which in private conference with their divines, he declar'd that the king his master was not averse to most of their tenents set down in Melancthon's *Loci Communes*; and particularly that he did not hold the pope's supremacy to be founded *jure Divino*, but *humano*; though Henry VIII. (he said) denied it either way. That purgatory, being the ground of the mass, and all their gainful doctrine, he had requir'd by what place in the Scripture they prov'd it: to which all the answer they made, after divers months space, was, that they would not give their adversaries weapons which might afterwards be return'd or retorted on themselves. As for monasteries, he said, that he thought it might be obtain'd of the pope, that none who were not of some ripe age, should vow themselves to that life: or, if they did, they might leave it and marry if they would. But by no means, that his master would have them thrown down, or the revenues taken away, but rather employ'd towards the bringing up of youth in learning and piety. And for marriage of priests, he thought this the best expedient, that men already married, might (notwithstanding their wives) be admitted to execute the priesthood; but for others, they should not marry, or if they would, they should relinquish the priesthood. As for communion under both kinds, that the king had heretofore spoken with Clement VII. at Marseilles, and that he thought it might be obtain'd of this pope, that free use of both might be granted according to the conscience of him that took it; alledging for this purpose from the king his master, how he had heard from ancient men, that about 120 years ago, it was the manner to communicate in both kinds, in the chapels or oratories, but not in the body or middle of the church. Nevertheless, that the kings of France receiv'd it ever in both kinds. Which when his said master urg'd, the priests did answer him, that kings were anointed, and therefore might communicate in both kinds as well as they. For the Scriptures speak of the royal priesthood, but it was not lawful for others to do so. That in the common and ordinary prayers, the king did acknowledge that many things might be cut off, many things should be wholly taken away. And that the care hereof was heretofore committed by Clement to the Cardinal de la Cruz, though not with any good success. In conclusion, he exhorted them to send some of their chief divines to confer with those he had in Paris; and that he would make such a choice, as if some that were appointed, were vehement and eager, he would also join others that were mild and temperate persons to treat with them, to the intent that all parts being discuss'd, the truth might appear. In the mean while he exhorted them by no means to give ear, or agree to any council, until they knew his mind and the King of England's, who both were resolv'd to do nothing but by a mutual consent. As for those who had power to call it, that his predecessor Louis was of opinion, that it belong'd to the emperors and kings, and that the King of Navarre



was of the same mind ; but that Pope Julius proscribing or excommunicating them both, Ferdinand of Spain took that occasion to conquer Navarre. Nevertheless, that the king his master confest no council was authentical, unless it were both assembled in so safe a place, and held in so free a manner, as no man might suffer for speaking his conscience. After all which, the said Monsieur de Langey did sollicite them much, to enter into a strict league with the king his master. But they, whether out of favour for Ferdinand and the emperor, with whom they had lately made their peace, or, that otherwise they were not sufficiently satisfied of the French king's proceedings, formerly mention'd, refus'd this. So that Monsieur de Langey (though professing on the present pope's part, that if matters were orderly carried, he would be content to comply in many things for a common good and peace) return'd without effecting any thing. And thus out of I know not what mistaking or obstinacy, this great overture for bringing all the differences in religion, to a moderate and uniform accord, was interrupted and broken off ; it being probable that Francis would have subscrib'd to the tenents of religion, which himself propos'd, when he had found them conformable for the rest. But as Monsieur de Langey told them, they might afterwards repent their neglect of so great an offer ; so it prov'd true, as by the sequence will appear. For Francis who would have been glad, both that the power which the pope usurp'd over kings were something diminish'd, and the abovesaid articles in religion establish'd, finding there was now no probability of an union, thought it safer to rule by his ancient maxims, than to run the trouble and hazard of a reformation. Yet I find by an original from Christopher Mount (Sept. 7.) a German, and agent of our king's, then in France, that Monsieur de Langey did once receive from the Protestants certain articles concerning pacification in religion, which he deliver'd the king his master ; which thereupon being perus'd, mitigated and chang'd by the Sorbon or Parisian divines, were again return'd to the Protestants, who likewise advising of them, said they would tolerate this change, *modo spes concordie hinc accessura sit*. But this was before Langey's oration above-mention'd, and perchance before they knew or had taken particular notice of the French king's actions formerly deliver'd. I find also, by the same original, that Mount was commanded by our king to hasten to Germany, and to dehort Melancthon from going to France, whither he was invited by that king, and to persuade him hither. For as about this time the German Protestants desir'd both friendship and accommodation in religion with King Henry and Francis, into whose hands they put the arbitrement of their differences, so both princes sought to make use of Melancthon ; especially our king ; having, as I find in the instructions to Mount, a great opinion of his virtue, learning, temperance and gravity, and therefore desir'd his presence here, both for

framing an accord with the Germans, and (when that succeeded not) for appeasing the differences of religion in his kingdom, it being thought a fit work for that pious and modest man, however he be branded by some *tanquam de omni religione securus*. But if Mount's relation of his conference with Monsieur de Langey may be intirely believ'd, or (if you will) Monsieur de Langey himself; one of the points the said Protestants would have agreed to, was, '*Se ferre posse primatum Episcopi Romani, ad servandum doctrinæ consensum in ecclesia modo secundum Dei verbum omnia judicet.*' Langey himself confessing, '*Impossibile esse probari primatum episcopi ex Dei verbo.*' And that this point was so far acknowledg'd by Clement VII. that he said he was content, '*Ut primatus hic positius jure deferatur;*' and that the more learn'd cardinals in Rome were of this opinion. But these things I leave to the credit of Mount, the discreet and diligent Sleiden not mentioning any such moderation on either side, and Mount himself giving indeed no other authority for this, but Monsieur de Langey's word by way of discourse, who yet when he was demanded for a sight of the articles and censure above-related, excus'd himself.

This year some letters from Sevil in Spain, extant among our records, advertis'd our king, that a million of gold was brought the emperor from Peru, yet that it was thought to be gotten rather out of the spoils of the country than otherwise; no rich mines being then found. Nevertheless, that the inhabitants of Andaluzia flock'd thither in so great numbers, that the country was almost left empty. Which intelligence, though of great consideration, was yet pass'd over; the king being intentive wholly to the settling of religion, and the right of succession, which I find he did with all industry procure.

It appears by our histories, that this year great brass ordnance, as canon and culverins, were first cast in England, by one John Owen, they having been formerly made only in other countries, and far from the perfection of which they are at this present, as may be seen in Tartaglia, and some other ancient authors.

Queen Katharine, or (as the king commanded her to be call'd) the Princess Dowager, finding now no assistance but spiritual from the pope, nor reparation procur'd by the emperor but incertain and slow, and for the rest grieving at the prosperity and fruitfulness of Queen Anne (now with child again, whereof yet she miscarried) fell (Jan. 29. 1536) into her last sickness at Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the three and thirtieth since her coming into England; during which time, though comforted by the king and Eustachio Chapuys, doctor of both laws, and ambassador resident from Charles, she fell so desperately ill, as finding death now coming, she caus'd a maid attending on her, to write to the king to this effect:

'My most dear lord, king and husband,—The hour of my death

'now approaching, I cannot chuse, but out of love I bear you, advise you of your soul's health, which you ought to prefer before all considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever. For which yet you have cast me into many calamities, and your self into many troubles. But I forgive you all ; and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest, I commend unto you, Mary our daughter, beseeching you to be a good father unto her, as I have heretofore desir'd. I must intreat you also, to respect my maids, and give them in marriage, which is not much, they being but three ; and to all my other servants, a year's pay besides their due, lest otherwise they should be unprovided for : lastly, I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things.

'Farewell.'

Besides which letter she dictated another to Eustachius, desiring him to procure, that the emperor might put our king in mind of her request, when otherwise he forgot it,

The king having receiv'd her letter, became so compassionate, that he wept ; but her death (Jan. 8.) being related shortly after, he caus'd her goods (which I find estimated to 5000 marks) to be imploy'd towards the funeral chiefly, and after to those that deserv'd recompence ; and her body to be buried with due solemnity in the monastery at Peterborough, which for the honour of her memory, King Henry reserv'd (when all the rest fell) and erected it to a bishop's see. The news whereof, not long after, being brought to the emperor, troubled him much, as holding his aunt in singular esteem. But as he considered, that in her death all causes of hostility were ceas'd ; and that, besides, it concern'd him more to defend himself against the Turk, than to pursue the execution of the pope's ban (though once undertaken by him) he endeavour'd nothing more than to close handsomely with our king. Nevertheless, as he was discreet and magnanimous, he would not fully discover himself till he had sounded first our king's disposition. After which (as I find mention'd in the instruction of our king to Doctor Richard Pace) Charles (by his resident ambassador here) propos'd a renovation of the ancient amity upon these conditions. 'I. That our king would be reconciled to the pope, wherein he offer'd his mediation. II. That our king would aid him against the Turk. III. That (according to the treaty 1518.) he would help him against the French who now threatned Milan.' To which our king answer'd ; 'That the first breach of amity proceeded from the emperor, which if he will acknowledge, and excuse, King Henry is contented to renew it, simply and absolutely ; as for the conditions propos'd. I. Touching the Bishop of Rome, the proceedings against him have been so just, and so ratified by the parliament of England, that it cannot be revok'd. Therefore, though the bishop himself hath made means to him for reconciliation, yet it hath been refus'd.



'II. For aid against the Turk, when Christian princes shall be at peace, then King Henry will do therein as to a Christian prince belongeth. III. For aid against France, he cannot resolve on that, till the amity be renewed with the emperor, that so being indifferent friend to both, he may freely travel, either to keep peace between them, or to aid the injur'd party.' And these answers of the king's, Pace was to signifie to the emperor then (April.) at Rome, and to urge him to renew the amity without any such conditions ; but, as the emperor hearkned not thereunto, so King Henry, thinking of nothing less than embracing his friendship on those terms, imploy'd his care chiefly how to defend his kingdom against the threatned invasions. And therefore, as he had often experimented the love and obedience of his subjects, so in his important occasions at this time, he resolv'd to make use of them, commanding thereupon, the parliament, which had been prorogu'd, to sit Feb. 4 : in which many acts pass'd ; the most material whereof I have set down briefly, not always according to the order observ'd in the statute-book, but rather according to the matters handled, remitting the reader for the rest to the statutes themselves. My intention being not to make an abstract of them otherwise than may serve for the illustration of the times, and my history.

Whereas the trial and punishment of pirates was heretofore according to the forms of the civil law, it was now order'd, that it should be determin'd by the king's commission, in like form as offences done upon land, no benefit of clergy yet being permitted to those who were convicted : nevertheless, distinction to be made between pirates, and those who took something at sea out of necessity : as is to be seen in the statute more largely.

Order also was taken upon penalty, that all they who had parks, should keep two or more mares, according to the greatness of the parks, of thirteen handfuls high, for breed of strong horses ; and that the stallions should be fourteen handfuls high at least : and this was much to the increase of good horses.

The course of suing forth gifts and grants made under the king's signet manual, and the clerks of the signet's fees also were set down.

Also because many men by will made feoffments of their lands to secret uses, whereby the king and the lords lost their wards, etc. It was order'd, that the possession of lands shall be adjudg'd to be in him that hath the use thereof.

Order also was taken, that no land should pass by bargain and sale, unless it be by writing indented, seal'd and inroll'd. And this prevented many mistakes, and took away much deceit.

And now because some statutes following give me occasion to speak of Wales, it will not be displeasing to the reader (I hope) to set down those reasons, which I conceive were the true motives of them.

Wales, and the marches thereof, now having been for a long time so

distinguish'd, as the maritime parts thereof were held by the remnant of the ancient Britons, or natives of this island, the other by those who had got ground upon them, much diversity of government was us'd. For as the kings of England heretofore had many times brought armies to conquer that country, defended both by mountains and a stout people, without yet reducing them to a final and intire obedience; so they resolv'd at last to give all that could be gain'd there to those who would attempt it. Whereupon many valiant and able nobles and gentlemen won much land from the Welsh : which, as gotten by force, was by permission of the kings then reigning, held for divers ages, in that absolute manner, as *jura regalia* were exercis'd in them by the conquerors. Yet, in those parts which were gotten at the king's only charge, (being not a few) a more regular law was observ'd. Howsoever, the general government was not only severe, but various in many parts : insomuch, that in about some 141 lordships marchers which were now gotten, many strange and discrepant customs were practis'd (as will appear hereafter.) Howbeit, in the greater part, which was the king's, and particularly those in the east, west, and North-Wales, being about this time administred by my great grand-father Sir Richard Herbert (son of Sir Richard Herbert, renown'd for that alone he pass'd and return'd twice through an hostile army at the battel in Banbury-field, 8 Edw. IV.) such justice was us'd, as I find him in our records highly commended to the king's council by Rowland Lee, now president of Wales. So that they were govern'd in general according to the laws of England ; the lords marchers (who conquer'd at their own cost) ruling yet by their own laws and customs, and substituting officers at their pleasure, who again committed such rapines, as nothing almost was safe or quiet in those parts : whereupon this statute was made.

Whereas manifold robberies, murders, and other male-facts be daily practis'd and committed in the county-palatine of Chester and Flintshire in Wales, and also in Anglesea, Caernarvon, Merioneth, Cardigan, Carmarthen, Pembroke and Glamorgan, because justice is not ministred there in such form as in other places of this realm. For remedy whereof, it is enacted, that the lord chancellor of England, or keeper of the great seal, shall nominate and appoint justices of peace, justices of the *quorum*, and justices of the gaol-delivery in the said counties, and that they shall have like power and authority as those in England, etc. And by this means one kind of justice was establish'd in the said county-palatine of Chester, and the shires aforesaid : so that offenders now were kept in awe, being not able, as before, to escape and fly from one lordship marcher to another. Another act also was made to this purpose.

Whereas in Wales and the marches, there were divers and many forests belonging either to the king or the lords marchers, wherein

sundry actions had been us'd a long time, contrary to the law of God and man; insomuch, that if any enter'd the said forests without a token given (by some of the foresters or walkers of it) to let him pass, or unless he were a yearly tributer or chenser, he was forc'd to pay a grievous fine; but if he were found 24 foot out of the high-way, then to forfeit all the gold or money about him, and a joynt of one of his hands, unless he fined for it at the discretion of the forester, or farmer of the same. And whereas likewise, if any cattle stray'd into the said forests, it was the custom of the foresters to mark him for their own with the mark of the forest: order was now given, that people should be suffer'd to pass freely, as in other places, and estray'd cattel within a year and a day to be restor'd again, the owners paying for the herbage.

That whereas by the gifts of kings of England, heretofore, divers of the most ancient prerogatives and authorities of justice appertaining to the imperial crown of this realm, have been sever'd and taken from the same; it was now enacted, that no person from the first of July, 1536. should have power and authority to pardon or remit treasons, murthers, man-slaughters, or any felonies, or their accessaries in any part of England, Wales, or the marches of the same. That likewise none should make justices of oyer, justices of assize, justices of peace, or justices of gaol-delivery, but they should be made by the king's letters patents: and that all original writs, and judicial writs, and all manner of indictments of treason, felony, and trespass, and all manner of process should be made in the king's name; and things done against the king's peace, should be suppos'd as done against the king's peace, and not against the peace of any other person. Notwithstanding which, divers priviledges were permitted, as is to be seen in the statutes. By all which, as the vast power invested anciently in those who had counties palatine and *jura regalia* in lordships marchers may appear; so we may observe how the restoring of them to the crown, hath establish'd an uniform justice, and taken away the occasions of many mischiefs done within the jurisdictions and precincts of the said counties palatine, and lordships marchers, as is before-recited; which, though a great benefit and ease to the Welsh, yet as they were under many constraints, they hop'd his highness would further extend his goodness to them: and thus some (as in their name) speak to this effect;

'May it please your highness,

'We, on the part of your highness's subjects, inhabiting that portion  
'of the island which our invaders first called Wales, most humbly  
'prostrate at your highness's feet, do crave to be receiv'd and adopted  
'into the same laws and priviledges which your other subjects enjoy:  
'neither shall it hinder us (we hope) that we have liv'd so long under



'our own. For as they were both enacted by authority of our ancient 'law-givers, and obey'd for many successions of ages, we trust your 'highness will pardon us, if we thought it neither easie nor safe so 'suddenly to relinquish them. We shall not presume yet to compare 'them with these now us'd, and less shall we contest how good and 'equal in themselves they are. Only, if the defence of them and our 'liberty against the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, for so many hundred 'years, and lastly, against the Normans, as long as they pretended no 'title but the sword, was thought just and honourable, we presume it 'will not be infamous now; and that all the marks of rebellion and 'falshood, which our revilers would fasten on us, will fall on any, 'sooner than those who fought for so many years, and with so different 'nations, for our just defence: which also is so true, that our best 'histories affirm the Christian religion to have been preserv'd only by 'us for many years, that the Saxons (being heathen) either attempted 'or possess'd this country. May your highness then graciously inter- 'pret our actions, while we did but that duty which your highness 'would have now done by all your subjects on like occasion: for when 'any should invade this country henceforth, we know your highness 'would have us to behave our selves no otherwise. Besides, had not 'the assailers found some to resist, they might have despis'd a country, 'that brought none forth able enough to assert it: so that we crave 'pardon, sir, if we say it was fit for the honour of your dominions, that 'some part of it should never be conquer'd. We then in the name of 'whatsoever in your highness's possession hath in any age held out 'against all invaders, do here voluntarily resign, and humble our selves 'to that sovereignty, which we acknowledge so well invested in your 'highness. Nor is this the first time; we have always attended an 'occasion to unite our selves to the greater and better parts of the 'island.

'But as the kings of this realm, weary of their attempts in person 'against us, did formerly give not only our country to those who could 'conquer it, but permitted them *jura regalia*, within their several pre- 'cincts: so it was impossible to come to an agreement, while so many 'that undertook this work, usurp'd martial and absolute power and 'jurisdiction in all they acquir'd, without establishing any equal justice. 'And that all offenders for the rest, flying from one lordship marcher ' (for so they were term'd) to another, did both avoid the punishment 'of the law, and easily commit those robberies, which have formerly 'tainted the honour of our parts. So that until the rigorous laws, not 'only of the several conquerors of England, but the attempters on our 'parts, were brought to an equal moderation no union, how much so- 'ever affected by us, could ensue.

'Therefore, and not sooner, we submitted our selves to Edward I., a 'prince who made both many and equaller laws than any before him.

'Therefore we defended his son Edward II., when not only the English  
'forsook him, but our selves might have recover'd our former liberty,  
'had we desir'd it. Therefore we got victories for Edward III., and  
'stood firm during all the dissentions of this realm to his grandchild  
'and successor Richard II. Only if some amongst us resisted Henry  
'IV., your highness may better suppose the reason than we tell it ;  
'though divers foreigners openly refusing to treat with him as a  
'sovereign and lawful prince, have sufficiently publish'd it. We did  
'not yet decline a due obedience to Henry V., though in doubtful  
'times, we cannot deny, but many refractory persons have appear'd.  
'Howsoever, we never joyn'd our selves with the English rebels, or  
'took occasion thereby to recover our liberty, though in Richard II  
'time, and during all the civil wars betwixt Lancaster and York, much  
'occasion was given. For adhering to the house of York, which we  
'conceiv'd the better title, we conserv'd our devotion still to the crown,  
'until your highness's father's time, who (bearing his name and blood  
'from us) was the more chearfully assisted by our predecessors in his  
'title to the crown, which your highness doth presently enjoy. And  
'thus, sir, if we gave anciently proof of a generous courage in defend-  
'ing our laws and country, we have given no less proof of a loyal  
'fidelity since we first rendered our selves. Insomuch, that we may  
'truly affirm, that after our acceptance of the condition given us by  
'Edward I., we have omitted no occasion of performing the duty of  
'loving subjects. Neither is there any thing that comforts us more,  
'than that all those controversies about succession (which so long  
'wasted this land) are determin'd in your highness's person ; in whom  
'we acknowledge both houses to be happily united. To your highness  
'therefore we offer all obedience, desiring only that we may be defended  
'against the insulting of our malignant censurers : for we are not the  
'off-spring of the Run-away Britains (as they term us ;) but natives of  
'a country, which, besides defending it self, receiv'd all those who  
'came to us for succours. Give us then (sir) permission to say, that  
'they wrong us much, who pretend our country was not inhabited  
'before then, or that it fail'd in a due piety, when it was so hospital to  
'all that fled thither for refuge : which also will be more credible when  
'it shall be remembred, that even our highest mountains furnish good  
'beef and mutton, not only to all the inhabitants, but supply England  
'in great quantity. We humbly beseech your highness therefore, that  
'this note may be taken from us. As for our language, though it seem  
'harsh, it is that yet which was spoken anciently, not only in this  
'island, but in France : some dialects whereof therefore remain still  
'amongst the Bas Bretons there, and here in Cornwall. Neither will  
'any man doubt it, when he shall find those words of the ancient  
'Gaulish language repeated by the Latin authors, to signifie the same  
'thing amongst us at this day : nor shall it be a disparagement (we

'hope) that it is spoken so much in the throat, since the Florentine and Spaniard affect this kind of pronunciation, as believing words that sound so deep, proceed from the heart. So that if we have retain'd this language longer than the more northern inhabitants of this island (whose speech appears manifestly to be a kind of English, and consequently introduc'd by the Saxons) we hope it will be no imputation to us ; your highness will have but the more tongues to serve you : it shall not hinder us to study English, when it were but to learn how we might the better serve and obey your highness : to whose laws we most humbly desire again to be adopted, and doubt not, but if in all countries the mountains have afforded as eminent wits and spirits as any other part, ours also by your highness's good favour and imployment may receive that esteem.'

The king now considering that it was but reasonable to unite this part of the kingdom to the rest, and that their loyalty besides had deserv'd as much as they were suitors for, caus'd an act to be past for executing justice in Wales, in manner as is in England, and reduc'd the lordship marchers to shire-ground. The statute is to this effect :

That albeit the dominion, principality and country of Wales, be a member and part of the temporal crown of this realm, whereof therefore the king is head and ruler ; yet, as it hath divers rights, usages, laws and customs discrepant from the laws and customs of this realm, and because their language is different from that which is spoken here, and that many rude people hereupon have made distinction and diversity betwixt his highness's other subjects, and them, to the causing of much discord and sedition : his highness therefore, out of his love and favour to his subjects in Wales, and for reducing them to his laws, doth by advice and consent of his parliament ordain and enact, that Wales should be unite and incorporate henceforth to and with his realm of England ; and that his subjects should enjoy and inherit all singular freedoms, liberties, rights, privileges and laws which his highness's subjects elsewhere enjoy and inherit. And therefore, that inheritances should descend after the manner of England, without division or partition, and not after any tenure or form of Welsh laws or customs. And forasmuch as there are divers lordships marchers within the said country or dominion in Wales, being no parcel of any other shires where the laws and due correction is us'd and had, and that in them and the countries adjoining, manifold murders, robberies, felonies, and the like, have been done, contrary to all law and justice, because the offenders, making their refuge from one lordship marcher to another, were continued without punishment and correction ; therefore it was enacted, that the said lordships marchers should be united, annexed, and join'd to divers shires specified in the said act.

Whereupon 24 lordships marchers were united to Monmouthshire,



and the laws of England enjoin'd in them ; 16 to Brecknockshire ; 16 to Radnorshire ; 11 to Montgomeryshire ; and 10 to Denbighshire ; 7 to Shropshire, which were reduc'd again to certain hundreds, as Doun to Cherbury, etc., 10 to Herefordshire, and they likewise reduc'd to hundreds three ; and all the lordships, etc. betwixt Chepstowbridge and Gloucestershire to Gloucestershire ; and they again reduc'd to one hundred : 17 to Glamorganshire ; 8 to Carmarthenshire ; 13 to Pembrokehire ; 4 to Cardiganshire ; 1 to Merionethshire : by which it appears how much of Wales is continued entire, and how much was gotten by the lords marchers. After this again, many priviledges were given to the lords marchers, in regard of the service their ancestors rendred the crown heretofore, in conquering those parts at their own cost ; concerning which histories, records, etc. may be seen, to which I refer my self.

Also power was given to the king to alter anything in this act, within the space of three years next ensuing, whereof we shall speak again, 34 Hen. VIII. c. 26. More also is extant hereof, 1 Edw. VI. 10. and 21 Jacobi 10. where through that king's goodness, all power for altering the laws in Wales is repeal'd.

I will now come to certain acts of parliament concerning ecclesiastical matters ; of which kind there are four chiefly.

I. Having relation to one formerly recited out of 26 Hen. VIII. whereby the first-fruits and tenths were given for more augmentation of maintenance of the king's royal dignity, of the supream head of the Church of England, doth now declare, that no tenth shall be exacted that year wherein first-fruits are paid.

II. Whereas 25 Hen. VIII. it was enacted, that the clergy in their convocations shall make no constitutions without the king's assent ; as also, that the king should have authority to nominate sixteen spiritual, and sixteen temporal persons to examine the canons and constitutions aforesaid, the said acts were now confirm'd.

III. Order was given about sanctuarymen, that they should wear badges to be known by, and no weapons : that they should not go abroad but at due hours, and not resist their governors, etc.

IV. A court of augmentation was erected, whereby order was taken concerning the religious houses that were surrendred or suppress'd ; and how the king's revenue should be increas'd thereby, and officers for this purpose appointed.

These marks of the king's sovereignty being thus premis'd, I shall come to the act of suppression of religious houses under 200 $\frac{1}{2}$  yearly. Which though lamented by many, and noways so excus'd, that I know, as by the king's necessities, had yet those motives. The vicious and incorrigible life of monastical persons, confess'd, by the whole parliament : the lands not employ'd according to the intent of the donors and founders ; divers superstitions and forgings of miracles practis'd

amongst them ; that when those under 200*l.* yearly were taken away, there remain'd yet many great and religious houses : that they were the seminary of those that oppos'd the regal authority in ecclesiastical matters ; to which some have thought the reason formerly touch'd might be added, that the parliament was willing to lay the burthen of furnishing the king's necessities from themselves. And the rather, that the king promis'd to employ some of the revenues to other religious uses : as founding of bishopricks, deaneries and chapters, and the like. Which indeed follow'd though not mentioned in the statute. Howsoever, the statute without any formal preamble in the publish'd book, begins bluntly thus : his majesty shall have and enjoy to him and his heirs for ever, all monasteries, priories, and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns of what habit, order or rule soever, which have not in lands and revenue above the clear yearly value of 200*l.* as also all such religious houses, which at any time within one year's space preceding, have been given up and granted by any abbot, prior, abbess, or prioress, under their convent seal ; reserving yet all right to others by lease and otherwise, and particularly the right of the heirs and successors of the founders, patrons, or donors to any possession, rent, fee, or office, according to the true intention : as also all ornaments, jewels, goods, chattels and debts, belonging to the said religious houses : nevertheless, that hospitality and husbandry should be kept by the farmers of the said religious houses, and the lands belonging to them, upon the penalty of paying every month six pound thirteen shillings and fourpence. The king also (as I find in the parliament roll) allow'd the governors of these houses pensions during their lives, and translated some of the religious persons into other greater foundations.

And thus were the lesser monasteries dissolv'd, with care yet that hospitality should be preserv'd ; for which reason also our king did pass them away at such easie rates. Nevertheless, as the penalty being not ordinarily requir'd, due hospitality was for the most part neglected : so that forfeitures being great, were at the supplication of the parliament, 21 Jacobi, wholly abolish'd at length, by the indulgence of that king. Notwithstanding, it is probable, that not on this occasion only, the abbey lands were scattered and distributed into so many hands, since Cromwell forget not to tell his king, that 'the more had 'interest in them, the more they would be irrevocable.' But whatsoever the reasons were, it is certain, that use was not made of them which might have been, while the revenue of the crown was so little improv'd thereby. Since it is clear, that if the profits of those which were dissolv'd, had been employ'd for a settled entertaining and payment of a royal army at land, and a great fleet at sea, (which as they were the third or fourth part of the revenues of the land, might have been easily done) our king, without having recourse to any other means,

might (besides securing his realm) have given the law in great part to all his neighbours. And now of these ancient monuments of devotion, 376 being dissolv'd, a revenue of about thirty or thirty two thousand pounds yearly, fell into the king's hands, besides goods and chattels ; which at low rates were valued at 100,000*l*. The people (especially they that got nothing thereby) in the mean while being griev'd to see the monks and nuns wandring abroad, and the churches and chapels perverted to secular and prophane uses ; so that they began to murmur ; which being again fomented by some religious persons turn'd to rebellion, as shall be told hereafter. The respect also given to the relics there, and some pretended miracles fell ; insomuch, as I find by our records, that a piece of St. Andrew's finger, (cover'd only with an ounce of silver) being laid to pledge by a monastery for forty pounds, was left unredeem'd at the dissolution of the said house ; the king's commissioners (who upon surrender of any foundation, undertook to pay the debts thereof) refusing to return the price again.

This fall of abbeys yet did but set forwards the king's designs with the confederate princes and towns in Germany ; who understanding hereof, and believing now the king would wholly renounce all papistry, and knowing besides that Queen Anne was disaffected to their adverse party, as her greatest enemies, thought fit to make (Dec. 25.) our king's orators (yet at Smalcald) these propositions, as our records shew.

'I. That he should approve and embrace the Augustan confession, 'unless some things shall be alter'd therein, by common consent, according to the Scripture.

'II. And, secondly, in a free council, if any be, shall defend it with 'them.

'III. That neither part should admit any summons for a council, or 'agree upon a place for the sitting of it, without the others consent ; 'yet that if such a council were offer'd, as Vergerius the pope's legate 'now propos'd ; that is to say, free and pious, that it should not be 'refus'd.

'IV. That if the pope proceeded otherwise, that they should oppose 'and protest publickly against him.

'V. That the king should join himself, as to their doctrine, so 'to their league ; and thereupon accept the title of patron and defender 'of it.

'VI. That the vulgar opinion *de primatu pontificis* should be re- 'jected for ever.

'VII. That if either of the contrahents be invaded for religion, the 'other shall give no aid against him.

'VIII. That the king shall pay 100,000 crowns towards the defence 'of the league, and if the war be long, 200,000 crowns upon 'condition, that what was remaining should be restor'd when the war 'was ended.



'IX. That when the king hath declar'd his mind herein, they will send an ambassage of learned men to him.'

These propositions being communicated by Cromwell to the Bishop of Winchester, then in France, the bishop return'd this advice : 'That if the first article were accorded, the king shall do nothing without their consent, tho' otherwise he be bound in conscience to reform his Church. To the rest, that he conceives no good nor honourable league can be made with those inferior princes for religion, without the emperor, whom the king must allow to be supream head of Germany, as his majesty is of England. Again that they could give King Henry no reciproke, as lying at that distance : finally, he admonish'd, that they be mov'd to approve the king's title, since he had understood in France, that they would not agree thereto, lest they should thereby grant the emperor the same authority over their persons.' In sequence whereof, March 12. 1536. the Bishop of Hereford, and the other orators now at Wittenberg, return'd the Protestants this answer : 'That the king their sovereign lik'd their propositions with some corrections ; and that though all were quiet here, and no cause why he should fear any attempts, or when they were, that it was taken away by the death of the late queen ; yet, for restoring as well as retaining the true doctrine, he was content to disburse the sum requir'd, if once the league were made ; whereof therefore he would treat at large with their commissioners, whom they promis'd to send. As for the honour they did him, in constituting him patron and defender of the league, that he render'd them due thanks, and acknowledg'd their good will. And though he understood well, to how much envy this charge was expos'd, yet that for the publick good he would not refuse it, when they could agree among themselves concerning the first and second article. For unless there were an union and consent in doctrine, that he should get no honour by undertaking it. Therefore that he desir'd their learned men and his should concur ; for until some places of their confession and apology were mollified by private conference, that there was small hope of an agreement. Therefore, that he desir'd much that they would send some commissioners for this purpose, and among them, some one eminent for his learning, who might confer with his divines of the doctrine and essential part of religion, as well as ceremonies of the Church. That since he was so liberal to them, he hop'd they would not refuse, if any made war against him, to furnish for four months 500 foot, or 10 ships equipp'd at their cost : and at his cost, 2000 horse and 5000 foot, or in lieu of these foot, 12 ships equipped ; which the king shall keep and maintain as long as his occasions require. Lastly, that they should approve the sentence given by the divines of Wittenberg in favour of his divorce, and second marriage, and if any council general were holden should there defend it.'

To all which the Duke of Saxony replying, that he would advise hereof, with the other confederates, this answer finally at a meeting at Francfort, April 24. 1536. was return'd, 'That although divers were 'entred newly into the league, and divers who were at a distance from 'home, had no commission for giving any definitive sentence : not- 'withstanding, that in this meeting it should be resolv'd concerning an 'ambassador to be sent his highness ; and they who could not resolve 'for the present, should declare themselves within the space of one 'month. And that there was no question but they would conform 'themselves to the opinion of the major part.' Whereupon instructions were given for certain orators to be sent to England ; in which yet it was (saith Sleidan) especially provided, that nothing should be treated of to the prejudice of the emperor, or empire. And thus in the name of the confederate cities, Jacobus Sturmius was appointed ; the divines being Melancthon, Bucerus, and Georgius Draco. But as shortly after the death of Queen Anne followed ; so all their proceeding (as Sleidan notes) was stopt, until upon occasion given, it was revived. As for the approbation of the divorce propos'd to the German divines, Luther, Jonas, Philip, and others, the king was judiciously advis'd by his agents from thence, not to require any thing of them which would be too hard to grant ; the king having attain'd his principal intent concerning the council and pope, and the princes being then in such terms with the emperor and Ferdinand, as they desir'd not to offend them without an urgent necessity.

James King of Scotland, having the year before been install'd of the garter, and in sequence thereof instructed with the causes of those changes which had follow'd in religious government, did not yet altogether incline to our king. For as he had an eye to the troubles that might ensue in England concerning succession, as long as the issue of both queens surviv'd ; so he desir'd to strengthen himself by the advice and assistance of Francis : yet being desirous withal to conserve our king's affection ; and knowing also his designs on that part could not be long conceal'd, he thought fit to advertise our king thereof ; discovering himself no farther yet, than that he intended to match in that country : who also approving this, rather than that he should bestow himself in the emperor's family (which he still suspected) gave his consent thereunto, as I find by our records ; yet so as he desir'd the match might be betwixt him and the daughter of the Duke of Vendosme, rather than of Francis : upon condition still that the enterview might precede. But King James, who had no disposition thereunto (though I find in our records, the queen his mother once persuaded him,) resolves to go secretly and in disguis'd habit to France. Whereupon also, commanding some ships to be made ready, he (July 26.) set sail from Leith, not acquainting any yet with his journey ; so that divers thought he purpos'd to land in some part of our king's dominions.

But contrary winds arising, he being demanded what course his pilots should hold, answer'd, to any place but England ; wherewith falling asleep, he was ere he waken'd, by the advice of one of the Hamiltons (as Buchanan hath it) carried back. But at last, opening his eyes, and finding himself at home, he was much offended with the author of this council, and the rather, that he was thought secretly to oppose the match : so that he commanded to set sail again. Coming thus (Aug. 31.) to the Duke of Vendosme's, and his daughter not pleasing him (or rather, the daughter of Francis liking him better) he arrives at Paris, and posting thence to the Lionnois, where Francis was raising an army against the emperor (as shall be told hereafter) he obtain'd the consent of Francis (though not without some reluctancy on his part, and wholly against our king's will) for his daughter Magdalen, whom he married Jan. 1. 1537. The news whereof being brought to our king, troubled him so much, that he writ to Francis, (whom he perfectly lov'd at that time) that his late interview with the pope, and alliance with the Scottish king vexed him no less than it would do a perfect lover, '*De voir sa dame entretenir son mortel enemi :*' whereof more at large in its due place. But as Francis's excuse (allegding it was better he match'd there than with his adversaries) did in some part satisfie our king ; so the new married lady falling into a hectick fever, and dying (July 7. 1537.) the year following, they both soon return'd to some part of their former correspondence.

Our king now, thought by some to be various in his appetite of wives, by others to be only unfortunate in them, had, or found, occasion to cut off Queen Anne ; I shall not yet determine whether princes secret actions be beyond any scrutiny. I will only lay down the particulars, as far as by records, or otherwise I could gather them, remitting the rest to the equal reader.

Queen Anne being now without competitrix for her title, thought her self secure. But prosperity is a dangerous estate to those that use it not reverently. Again, beauty is not always the best keeper of it self. It may be doubted yet whether either of those did concern her ; since she was thought both moderate in her desires, and of discretion enough to make her capable of being trusted with her own perfections, as having liv'd in the French court first, and after in this, with the reputation of a virtuous lady ; insomuch that the whisperings of her enemies could not divert the king's good opinion of her, though yet he was in his own nature more jealous than to be satisfied easily. I do reject all those, therefore, that would speak against her honour in those times they staid in France ; but I shall as little accuse her in this particular of her affairs at this time ; it is enough, that the law hath condemn'd her ; and that whether she, or any else were in fault, is not now to be discuss'd. This is certain, that the king had cast his affection already on Jane Seymour, (daughter to Sir John Seymour, Knight) then attend-



ing on the queen. But whether this alone were enough to procure that tragedy which follow'd, may be doubted in this prince ; for I do not find him bloody, but where law, or at least pretext drawn from thence, did countenance his actions. But suspicion in great and obnoxious minds, is other than in the mild and temperate ; and therefore is to them like a tempest, which though it scarce stir low and shallow waters, when it meets a sea, both vexeth it, and makes it toss all that comes thereon. So that I dare say, nothing hath been author of so much confusion ; since aggravating sometimes that which is ill, sometimes misinterpreting that which is good, it perverts all, and finally leaves the mind without remedy ; how far yet suspicion wrought on our king is not for me to define.

To come then to the narration, I find by our authors, that on May-day there being a solemn justs at Greenwich (wherein George Viscount Rochford, the queen's brother, was chief challenger, and Henry Norreis principal defendant) the king suddenly departed. This much troubled the whole company, especially the queen. No cause hereof is related yet, unless (as Saunders hath it) she let fall a handkerchief, wherewith some one (suppos'd her favourite) did wipe his face, and that this was perceiv'd by the king. But our histories mention not this passage. The queen finding the king thus gone, retires her self. He again hastning to Westminster, takes order to commit the next morning George Lord Rochford, and Henry Norreis to the Tower : after which, her self coming to London in her barge, was apprehended by some of the lords, and carried towards the Tower ; who telling her offence, she exclaim'd that she was wrong'd, and that she desir'd to see the king only before she went ; but in vain, they having no such commission. When she enter'd the Tower, she is said to have fall'n on her knees, beseeching God so to help her, as she was not guilty of that whereof she was accus'd. This was about five in the afternoon, on the second of May. After which, one William Brereton Esquire, and Sir Francis Weston of the king's privy chamber, and one Mark Smeton, a musician, were committed on the same occasion. The queen being thus in the charge of Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, much speech past betwixt them, as appears by an original of his : yet as her language was broken and distracted betwixt tears and laughter, (for she us'd both,) little can be inferr'd thence, only she seem'd to exclaim on Norreis, as if he had accus'd her ; when yet she said, they both should die together. She nam'd others also, and thereupon confess'd, though not enough to condemn her, yet such passages as might argue she took the utmost liberty, that could be honestly allow'd her ; but whether she extended it to any further act, is not there declar'd. For amidst all her discourses, she still protested her self innocent. By other originals also of Kingston's, it appears that he had made some difficulty to carry a letter from her to Mr.

Secretary, and that she wish'd her bishops were there: for they (she said) would go to the king for her; and that the most part of England would pray for her; and that if she died, a punishment would fall on the land; and in effect I find divers bishops and learned men did much honour her, and particularly the Archbishop of Canterbury, who (May 6.) in a consolatory letter to the king, (which I have seen) wrote as much in her behalf as he durst; yet so as he made no apology for her, but rather confesseth that divers of the lords had told him of such faults as he was sorry to hear of; desiring howsoever, that he would continue his love to the gospel, lest it should be thought it was for her sake only he had so favour'd it. After which, another letter in her name, but no original, coming to my hand, from more than one good part, I thought fit to transcribe here, without other credit yet than it is said to be found among the papers of Cromwell then secretary, and for the rest seems ancient and consonant to the matter in question.

'SIR,—Your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me, (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour,) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient profess'd enemy, I no sooner receiv'd this message by him, than I rightly conceiv'd your meaning; and as if as you say, confessing a truth indeed, may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

'But let nor your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof ever preceded. And to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Bolen, with which name and place I could willingly have contented my self, if God and your grace's pleasure had so been pleas'd. Neither did I at any time so far forget my self in my exaltation, or receiv'd queenship, but that I always look'd for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration I know was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire; if then you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter: try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial; and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shames. Then shall you see either mine innocency clear'd, your

‘suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declar’d. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure, and mine offence being so lawfully prov’d, your grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

‘But if you have already determin’d of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desir’d happiness : then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies the instruments thereof, and that He will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me at His general judgment seat, where both you and my self must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently clear’d.

‘My last and only request shall be, that my self may only bear the burthen of your grace’s displeasure ; and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Bolen hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request ; and I will so leave to trouble your grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in His good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this 6th of May.

‘Your most loyal and ever faithful wife,

‘ANNE BOLEN.’

But whether this letter were elegantly written by her, or any else heretofore, I know as little, as what answer might be made thereunto : only I cannot omit to tell, that the king was so little satisfied with her actions or letters, that not content to have gotten proof enough to put her to death, he would further be divorc’d from her ; which also by due order and process of law (as an act of parliament hath it, 28 Hen. VIII.) was perform’d by Cranmer. The causes being not yet set down otherwise, than that they were declar’d just, true and lawful impediments of marriage : I know not how to satisfie the reader therein ; especially since the lady Elizabeth their daughter is hereby pronounc’d illegitimate. For as concerning pre-contracts, I find by an original letter of the Earl of Northumberland (who it seems, might most be suspected) that he disavows it on his part. So that unless he retracted this protestation, or that the contrary were



prov'd I cannot so much as imagine a reason. The letter is thus to Cromwel.

'I PERCEIVE (May 13), that there is supposed a precontract between the queen and me. Whereupon I was not only heretofore examin'd upon mine oath before the archbishops of Canterbury and York ; but also receiv'd the blessed sacrament upon the same, before the Duke of Norfolk, and others the king's council learned in the spiritual law ; assuring you (Mr. Secretary) by the said oath and blessed body, which afore I receiv'd, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my damnation, if ever there were any contract or promise of marriage between her and me.'

But if this were not sufficient, I believe such other cause was produc'd for the divorce, as might satisfie the people, since the act was publick. Neither is it much material which Hall saith, that the validity of this marriage was questioned, because the king married this second wife before he was divorc'd from his first : for it seems contrary to the act of parliament, which saith, that the impediments were, till of late, unknown. Shortly after which she was arraign'd May 15, 1536. before the Duke of Norfolk, high steward of England for the day, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, and others of the peers : and there notwithstanding her discreet answers (as our historians term them) found guilty and judgment pronounc'd accordingly. Immediately after which, the Lord Rochfort her brother, was arraign'd and condemn'd, as also, Henry Norreis Esquire, Mark Smeton groom of the king's privy-chamber, William Brereton Esquire, and Sir Francis Weston Knight, gentlemen of it, (the lord mayor and divers aldermen and citizens being present) and May 17, beheaded : the queen's death yet was respited till the 19th of the same. About which time order being taken that all strangers in the Tower should be remov'd, Kingston in an original to Cromwel writ these words, viz.

'MAY 19. Sir, If we have not an hour certain, as it may be known in London, I think here will be but few : and I think a reasonable number were best ; for I suppose she will declare her self to be a good woman for all men, but for the king, at the hour of her death : for this morning she sent for me, and protested her innocency : and now again, and said unto me, Mr. Kingston, I heard say, I shall not die afore noon, and I am sorry therefore : for I thought to be dead by this time, and pass my pain. I told her it should be no pain, it was so *sotell* (for so is his word.) And then she said, she heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a little neck, and put her hand about it, laughing heartily : I have seen many men and women executed, and they have been in great sorrow ; and to my knowledge, this lady hath much joy and pleasure in death.'

The 19th of May being thus come, the queen, according to the express order given, was brought to a scaffold erected upon the green in the Tower of London, where our historians say, she spake before a great company there assembled, to this effect :

‘ Good Christian people, I am come hither to die ; for according to the law, and by the law I am judg’d to die, and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accus’d, and condemn’d to die. But I pray God save the king, and send him long to reign over you ; for a gentler nor a more merciful prince was there never ; and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and a sovereign lord. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all ; and I heartily desire you all to pray for me.’

After which coming to her devotions, her head was stricken off with a sword.

And thus ended the queen, lamented by many, both as she was desirous to advance learned men, in which number Hugh Latimer Bishop of Worcester, and Nicholas Saxton Bishop of Salisbury, are recounted ; and as she was a great almsgiver ; insomuch, as she is said in three quarters of a year to have bestow’d fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds in this kind, besides monies intended by her towards raising a stock for poor artificers in the realm. Sanders saith, her father died shortly after for grief ; but our heralds affirm, it was not till about two years after, 1538. But that we may leave them both to their grave and silence.

I find by our records, that the Princess Mary did about those times much endeavour to be restor’d to the king her father’s good favour and opinion, as hoping now that the Princess Elizabeth was declar’d illegitimate, she should be receiv’d as heir to the crown : therefore by frequent and earnest letters written with her own hand, she both acknowledgeth her fault of obstinacy heretofore, and craveth instantly from the king to write to her, or send some token as a sign of reconciliation. Upon which submission, our king, by the Duke of Norfolk, sent certain articles for her to subscribe ; which were,

I. Whether she doth recognize the king’s highness for her sovereign lord and king, and will submit her self unto his highness and all laws of the realm.

II. Whether she will with all her power obey and maintain all the statutes of the realm.

III. Whether she will recognize the king’s highness to be supream head in earth of the Church of England, and utterly refuse the Bishop of Rome’s pretended power, or any interest she hath or may have thereby.

IV. Whether she doth freely recognize and knowledge both by

God's law and man's law the marriage heretofore had between his majesty and her mother, to be unlawful.

V. For what causes, and by whose motion and means she hath remain'd in her obstinacy so long.

VI. What is the cause she at this time above all others submitteth, and who mov'd her hereunto.

In satisfaction to which she return'd a subscription, signing with her own name the four first articles, but concerning the other two, she demurr'd ; some persons being interested therein whom she would not discover.

What effect follow'd hereupon appears not otherwise, than that notwithstanding this and other submissions, the king proceeded to his intended marriage ; which also he so hastned, as some say the day following Queen Anne's death, others not till three days after, he caus'd it to be solemniz'd ; as not thinking it fit to mourn long, or much, for one the law hath declar'd criminal ; concerning the ceremony whereof, as well as the opinion held in these times of the different perfections of the king, and his two queens, I shall out of our records produce the censure of Sir John Russel (afterwards Earl of Bedford) who having been at church, observ'd the king to be the goodliest person there ; but of the queens gave this note, that the richer Queen Jane was in cloaths, the fairer she appear'd ; but that the other, the richer she was apparel'd, the worse she look'd ; but this queen certainly deserv'd all the favour done her, as being reputed the discreetest, fairest, and humblest of the king's wives ; though both Queen Katherine in her younger days, and the late queen, were not easily parallel'd. But we will leave them a while, and come unto foreign businesses now a long time intermitted.

Businesses betwixt our king and the Roman see were not so desperate, but that divers overtures on either side were made for an accommodation ; for while the pope fear'd, lest our king, together with renouncing the Roman Church's authority, would relinquish the religion, he not only cover'd his inward and deep displeasure, but secretly permitted treaties in divers kinds with our king, and particularly invited him to a war against the Turk ; who also gladly entertain'd the motion, as hoping the pope would not so soon joyn Christian princes against him. Insomuch that Sir Gregory Casalis now residing agent at Rome, the pope about May 20. sent for him, and told him, that ' he heard of ' the queen's imprisonment ; and was glad that God having freed the ' king from this unequal matrimony, had offer'd his majesty occasion ' of gaining eternal honour, by making peace between the emperor and ' French king ; which might be now done by joining with the Roman ' see. As for himself, that he never did him but good offices, as having ' urg'd Clement VII. to right him in his divorce, and at Bononia, ' (being then cardinal) persuaded the emperor to suffer it with patience.



‘As for Rochester, that he made him cardinal only to use him in the ensuing council ; and when his death was related, being solicited and ‘compell’d to revenge it, he could not but yield for the time to do those ‘things *quæ tamen nunquam in animo ad habuit exitum perducere*. ‘Wherefore that he purpos’d to send a nuntio into England, to treat of ‘a peace in Christendom, when our king would hearken thereunto ; ‘whence shall follow a general council, and a war against the Turk.’ And all this he wish’d Sir Gregory to write (as of himself) to our king ; as appears by the original, May 27. Shortly after which, I find that (June 6.) Cardinal Campejus sending hither his brother Marco Antonio about other business, as regaining his bishoprick of Salisbury, and the place of English protector in the next council, attempted to induce our king to a reconciliation : but as the terms propos’d pleas’d not ; so the pope conceiving now all further treaty to be vain, labour’d to unite all Christian princes in a war against him, as a deserter of all papal authority, and an heretick. Therefore he both gain’d Charles (who had long solicited a council) by summoning one to begin at Mantua the year following, May 23. and to oblige James V. he sent him a rich consecrated sword. He found not yet in France that disposition he hop’d for, the overtures of war being thought unseasonable, in a time when a general reformation was expected on the Roman Church’s part. Therefore I find by an original dispatch of Mount’s, how the Bishop of Chalons in Campagne told him, (upon notice taken in France of the breve of the pope, whereby (as aforesaid) he excommunicated our king, and deprived him of his kingdom, and absolv’d his subjects of their oaths of allegiance, unless he return’d to that see, and abrogated those laws were made against the papal authority,) ‘that the Cardinal of Lorain would warn the pope, and advise him not ‘to be so bold with princes, unless he would become a laughing-stock ‘to the world,’ (for these are Mount’s words ;) yet did not Francis fully comply with our king, but held a middle way : for as he approv’d not the pope’s harsh proceeding ; so when our king by his ambassador gave him account of his actions, expecting his approbation, he return’d this answer : that ‘notwithstanding all the king’s realm should agree ‘and condescend never so much to the right and title of succession in ‘the issue of his second marriage, yet when foreign parts shall conceive ‘any other and contrary opinion thereof, great troubles might ensue.’ Whereupon Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, then resident in France, was commanded by our king to tell Francis, ‘that he marvell’d ‘much the king’ his brother, being a wise prince, should so long insist ‘upon these points, since it was ever the manner of lawful kings to ‘pursue their right without demanding the approbation of others. For ‘proof whereof, he said, he could give particular instances in Francis ‘his predecessors, who had done many things contrary to the advice ‘of the popes (when they were beneficial to the kingdom,) and that

'notwithstanding all opposition they had been happily atchiev'd.' Our king was not ignorant, yet, how much it concern'd him to keep Francis in good correspondency, as knowing the desire he had to recover Milan (for his second son the Duke of Orleans) was so vehement, as it would incline him wholly to the emperor, when it might be obtain'd. And in effect I find by Bellay, that the treaty hereof begun the last year, as aforesaid, was still prosecuted; insomuch that Charles gave hope of restoring Milan now upon Sforza's death (who being thought the last of the line of Æneas and Mutius Scævola, dyed about the end of October precedent) to the Duke of Angoulesme the third son of Francis, when he would send the Duke of Orleans his second son to assist him in an intended expedition against Algier, and help to reduce the Protestant princes in Germany, and the King of England to an union with the Church; but Francis reply'd, that to give Milan from his second son to his third, was to cause a perpetual war betwixt two brothers. Therefore that he desir'd it for the Duke of Orleans, in which case also the said duke should renounce all claim to Naples, Florence, Urbin, etc. That to send him to the emperor, upon what pretence soever, was in effect to do nothing but put an hostage into his hand: as for the reformation and re-union of those who had any way separated themselves from the Church, he should be glad to second him as well in Germany as in England. And that for Henry VIII. in particular, he thought fit the emperor should summon all Christian princes and potentates to assist him, and, as Bellay hath it, *donner main fort*, to constrain the said king to obey the sentence and determination of the Church.

During these treaties, the French army under the Comte de St. Paul, advanc'd so far in Savoy, as they had taken all but Montmelian, which yet at last yielded: while those of Geneva, thinking the occasion fair, shook off their obedience to the duke, and by the help of the Protestant Swiss, asserted themselves into the liberty they now enjoy: expelling together their bishop, and changing the form of both their civil and ecclesiastical policy. Of all which the emperor being advertis'd, thought how to gain time, especially till he had reinforc'd his army, not yet fully made up since his late voyage to Tunis, and assur'd himself of the pope: therefore he promis'd the dutchy of Milan to the Duke of Orleans; so that the dutchess, being the relict of Sforza, might be provided for; intending thereby (as my author hath it) that she might be given the Scottish king: yet in the manner of performing thereof so much caution and delay was propos'd, as their former jealousies did but increase. And indeed, neither was the overture of Francis his requiring the emperor to press the pope against our king, more than device to make our king more firm unto him: nor the proposition of the emperor for restoring Milan, other than an invention to gain time, he being resolv'd to

succour Savoy at what price soever : and the rather, that (as is before said) there was a project of giving all that country to the emperor for some other lands in Italy ; whereby also the emperor should have wholly environed France : so that all was but dissimulation on either part. For while these things were treating, the emperor (though injoyning silence to the French, and promising it himself) yet both acquainted the pope with divers passages, and together made him jealous of the intentions of Francis to invade Italy, and drew the Venetians to his side, and made sundry propositions of alliance and friendship with our king, (some whereof we have before shew'd) and rais'd great forces by sea and land, upon pretence of imploying them against infidels : while Francis on the other part, being well inform'd hereof, resolv'd so to proceed in his war, as he neglected nothing which might strengthen himself, or weaken his enemies. Therefore, having with a choice army of fifteen or sixteen thousand, under the command of Chabot Admiral of France, taken the chief places in Savoy, he commanded it to advance over the Alps towards Turin in Piedmont, which was rendred to him, as also divers other places there. And thus it is probable they might have enter'd and taken Milan ; for as the duke was newly dead, and the government unsettled ; so there wanted all things which might serve to defend the country. Nevertheless, out of I know not what scrupulosity or presumption, Francis commanded Chabot to stay until he had sent to demand again the investiture thereof from the emperor in the name of his son the Duke of Orleans. I am not ignorant yet, that some French writers say, that Francis checkt this command by private instructions : but Chabot thought it safer to follow those directions he had under the hand and seal of Francis, than to comply with an intimated and contradictory advice. Howbeit, the overtures of peace continued still (at Naples, where the emperor then was) betwixt both princes, the French ambassador, Monsieur de Velly, alledging, that the business of Savoy was but a particular difference betwixt their king and that duke, and that it should not hinder the general treaty. To which the emperor seem'd to give ear also ; not omitting yet to raise forces daily, nor to march towards Rome, where the pope attended him : having, for the more enlarging his entry (April 5.) to that city, thrown down the relicks of the temple of peace built by the Romans : and indeed, the pope's desire was, he should never put up his sword, till he had reduc'd our king, and the Protestants to their former devotion, and afterwards invaded the Turk. Of which our king being well inform'd, (for no prince had better intelligence) commanded Richard Pace his ambassador, to treat with the emperor, though not with intention to joyn with him, so much as to discover his designs. For I find by Bellay, that our king had acquainted Francis (by means of his ambassador then resident here) with a letter of the emperor's, about this time sent him, wherein the said emperor advertis'd, that he



meant to go to Rome, and what he would say and do there; requesting our king further to interpose offices with Francis for restoring all he had taken in Savoy, and to divert him from attempting Milan. For the rest, desiring our king to forget not only what discontentment soever had past betwixt them by reason of the divorce with Queen Katharine (since she being dead, all cause of offence was ceas'd) but to renew their ancient treaties of confederation and amity, and together to assist him against the Turk. So, that by this free communication of the emperor's letters, as well as by an advertisement which I find Francis gave our king of certain following passages at Rome, one may perceive what strait correspondence was then held betwixt them. Howsoever, Pace in his negotiation found, that the emperor took nothing so ill as the illegitimation of the Princess Mary: for though our king had given succours in Denmark against his niece, and encourag'd the princes in Germany to take arms against him; yet these affronts the emperor said might be pass'd over, but not the Princess Mary's illegitimation; whom therefore he desir'd (April 12.) our king to restore, giving hope (as Pace writes from Rome) on that condition to procure a general council which might give the king contentment in his desires; or if he would refer all things to the pope's authority, to make his peace with him, to validate his last marriage, and together establish his succession, honour and conscience in all he could wish. These were indeed thought great offers: but our king, considering that they were little more than sollicitations and discourses of Granvele, and that to legitimate the Princess Mary, was in effect no less than to declare her his heir, what disguise soever the emperor would put on it, and desiring, for the rest, nothing so much, as to settle the succession in his future issue (which he hop'd would be masculine) gave no good audience hereunto.

The emperor having now at Rome saluted the pope and cardinals, and communicated his reasons in private, Monsieur de Velley was refer'd again to them for an answer concerning his demand of Milan. But the pope gave him no hope thereof; adding, that the emperor had no such intention; and when he should assent, the Venetians would not, who had enter'd into a league defensive for that dutchy. Whereupon Velley goes to the emperor, requiring performance from him: but the emperor demanded whether he had commission to treat thereof: but Velley saying he had none, the emperor would hear him no more. Nevertheless, to shew a desire to come to a solid peace with Francis, and avoid effusion of their subjects blood; the emperor in the presence of the pope, the cardinals, and the ambassadors of France, of Venice, and many great prelates and noble-men assembled, made a long oration in Spanish, his hat in his hand; declaring first the cause of quarrel and unkindness betwixt Maximilian and Lewis VII. deducing them after to his times, with much particularity; and

shewing still the fault was on the French side : after which, in the presence of this great assembly, he made three offers to Francis, first, 'That if a sure peace might be concluded, he would give the Dutchy of Milan to one of the king's children (but not the Duke of Orleans, since he knew Francis did not demand it so much to fix there, as to serve himself thereof as a step to pass further to the State of Florence and Urbin, in the right of the said duke's wife : neither would he accept any disclaim thereof, since he knew it would prevail no more, than that Francis had already made of the dutchy of Burgundy.) Therefore that he would grant to the Duke of Angoulesme his third son, when Francis would declare in what manner he would assist him towards the celebration of a council, a reformation of Christendom, and war against hereticks and infidels : which because it would not be done except all offences were remov'd, he requir'd, that his army should be withdrawn out of Piedmont. If within twenty days Francis did not approve this, he offer'd to end the business in a duel betwixt their two persons ; not out of bravery yet, but for avoiding the effusion of blood betwixt their subjects, too much whereof had been shed already. And that he thought there would be no more difficulty in assigning a fit place for this combat, than for an interview, and that it might be in some isle, or on some bridge or boat on a river : and for arms, he thought them all good, whether they were swords or pignards, in their shirts, only in this case, that whosoever overcame, should give his forces to the pope, for the more strengthening him to summon a council, and reduce all disobedient persons to the Church, and resist the Turk : for which purposes he did there ingage himself to the pope and apostolic see ; requiring besides, that the dutchy of Milan and Burgundy should be deposited in some good hand, and the victor have both.' The third offer was war ; to which yet he protested not to come without necessity ; though he had sufficient cause, Francis having taken arms against him while he talk'd of a peace by the entremise of one who had no power to treat thereof : only if he were constrain'd to this course, nothing should make him leave it, till one of them both remain'd the poorest gentleman in their country.' Thus bowing his head to look upon a scroul lapt about his finger, he made a pause ; after which the pope began to speak ; but the emperor interrupting him, said, 'he had not yet concluded, but would, when he had referr'd all to his holiness, whom he desir'd to bestow his favour on him who had most reason and equity on his side.' This being done, the pope commended the emperor's propositions, as tending to a peace, and hop'd the French king would be no less inclin'd thereunto. After which, the Bishop of Mascon step'd forth, and said, 'the protestation being in Spanish, he understood it not well : but for the point concerning peace, he knew the king his master would be inclinable to it ;' reserving the further declaration thereof to Monsieur de Velley, who

drawing near, and desiring to be heard, the emperor stopt him, and said 'he had already spoken to him too often of peace, and that he 'desir'd deeds and not words; and that he would grant him no other 'audience at that time, only what he had there publicly said, should 'be given in writing,' and therewith arose. So that though Velly desir'd to answer for his master, yet the emperor still laid the fault on him; and thus went with the pope to mass. But that evening the pope, who knew of what consequence a war betwixt these princes was, sent for the French ambassadors, desiring them to do good offices in their dispatches to Francis, protesting that he was surpriz'd on his part: and that whatsoever he said, he would keep neutrality betwixt them. The emperor being now ready to take his leave of the pope, the ambassador desir'd audience, and thereupon told the emperor in the pope's presence, that 'whereas he had spoken of a combat with his 'king in case no peace were made, without declaring other cause than 'to spare effusion of their subject's blood; he desir'd to know whether 'his majesty had made a challenge to fight: and that if it were so, 'he durst answer on the part of his king, that it should not be re- 'fus'd. And that the emperor might well remember that heretofore 'there was question hereof, but not now that he knew; the king his 'master desiring to have Milan by treaty, and having given express 'command to his general in Piedmont, not to invade anything in the 'emperor's possession. As for the treaty betwixt them, that it was set 'down in writing, and the pope might judge of both; and therefore 'that he would say no more of it, but know only whether the emperor 'would charge the king his master, as having fail'd in his word or 'honour, and whether he had defied him.' There were not many present when this pass'd; which the emperor observing, call'd all those in the sala and chamber of audience, and said, 'as he spake 'publickly before, so he would again.' Many hereupon repairing to him, he said in Italian, 'That he indeed did most desire peace; but if 'that could not be, he did then think best that they two in person 'should end the business; which yet he spake by way of advice, and 'not as a challenge; especially since it was in the pope's presence, 'without whose permission he would do nothing. And therefore that 'he propos'd it only to avoid a greater inconvenience, as thinking it 'better to do so, than suffer a war in Christendom: which was the 'reason also why he appointed him twenty days time to retire his army 'out of Piedmont.' But these sharp words (at the pope's request) were not openly advertis'd to Francis, nor some others, whereby he vilified the commanders and soldiery of that nation. in comparison of his (as Bellay hath it;) who relates the business somewhat more in favour of his nation, and Monsieur de Velly, than Sandoval doth, or indeed our records; amongst which I find divers of these passages certified by Richard Pace. But though the French ambassadors (at the pope's



intreaty) were sparing in their relation of the emperor's words, which (if we may believe Sandoval) were very high, yet order was given to his ambassadors in France (as Sandoval hath it) to acquaint Francis with them ; adding only four days more to the term of twenty formerly prefix'd : though Bellay doth not acknowledge this particular.

While these things past (April 18.) thus at Rome, the Cardinal of Lorraine was employ'd by Francis to the emperor : who in his way coming to the French army charg'd Chabot not to march further, or innovate anything, (which troubled him, as being inform'd that the emperor both rais'd great forces, and drew near him.) After which he went to Antonio de Leyva, and the Spanish army, requiring the same of them, at least till he had spoken with the emperor ; whom yet when he found ambiguous in his answers, and uncertain, he acquainted the pope therewith, and afterwards the French king ; who having in the mean while understood by the emperor's ambassadors resident with him, the effect of his master's oration at Rome (though yet he would give no copy of it) sent to the pope a justification, (set down at large in Bellay) in the conclusion whereof he return'd this answer to the emperor's offer of a combat, 'That if ever they came near each other (as might well be if they led their armies in person) and the emperor then sent a challenge, he would fight with him.' But the pope, who had more use of their swords than to employ them one against the other, endeavour'd still to procure all good amity and correspondence betwixt them : therefore he sent (upon the request of the Cardinal of Lorraine) the Cardinal de Carpi, and the Cardinal Trivulcio to mediate an end : for which purpose they were to go joyntly to the emperor first, and then one of them to the French king, according to the occasion.

But nothing now could hinder the emperor from going into France, where in sequence of a protestation (as Sandoval hath it) to attend the French king thirty days to see whether he would come in person to fight, he resolv'd to march. Having gotten together therefore an army of about 60,000 men, and 100 pieces of artillery, he came to Asti June 22. 1536. while his sister Mary (governess of the Low-Countries) by his order had rais'd an army of 20,000 foot, and 1000 horse under the command of Henry Count of Nassaw, to invade France on that part : it was yet advis'd whether in his way he should take the places in Savoy and Piedmont, which the French held, or go straight to France. Antonio de Leyva said, that wild beasts were to be fought in their dens ; and therefore wish'd the emperor not to spend his men in sieges, but march on ; which counsel being follow'd (and the rather, because the emperor desir'd personally to be in France to acquit himself of his promise) the army having first taken some towns, came near Marseilles ; where Andrea Doria with his gallies was appointed to (Aug. 15.) meet him. But Antonio de Leyva (a valiant, but covetous and cruel commander) dying there, and about 30,000 more of sickness and disorder,

the emperor, who had now stay'd 33 days (as Sandoval hath it) in the French king's dominions, return'd to Genoa, and (not long after) to Spain, leaving order yet for war in Savoy and Piedmont. But whatsoever retarded Francis, it was not want of courage: though I find by Bellay, he was resolv'd by his council rather to weary and famish the emperor's army, than to fight with him; though yet having rais'd a considerable army in those parts under the command of Montmorency, grand-maistre of France, he was not unprovided to resist him; besides which, he had another under his own command at Valence, not far off; which he yet left, at last, to come to his other army. But the emperor, as having (even by the confession of Bellay) lost half his army, was now remov'd, leaving behind him so many dead soldiers unburied, that they infected the air. Hereupon Francis took advice, whether it were better to follow the emperor into Italy, or to return and raise the siege from Peronne, being then in some danger; the latter pleas'd him, his affairs in Italy at that time succeeding well, and winter besides drawing on: only before he return'd, he thought good to visit Marseilles, commanding the Seigneur de Langey to repair the ruins of Aix, where the emperor had lodg'd. This being done, and he now going homewards, the glad news was brought him, that the siege of Peronne was rais'd; which (as Sandoval hath it) happened (Sept. 10.) the same day the emperor dislodg'd from Aix to return into Italy. And thus did those vast preparatives of the emperor come to nothing; great armies as well as little ones having their inconveniences, especially where sickness and disorder doth intervene.

Francis being yet upon his way home (as Bellay hath it) received letters from his ambassador in England, how our king was inform'd by his agents in the French court, that the emperor's retreat was out of stratagem, that the French might follow him, and so be taken at an advantage: and that this rumour of his men's death, was rais'd only to draw them on the sooner; but that in effect he had not lost 2000 men since his coming out of Italy. Upon which false advertisements also, our king forbore to comply with Francis as he was wont; where he on the other side estrang'd himself a little from King Henry, insomuch, as he began to cherish and love the King of Scotland more than before; who also had promised him assistance in his wars (which our king had neglected, contrary to Francis's expectation) and was now in France; for which reasons he gave him his daughter Magdalene (as is before related :) nevertheless, that he might proceed formally, he sent Gilles de Pommeray hither, to tell our king: first, the true cause of the emperor's retreat; secondly, the cause of his accepting the Scottish king for his son-in-law: thirdly, to propose a marriage betwixt the Duke of Orleans (his son) and the Princess Mary. But when the marriage with King James, and the excuse for it was produced, our king was in that passion, that he would not hear him again for

four days space ; though yet he forgot not by his council to shew how ill he took it. So that Pommeray, without almost daring to speak of the marriage with the Princess Mary, return'd ; and the rather, because our king knew well that the emperor had a good while since propos'd it to Francis, only to sow dissention betwixt both princes. Our king finding this coldness on the French king's part, began to think how he might fortify himself by the emperor's friendship ; for which purpose also (as is aforesaid) several overtures had been made ; but the declaration of the Princess Mary to be illegitimate hindered all (which though much labour'd by the emperor, King Henry yet could not be persuaded to revoke) tho' he profess'd himself much inclin'd to return to his ancient friendship with Charles ; so that till after the death of Queen Jane, being the year following, all things remained in suspence. In which terms also, he thought fit they should be continued till he saw the event of the war, renewed now betwixt the emperor and French king with more ardour than ever, (as shall be told hereafter ;) of which occasion therefore our king thought fit to prevail himself, for giving order to his business at home : which that he might do by the advice and consent of his parliament, he commanded it to sit the eighth of June, 1536.

The principal act (June 8.) was touching the succession of the crown ; in which after a rehearsal of the statute 25 Henry VIII. touching the king's marriages, and limitation of succession to the crown, and another of 26 Henry VIII. it is declared, That whereas a marriage heretofore was solemnized betwixt the king's highness and the Lady Anne Bolen, that sithence that time, certain just, true and lawful impediments of marriage, unknown at the making of the said acts, were confessed by the said Lady Anne before Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury ; by which it plainly appeareth, that the said marriage betwixt his highness and the said Lady Anne was never good nor consonant to the laws ; and therefore his highness was lawfully divorc'd from the said Lady Anne : moreover, that she and her complices before-mention'd were convict by due course of law, and have suffer'd according to their merits.

And whereas it has pleas'd his highness, notwithstanding the great perils suffer'd by occasion of his first unlawful marriage betwixt the Lady Katherine, and this unlawful marriage betwixt the Lady Anne, at the most humble petition of his nobles in this realm, and for conservation of his fame, to enter into marriage again with the Lady Jane, according to the laws of the Church ; and that there is hope she may conceive by his highness ; that it is the most humble petition of his nobles and commons, that for extinguishment of all ambiguities and doubts, it may be enacted in manner and form as followeth. And first, that the marriage between the king and Queen Katherine should be void and of no effect ; as being grounded on a dispensation, in a



case not dispensable by human authority ; and so determin'd by the whole clergy, and both universities of this realm ; as also by the universities of Bononia, Padua, Paris, Orleans, Thoulouse, Anjou, and divers others, in regard, she being wife to his elder brother Prince Arthur, was carnally known by him, as was sufficiently proved before Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury ; and therefore, that any dispensation to the contrary hereof should be to all intents void, and of no effect ; and the issue procreated under the same unlawful marriage, betwixt his highness and the said Lady Katharine, to be illegitimate, and barr'd from claiming any inheritance from his highness by lineal descent ; and that the marriage also, betwixt his highness and Queen Anne is of no value, no effect ; and that the divorce made between his highness and her, is good and effectual, and the issue illegitimate and not inheritable to his highness by lineal descent ; any former act to the contrary notwithstanding.

And furthermore, sith many inconveniences have fallen by marrying within degrees prohibited by God's law ; which marriages yet have been often dispensed with by some usurped power ; when yet no man hath power to dispense with God's law. Therefore it was enacted, that if any were married within the said degrees, or took to wife the sister or daughter, etc. of her whom he had before carnally known, he might and should be separated by the definite sentence of the archbishops, and other ministers of the Church of England ; and their said sentence to be good and effectual, without suing any appeal to or from the court of Rome.

Further, it was enacted, that the issue betwixt his highness and Queen Jane should be his lawful children and heirs, and inherit according to the course of inheritance of the laws of this realm, the imperial crown of the same, with all dignities, honours, preheminences, prerogatives, authorities, and jurisdictions to the same annexed or belonging.

But if it should happen that Queen Jane should decease without issue-male of the body of her highness to be begotten, then the same imperial crown and all other the premisses to be to his majesty, and to his heirs males by any other lawful wife, and to the heirs of the body of the same son and heir male lawfully begotten ; and so from son and heir male to son and heir male, and to the heirs of every such son and heir male lawfully begotten, according to the course of inheritance, as is above said. And for default of such issue male, then the said imperial crown and premisses should be to the issue female, betwixt his majesty and Queen Jane begotten, and so again to the issue female by any other wife in like manner ; that is to say, to the eldest issue of the issue female, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten ; and so from issue female to issue female, and to their heirs of their bodies, one after another, by course of inheritance, according to their ages, as

the crown of England hath been accustomed, and ought to succeed and go, in case when there is heir female inheritable to the same. And forasmuch as it stands in the only will and pleasure of Almighty God, whether his highness shall have heirs, and that if they fail, and no provision be made in his life, who should govern this realm, that then this realm after this transitory life should be destitute of a lawful governour, or incumbered with such a person that would covet to aspire to the same ; *that in this case, his highness might limit the crown to any person or persons in possession and remainder by his letters patents under the great seal; or else by his last will assigned with his hand, after such manner as should be expressed in his said letters patents; and that such person and persons should have and enjoy the same after his decease in as large and ample manner as the lawful heirs of his body should have done.*

After which, order was taken to prevent usurpation of the crown, and the penalty of high treason impos'd on usurpers, as on those also who believ'd either the marriage of his highness with the Lady Katharine, or the Lady Anne, to be good ; and did call the Lady Mary or the Lady Elizabeth legitimate, and who used certain words and actions tending to this purpose : as is to be seen more largely in the said statute.

Furthermore, it was enacted, That if his majesty should decease before any heir male of his body inheritable to the crown of this realm should be of the age of eighteen years, or any heir female which should be inheritable as aforesaid, should be married, or be of the age of sixteen years, that then they, or any of them, shall be and remain until they came unto the said several ages, at and in the governance of their natural mother, and such other his counsellors and nobles of his realm, as his highness should name and appoint by his last will in writing, signed with his hand ; or otherwise, to be at and in the governance of such his counsellors and nobles of his realm, as his highness should name and appoint by his last will in writing, and sign'd with his hand, (as is aforesaid) and that an oath should be administred for performance of this act, and the penalty of high treason inflicted on those that shall refuse it.

Furthermore, it was enacted, That the king should have power by his letters patents or last will, as aforesaid, to advance any person or persons of his most royal blood to any title, stile, or name of any estate, dignity or honour, and to give to them, or any of them, any castles, honours, lands, etc. in fee simple, fee tail, or for term of lives, or the life of any of them, saving the rights and estates of all others, in and to the same.

Finally, it was enacted, That every clause, article and sentence therein, should be taken and accepted according to the plain words thereof. How yet this act was altered, 35 Hen. VIII. shall be declared

by me, God willing, in this history ; referring the reader to 1 Mary I. when it was repeal'd.

Howsoever, I thought fit to set it down with much particularity, both as it is relative to many precedent points touch'd in this history, and as it leads the way to some that follow ; by which also it may appear unto the reader, with how high a hand the king did authorize his actions, while each part justified the other, and all his subjects voices being comprehended in his parliament, no man could accuse him, who did not in some sort first condemn himself ; so that if in those two divorces he had not reason, the chief of his kingdom seem'd to err with him : unless ill arts with the nobility, and undue election of the knights and burgesses be suppos'd ; which though possible in many, and (for that I have seen) there be cause to suspect it in some ; yet to believe a general corruption in the prime persons of a kingdom, or to allow an argument drawn from thence only, as conclusive, what is it else but to overthrow and subvert the columns and foundations of laws ? And then what statute can stand ? What decree will be in force ? I will not yet take on me every where to defend the actions of a prince, whom so many have bitterly censur'd, as it may be doubtful whether he were more extoll'd at home in his first times, or depress'd afterwards abroad. But thus much I cannot but observe of him, that if where he did ill, he made or found many complices ; where he did well, he had almost the glory alone ; as being so active and knowing in all he undertook, that he was capable of both : only towards his latter time, as he was thought to decline in his singular perfections of nature, so all things almost fell to the worse ; while divers of those ill accidents which befel him, were reveng'd sometimes with so severe a justice, as might be called *summum jus* ; sometimes repaired with furnishing his wants in that large manner and extent, both on the spirituality and temporality, as little else remained, either to be demanded or gotten. In procuring whereof, though he lost much of his former love and esteem, yet he kept himself still upon the high steps of authority, without stooping either to fear or necessity ; so that his most irregular actions represented such a type of greatness, as crooked lines drawn every way, which tho' not so compendious and direct as the strait, seem yet to have in them somewhat more of the infinite ; but as these things are set down by way of description, and not of apology, so I will leave them to come to my history, which for being free and impartial, will speak him better to the judicious reader than my annotations can.

This year Thomas Howard youngest son to Thomas late Duke of Norfolk, and brother to the present duke (but by another mother) had so obtain'd the favour of the Lady Margaret Douglas daughter to the Queen of Scots (then living in the king's court) that some affiancing or privy contract past betwixt them : whereof the king being inform'd, was much incens'd ; as conceiving that one so join'd in blood to him



and his nephew the Scottish king, should not be given nor taken without his consent, especially when she lived so near him ; wherefore he was committed to the Tower, and she not long after. The business thus being in July brought to the parliament, and certain suspicions and accusations alledged of aspiring to the crown, (some circumstances being drawn thereunto) he was there attainted of high-treason ; and in consequence thereof a statute made, that none should marry in the next degrees of the blood royal, without the king's licence first had, etc. which yet being repeal'd 1 Edw. VI. 12. and 1 Mary 1. I mention no otherwise. The news hereof being brought with speed to Margaret Queen of Scots, afflicted her much ; so that it retarded her journey into England, whither she was coming ; being desirous also to be reconciled to her former husband Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus. Nevertheless she thought fit to write (Aug. 12.) to the king, ' That whereas she heard he was displeas'd with her daughter for ' promising marriage to the Lord Thomas Howard, intending to punish ' her for the same, she desir'd his majesty to pardon her ; and if he so ' pleas'd, to send her into Scotland, that she come no more in his presence ; and not to be extream to his own blood.' Notwithstanding which, both she and the Lord Thomas Howard were committed to the Tower, without suffering other punishment, where also she remain'd till the death of the said Thomas Howard ; but then releas'd to be a mother of that great offspring which after follow'd.

Besides these two statutes formerly mention'd, I find some others concerning state-government, enacted this sessions, which therefore I shall insert here.

Whereas in the 19 Hen. VII. 7. a law was made, that no masters, wardens, and fellowship of crafts, or rulers of guilds and fraternities, should take upon them to make any acts or ordinances, ne to execute any heretofore made by them, or hereafter to be made, in disheritance or diminution of the king's prerogative, nor of other, nor against the common profit of the people, except the same act were examined or approved by the chancellor of England, or chief justice of either bench, or three of them, or before the justices of assize in their circuit or progress, in the shire where such acts or ordinances are made, upon pain of forfeiture, etc. Sith which time, divers acts and ordinances contrary to the meaning of the said act have been made ; it was now order'd that apprentices should pay but little fees at their entry, and that no other should be given to restrain them from keeping shops when they were freemen. And as this was much to the benefit of those who would learn and set up trades and occupations, so it was thought by some it would be much more, when the mysteries of the said trades (as far as could be expressed by words) might be commanded to be published in print ; to the end that all men (who would) might learn them, and an honest emulation (who should do best) might

quicken industry, and bring down the prices of things ; or if this were not permitted, that at least due order were taken, that the masters in all trades might be restrain'd from packing together to inhance wares and commodities, but by the approbation of the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, etc. as being to that common profit of the subject, (mention'd in the statute) which is more to be esteem'd than is any man's particular gain.

In sequence whereof, also another act was made concerning the prices of wine, to this effect : that no French wine should be sold by retail above two-pence a quart, and no malmesies, ramnies, (being wines of Romania as I take it) sack or sweet-wines, should be above three-pence the quart. Provided always that the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, lord president of the king's council, lord privy-seal, and the two chief justices of either bench, or five, four or three of them should have power and authority by their directions to set the prices of wines ; the said prices to be published in chancery, in term-time, or in such cities, towns, and places where wines are sold in gross ; the contents or quantity of liquor also, to be held in every vessel, was expressed in the said statute ; and remedy given for loss sustain'd in those which wanted measure : § and though this prevented much couzenage, yet order being not taken to punish those who falsified and corrupted wines, much abuse in this kind followed.

Order was also taken how pirates at sea should be punish'd.

All bulls, breves and dispensations also from the bishop, or see of Rome, was declared void ; nevertheless, that all marriages solemniz'd before Nov. 3. 26 of the king's reign, and contrary to God's laws, should be good and effectual. And also that archbishops, bishops, and all ecclesiastical persons and orders of this realm, might keep and retain their archbishopricks, bishopricks, etc. and exercise all things pertaining to their dignities, offices, orders, cures, etc. And that the effect and contents of all bulls, breves, faculties, etc. purchas'd of the see of Rome, which be allowable, and may be lawfully granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the authority of the laws and statutes of this realm, should be confirmed under the great seal at the humble suit of the petitioners for the same.

Also, for the more confirmation of the king's supremacy (enacted two years since) it was now ordained, that every ecclesiastical and lay-officer, shall be sworn to renounce the said bishop and his authority, and to resist it to his power ; reputed any oath (heretofore taken for the maintenance of the same) to be void. And the refusal of this oath shall be adjudged high-treason.

Some ecclesiastical constitutions also were made, during this short sessions of parliament, (beginning the eighth of June, and ending the eighteenth of July next following.) But to leave the less important to be seen in their places, I shall here briefly set down the resultance of

certain articles, concluded in the convocation concerning religion. These articles (as I gather out of our records) were devised by the king himself, and recommended afterwards to the convocation-house by Cromwell, who being lately made baron, and lord privy-seal, and then vice-gerent general of the king's authority in ecclesiastical affairs, gave much subject of discourse. For tho' the king substituted him for due administration of justice in all causes and cases concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as well as for godly information, and redress of all errors, heresies, and abuses of the Church, as the act of parliament hath it, 31 Henry VIII. 10. yet because there was no example, either of King of Israel, they said, (tho' lawful in their own person, enjoying this mixt power of spiritual and temporal) or of popes, that derive their whole ecclesiastical power immediately on any else, especially a secular person, they thought it strange ; but that I may pass by those things whereof no publick reason, that I have seen, is extant, I shall in these articles observe rather the chief variation they had from the former doctrines held, than repeat the doctrines themselves, as being sufficiently known.

After establishing (therefore) the Bible, and three received creeds, with the explication of the fathers and the four first councils, as the grounds of religion : he made, according to his definition of sacraments, three only. I. Baptism for washing away of sins. II. Penance for satisfaction of faults afterwards committed both towards God and our neighbour. III. The eucharist : changing in any of them little yet of the ordinary, (as I conceive) unless auricular confession seem not there altogether so strictly commanded as before ; nor otherwise much than in case of mortal sin. And that prayer, fasting, alms-deeds, as being *fructus digni pœnitentiæ*, are not be held as means of our salvation by way of merit, but of mercy only. For justification, that it was attained by contrition or true repentance and faith, which was to be accompanied with hope, charity, and other inward and spiritual motions and graces, and outward good works.

Concerning images, that they had been used in the Old Testament, and sometimes (for the abuse of them) taken away ; and allow'd in the New, (as good authors declare,) therefore that the true use of them should be taught by bishops and preachers every where, they being permitted to stand in churches no otherwise than as representers of virtue, and stirrers of devotion ; and not that rude people should take superstition thence as in times past, or that idolatry should ensue ; and that the censuring of them, kneeling before them, and all other honours should be done as in the honour of God only, although they be done before the images of Christ, the cross, or of our Lady, or any saint besides.

Concerning honouring of saints ; that we should not trust to obtain at their hands that which is to be had only of God : yet that they were



to be honour'd because they reign'd in glory, and were examples of virtue, as not fearing to die for Christ ; and therefore to be taken (in that they may) to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ, but not to be had in other reverence and honour.

Concerning praying to them : that it is very laudable to use these words, 'All holy angels and saints in heaven, pray for us, and with us, 'unto the Father, that for His dear son Jesus Christ's sake we may 'have grace of Him, and remission of sins, with an earnest purpose '(not wanting ghostly strength) to observe and keep His holy commandments, and never decline from the same again unto our lives end.' And that in this manner we should pray to *our blessed Lady*, Saint John Baptist, and other apostles, so that it be done without any vain superstition, as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same. And that we should keep holidays in memory of Him, and His saints, upon such days as the Church hath ordain'd, except they be mitigated or moderated by the assent or commandment of the supream head ; in which case the subjects ought to obey it.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies of the Church, as using certain vestments in God's service, sprinkling of holy-water, giving of holy-bread, bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, giving of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday, creeping to the cross on Good-Friday, and offering there unto Christ before the same, and kissing of it, setting up of the sepulchre of Christ, the hallowing of the font, and other like benedictions made by the ministers of God's Church ; as also all other laudible customs, rites, and ceremonies ; that they were not to be condemn'd and cast away, but to be us'd and continu'd, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify, not suffering them to be forgotten, but renewing them in our memory from time to time : but that none of those ceremonies have power to remit sins, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven.

Concerning purgatory. Forasmuch as according to due order of charity, and the Book of *Macchabees*, and divers ancient writers, it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed : and forasmuch as such uses have continued in the Church even from the beginning, that all bishops and preachers should instruct and teach the people not to be grieved with the continuance of the same : but forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and the kind of pains there also, be to us uncertain by Scripture ; that therefore this and all other such things were to be remitted to God Almighty, unto whose mercy it is meet and convenient to commend them, trusting that God accepteth our prayers for them ; referring, the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their state and condition. And therefore that

it was necessary that such should be clearly put away, which under the name of purgatory have been advanced ; as to make men believe, that through the Bishop of Rome's pardons, souls might be clearly delivered out of purgatory and all the pains of it, or that masses said at Scala Cœli, or otherwise in any place, or before any image, might likewise deliver them from all their pain, and send them strait to heaven ; and other like abuses. This was subscribed (May 8,) by Thomas Cromwel, Thomas Cantuariensis, Johannes London, and 16 bishops more (Rowland Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield being comprized by his proxy) and William Abbot of Westminster, with 39 abbots and priors ; and by the lower-house, consisting of 50 arch-deacons and proctors of the clergy ; among whom, in the original, I find two Italians, Polydore Virgil Arch-deacon of Wells, and Peter Vannes Arch-deacon of Worcester, who not long before was made coadjutor to Richard Pace Dean of Salisbury, being then thought commonly distracted and out of his wits.

And thus the king having taken on him the title of supream head of the Church in his dominions, would shew how capable he was of it : though yet he published not these articles without much consultation with his bishops and divines, who stood divided in opinion ; some leaning to the Lutheran, as Canterbury, Ely, Salisbury, Worcester, Hereford, Rochester, St. David, and the rest : others cleaving to the old doctrine and rites, as York, London, Durham, Winchester, Chichester, Norwich and Carlisle ; whose arguments on either side, the king himself took pains to peruse and moderate, adding animadversions with his own hand, which are to be seen in our records : yet was not his doctrine approved by the Romish party, because it took away much of their authority and revenue : nor by the Lutheran and Zuinglian, (then beginning to appear in these parts) because it differ'd from theirs. But whatsoever any of the reformed might say for their only two sacraments, it was thought by some, that according to the king's instauration, penance might have been retained still upon some terms as a third : both as there is no other general way than aversion from sin, and conversion to God, known to all mankind for making their peace with him, and obtaining pardon. And as the other two sacraments being particular rites only of the Christian Church, are in their explication subject to so much difficulty and disputes, as no less than a man's whole age is requir'd to study them ; when as this other, being an uncontroverted sign of the operation of God's spirit in our hearts, produceth such holy effects, as it ought to be acknowledg'd not only as a particular sacrament of grace, but an universal, of the reasonable nature of mankind, wheresoever it be found ; and therefore worthy its former name and authority, where abuses in absolution were taken away : for performing whereof, they said the priest should never pronounce it but in case of such a serious repentance as might totally

efface the fault, and make the sinner a new man ; without which therefore he should be told, he was as much liable and obnoxious to sin and punishment, as if no such absolution had ever been given. Whereas now the common absolution of priests, extending (for the most part) no farther than to require attrition, or sorrow for their offences past, and to command, for the rest, some formal prayers, easy fasts, or ordinary pilgrimage, not only made men believe they were quit of their sins at so easy a rate, as they feared not much to return to them again, but usurped on the power of God, while they brought the forgiveness of sins within their own particular jurisdiction, and together put off heaven and everlasting happiness at a cheaper price than either they could justly promise, or frail man expect. So that they concluded, that priests should be allow'd indeed to absolve, but so as men might not think their sins past, as much pardon'd as if they had not been committed, unless they never do the same offence again ; lest greater occasion and liberty of sin should thereby be given.

And now, as the reader hath formerly seen the reformation Francis would have stood to, when it might have been imbrac'd in Germany ; so here he may perceive what our king requir'd in England : neither of which yet could ever be accepted, as long as contentious preachers and factious school-men on all sides would have rather disturb'd the peace of the whole world, than relinquished or retracted one particle of those opinions they had publickly taught their auditors and disciples. For which obstinacy also, as the reformers, being the weaker, suffer'd most, they being usually burnt in these times ; and (Sept.) among them one William Tindal, who had translated into English a great part of the Bible, (a witty, but violent, and sometimes railing disputant) at a town near Brussels ; so, on the other side, these cruelties made the Romish party so odious, as their differences grew almost irreconcilable.

Our king having thus begun to rectify the frame of religion, endeavour'd now to prevent foreign opposition : and because he knew of what consequence the general council now appointed at Mantua was, he obtain'd this decree to be sign'd by the bishops assembled, while their synod lasted.

'As concerning general councils, like as we (taught by long experience)  
'do perfectly know that there never was, ne is any thing devised, invented, or instituted by our fore-fathers more expedient, or more necessary for the establishment of our faith, for the extirpation of heresies, and the abolishing of sects and schisms ; and finally, for the reducing of Christ's people unto one perfect unity and concord in his religion, than by the having of general councils, so that the same be lawfully had, and congregated in *spiritu sancto*, and be also conform and agreeable, as well concerning the surety and indifference of the places, as all other points requisite and necessary for the same, unto that



'wholesome and godly institution and usage for the which they were  
 'at first devised and used in the primitive Church. Even so on the  
 'other side, taught by like experience, we esteem, repute, and judge,  
 'that there is, ne can be any thing in the world more pestilent and  
 'pernicious to the common-weal of Christendom, or whereby the truth  
 'of God's word hath in times past, or hereafter may be sooner defaced  
 'and subverted, or whereof hath and may ensue more contention, more  
 'discord, and other devilish effects, than when such general councils  
 'have or shall be assembled not Christenly, nor charitably; but for and  
 'upon private malice and ambition, or other worldly and carnal respects  
 'and considerations, according to the saying of Gregory Nazianzenus,  
 'in his epistle to one Procopius, wherein he writeth this sentence fol-  
 'lowing : *Sic sentio, si verum scribendum est, omnes conventus episco-*  
 '*porum fugiendos esse, quia nullius synodi finem vidi bonum, neque*  
 '*habentem magis solutionem malorum, quam incrementum. Nam*  
 '*cupiditates contentionum, et gloriæ (sed ne putes me odiosum esse*  
 '*scribentem) vincunt rationem.* That is to say, "I think this, if I should  
 "write truly, that all general councils be to be eschewed. For I never  
 "saw that they produced any good end or effect, nor that any provision  
 "or remedy but rather increase of mischiefs proceeded of them. For  
 "the desire of maintenance of mens opinions and ambition of glory  
 "(but reckon not that I write this of malice) hath always in them over-  
 "come reason." Wherefore we think that Christian princes especially  
 'and above all things ought and must, with all their wills, power, and  
 'diligence foresee and provide, *Ne sanctissima hac in parte majorum*  
 '*instituta ad improbissimos ambitionis aut malitiæ effectus explendos*  
 '*diversissimo suo sine et sceleratissimo pervertantur. Neve ad alium*  
 '*prætextum possint valere et longe diversum effectum orbi producere*  
 '*quam sanctissima rei facies præ se ferat.* That is to say, "Lest the  
 "most noble wholesome institutions of our elders in this behalf be per-  
 "verted to a most contrary and most wicked end and effect. That is  
 "to say, to fulfil and satisfie the wicked affections of mens ambition and  
 "malice; or lest they might prevail for any other colour, or bring forth  
 "any other effect, than their most virtuous and laudable countenance  
 "doth outwardly to the world shew or pretend." And first of all, I. we  
 'think that they ought principally to consider who hath the authority to  
 'call together a general council. II. Whether the causes alledg'd be  
 'weighty and so urgent, that necessarily they require a general council  
 'nor can otherwise be remedied. III. Who ought to be judges in the  
 'general council. IV. What order of proceeding is to be observ'd in  
 'the same, and how the opinions or judgments of the fathers are to be  
 'consulted or ask'd. V. What doctrines are to be allow'd or defended :  
 'with divers other things which in general councils ought of reason and  
 'equity to be observ'd. And as unto the first point, we think that  
 'neither the Bishop of Rome, ne any one prince of what estate, degree,

'or preeminence soever he be, may by his own authority call, indite, 'or summon any general council without the express consent, assent, 'and agreement of the residue of Christian princes; and especially, 'such as have within their own realms and seignories *imperium merum*, 'that is to say, of such as have the whole intire and supream govern- 'ment and authority over all their subjects, without knowledging or 'recognizing of any other supream power or authority. And this to be 'true, we be induc'd to think by many and sundry, as well examples, 'as great reasons and authority. The which, forasmuch as it should 'be over-long, and tedious to express here particularly, we have thought 'good to omit the same for this present. And in witness that this is 'our plain and determinate sentence, opinion, and judgment touching 'the premisses, we the prelates and clergy under-written being congre- 'gate together in the convocation of the province of Canterbury, and 'representing the whole clergy of the same, have to these presents sub- 'scrib'd our names the twentieth of July, in the year of our Lord, 1536. '28. Hen. VIII.

'Thomas Cromwell.

'Thomas Cantuariensis.

'Johannes London.

'With 13 bishops: and of abbots, priors, archdeacons, deans, 'proctors, clerks, and other ministers, 49.'

After which, he set forth an injunction to restrain the number of holy-days, now grown to that excess, that there was scarce time to gather in harvest, or hold the seats of justice in term time; which, as it was inconvenient, so again the abuse of holy-days in drinking, and other vices and idleness was so great, as many riots and disorders were committed; for which reason, though the number was limited, yet priests were suffer'd to do their duties in churches on these days, and all who would to hear them. And now, as the poorer sort were at liberty to work for their living on those days, so they approv'd well this reformation. Whereby it came to pass that the reverence of supposed saints (whereupon much of the Roman religion was built) growing to an excess, became one of the first degrees to the ruine thereof in this kingdom. In sequence of which, the same year he commanded (under the name of Cromwel his vicegerent) these injunctions following to be observ'd of the deans, parsons, vicars, curates, and stipendiaries resident, or having care of souls each where.

1. That in all parishes and places of preaching, once every Sunday for a quarter of a year together, the doctrine of supremacy should be taught, and the laws to that purpose read, and that the Bishop of Rome's authority having no establishment by the law of God was justly taken away.

2. That in the king's articles, lately set forth, the real doctrine of

salvation should be distinguish'd from the rites and ceremonies of the Church, and so taught the people as they might know, what was necessary in religion, and what was instituted for the decent and politick order of the Church, according to such a commandment given heretofore in that point.

3. That the late order concerning the abrogating of certain superstitious holy-days, should be read to the people, and they be perswaded to keep it.

4. That they should not extol or set forth images, reliques, or miracles, or allure people to pilgrimages otherwise than as permitted in the late articles, but rather exhort them to keep God's commandments, and provide for their families, and what they can give, to bestow it rather on the poor, than upon the said images, or reliques.

5. That in their sermons, they admonish fathers to teach their children the Pater-noster, articles of our faith, and commandments in their mother-tongue : which also should be often repeated by the said youth, and to bring them up in learning, or some honest occupation of trade, whereby to avoid idleness, and get their living.

6. That sacraments and sacramentals be duly and reverently administred by the parsons, vicars, and curates ; and if any be absent from their benefices by licence, that learned curates should be left in their place.

7. That every parson or proprietary of a church should *provide a Bible in Latine and English, and lay the same in the quire for every man to read*, exhorting them thereunto, as being the word of God, teaching them withal to avoid controversie amongst themselves in the places they understood not, but to refer themselves therein to the better learned.

8. That the said deans, parsons, vicars, and curates should not haunt taverns nor ale-houses, or use tables, cards, or any unlawful games, but rather at their leisure that they should read the Holy Scripture, and be example to others in purity of life.

9. That because the goods of the Church are the goods of the poor, and yet the needy in these days not sustain'd with the same, therefore all parsons, vicars, and prebendaries, and other benefic'd men, which may dispend twenty pounds yearly, or above, should distribute amongst the poor parishioners in the presence of the church-wardens, the *fortieth part* of the revenue of their benefices, lest they should be noted of ingratitude, as receiving thirty-nine parts, and yet no vouchsafing to bestow the fortieth.

10. That every parson, vicar, clerk, or benefic'd-man, being able to dispend in benefices or promotions of the Church 100*l.* yearly, or more, shall for one, or every of the said 100*l.* yearly, give a competent exhibition to maintain one scholar, or more, either in grammar-schools, or the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, who when they have profited



in learning, may be partners in their patrons cure and charge, in preaching and otherwise, or else profit the common wealth with their council and wisdom.

II. That all parsons, vicars, and clerks having churches, chappels, or mansions, shall bestow yearly upon the said mansions or chancels of their churches (being in decay) the fifth part of their benefices, till they had fully repair'd the same.

That all these injunctions should be observ'd, under pain of suspension and sequestration of the benefices until they were done.

Other injunctions also at divers times were set out, which may be seen in Fox. But as the people were not generally satisfied with the king's alterations, and proceedings in religion and laws : so certain fifteenths, granted by act of parliament, which were demanded of them (about these times) being more than for their poverty and former taxes, they were well able to pay, made them not a little murmur ; but if this were a crime in them, Cromwel was not altogether free from error ; since to charge the purse at the same time, that he would make a reformation plausible, could be no safe counsel ; and in effect, it prov'd so. For the people did rise in many places : though as they agreed not alike in the causes of their discontentments, they neither took arms at once, nor altogether for the same pretexs. The Lincolnshire-men, set on by one Doctor Mackrel, (Prior of Barlings in the said county, but calling himself Captain Coblet) began first, though the moderateest in their demands, as hoping, perchance, the sooner to have them granted. But as this was not the way, so neither could they long subsist, when no such necessary motive united them.

The grievances they sent the king in the quality of most humble supplicants, were, ' The suppression of so many religious houses : the ' act of uses, as restraining the subjects liberty in the declaration of ' their wills : the fifteenths, for which yet poverty is only pleaded : that ' his grace had ill counsellors, and of mean birth about him, (among ' which Cromwel was not forgotten ;) that divers bishops had subverted ' the faith, and that they fear'd the jewels and plate of their parish ' churches should be taken from thence, as lately from the religious ' houses. For reformation of which, yet, they, as his poor and true ' subjects, humbly desir'd his gracious majesty to call to him the nobility of the realm, and to see such order and directions concerning ' the premises given, as they might accept his grace to be their governor and supream head of the Church of England, which they did ' acknowledge to be his grace's true inheritance and right : and that ' his grace should have the tenth, and first-fruits of spiritual promotions ' of the value of twenty pounds and above, and of all other under the ' said value, which do not keep residence and hospitality.'

And now these articles being publish'd in the neighbourhood, and thence voiced abroad, drew many to them ; while yet for more colour-

ing their actions, they swore to be true to God, the king, and common-weal. Nevertheless, as they reserv'd the interpretation of the oath to themselves, they began a dangerous rebellion. All which being advertiz'd to our vigilant king, caus'd him immediately to dispatch Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, against them, about the seventh of October (as I find by an original) with commission to raise forces : together with which he writ a letter to them, in such a stile, as though he might promise justice, he yet requir'd many things, and particularly that two of the chief rebels should be deliver'd to him. Whereupon the knights and gentlemen, who were associated with these rebels, wrote to the Duke of Suffolk, how ill the people were satisfied with the king's reply ; and that upon reading of it, they cry'd they would march on, and make the gentlemen go along, or else destroy them. And that for this cause they had taken on them to be their heads and captains ; as also that by policy they might the better stay them : which yet they thought would be hard to do, in regard the people rose in so many other parts. Adding further, that if they had not found means to keep them back, and persuaded them to petition the king, they had before then been at Huntingdon ; and that there was no ways to appease them but a general pardon. This letter made it self considerable ; for when it were a true allegation, it had its pretexts, though not sufficient to excuse the gentlemen ; and when not, it was cunningly remonstrated ; for it serv'd both ways. Howbeit, the Duke of Suffolk finding that the end thereof, at worst, was to obtain a general pardon ; and that the commotion might end thereby, solicited on their behalf : yet so as he offer'd withal to go against the rebels with the forces he had there assembled, if the king gave him leave. In the mean while, he order'd the business in that manner, that he obtain'd of them not to proceed till the king's answer were return'd. But the king, who was inform'd already from divers parts (but chiefly from Yorkshire) that the people began there also to take arms ; and knowing of what great consequence it might be, if the great persons in those parts (though the rumour were false) should be said to join with him, had commanded George Earl of Shrewsbury, Thomas Manners Earl of Rutland, and George Hastings Earl of Huntingdon, to make a proclamation to the Lincolnshire-men, summoning and commanding them under their allegiance, and peril of their lives, to return : which as it much disheartned them, so many stole away, while the rest (being assured from the duke, that as long as they were in arms, it was in vain for him to mediate their pardon) scatter'd themselves to divers parts ; the more stubborn and poorer sort yet retiring to the Yorkshire-men. Besides, they had heard, that (notwithstanding the foul ways of this country, and the winter-season approaching) the great ordnance was coming on, and the king in person following : all which considerations, together with the danger that divers of the principal ring-leaders found themselves in, as being men

of good fortunes and sure to suffer most, caus'd them to persuade those who remain'd, to make their submission as the king requir'd : which was, that they should acknowledge their fault, deliver up their armour, and approve and maintain all the acts of parliament made since the king's reign.

And so this business ended : though not that of Yorkshire, which pass'd in this manner : while the Lincolnshire-commotion was on foot, the Yorkshire-men made an insurrection, under the command of one Robert Aske : they would have it call'd yet only a Pilgrimage of Grace ; while, for giving it reputation, certain priests with crosses led the way, the army following with banners, wherein were painted the crucifix, the five wounds, and the chalice. And because they desir'd to draw in as many good persons as they could, they (July.) attempted first William Lord Dacres of Gillesland, advising him (as being of late wrongfully accus'd, and in danger, had not his peers acquitted him) to join with them, but he refus'd : then they sent to invite divers others, using threats, where persuasions serv'd not ; insomuch, that at last they made sundry persons of quality swear to be faithful to them : for they pretended only the good of the king and commonwealth, the Church and religion, and the depressing of hereticks.

They being now assembled in great number, the dispossessed and discontented monks every where made petitions to Aske for remedy ; who I find also re-establish'd them in divers places, wishing them to pray for the king, and to take up victuals of the farmers of the said monasteries upon bill, till their suit were granted. Which being advertis'd to the king on the one side, and (presently after) that the commons of Richmont, Lancashire, Durham, Westmorland, etc. were up in another place, and had fir'd the beacons, made him think what he had to do ; yet was not his service neglected by some of the nobility there, especially George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, who raising many men before he received the king's commission for it, did by this dangerous discretion much advance his service. For though his zeal for the welfare of the state were above scruples, and that some learned men in the law besides had told him, that his intention being good, his action could not be construed ill : he yet said, he knew his danger so well, as he had sent to the king for a pardon ; while for deterring the rebels, as well as the satisfying many, who otherwise might have suspected him, he gave an oath to his men to be true unto the king ; protesting further, that according to the ancient loyalty of the Talbots to the crown, when it had been upon a stake, he would have liv'd and dy'd in defence of it. And now the first order the king gave, was, to command the Duke of Suffolk's stay in Lincolnshire, lest they should rise again. Then he appointed the Earl of Shrewsbury as his lieutenant, to march with a great army and the cannon, against the northern men : he (Oct. 17.) writ also to Edward Stanley Earl of



Derby, to raise what forces he could, promising to repay his charges. Henry Courtney also, Marquis of Exeter, cousin-german to the king and the Earls of Huntingdon and Rutland offer'd themselves to the king's service. And because now divers monks in those parts were restor'd to their monasteries by the rebels, (as I find particularly those of Sally, Whally, Norton, and Hexam) be commanded them to be taken out, and martial law to be us'd against them. Yet as the noise of this insurrection was by continual couriers augmented, Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk about Oct. 20. was dispatch'd with forces to assist the Earl of Shrewsbury: who writ to the king, that the Yorkshire-men, as being us'd to arms, were more considerable than those of Lancashire, yet that they could not long continue together, but for lack of means to provide victuals otherwise than by rapine; and the season of the year: and that the best way was to persuade them to lay down their arms, or sow sedition among them.

This while Aske and his company advancing forward, forc'd Edward Lee Archbishop of York, and Thomas Lord Darcy, to surrender to them Pomfret Castle, and take the oath; which was, 'That they should enter into this pilgrimage of grace for the love of God, the preservation of the king's person and issue, the purifying of the nobility, and expulsing all villan-blood, and evil counsellors; and for no particular profit for themselves, nor to do displeasure to any, nor to slay nor murder any for envy; but to put away all fears, and take afore them the cross of Christ, His faith, and the restitution of the Church, the suppression of hereticks and their opinions.' But as this castle was strong, the archbishop and Lord Darcy (though pretending want of furniture and provision to hold out) were suspected to have render'd it in favour of the rebels. They stay'd not yet so, but took the city of York and Hull; and betwixt force and entreaty drew most of the great persons of those parts unto them. While not content to have pretext of religion, they by false tales got many partizans; therefore they gave out, as before they had done in Lincolnshire, that all the gold in England should be brought to the Tower to be touch'd; and that the king claim'd all the cattle unmark'd as his: as also all the goods and ornaments of parish churches; that they should pay fines for christenings, weddings and buryings, and for licences to eat white bread, and the daintier sorts of meats, etc. And this again stirr'd ranour in the peoples hearts.

Aske and his followers being now in Pomfret, Lancaster the herald came (Oct. 20.) with a proclamation from the Earl of Shrewsbury, requiring it to be read. But Aske sitting in state and having the archbishop on the one hand, and the Lord Darcy on the other, desir'd first to know the contents; which being told, he said it should not be proclaim'd. Nevertheless, he gave the herald a safe conduct, as long as he ware his coat. But the rebels not contented thus, requir'd Henry

Clifford Earl of Cumberland (being then in his castle of Skipton) to join with them : but he by letters assures the king, that though 500 gentlemen (retain'd at his cost) had forsaken him, he would yet continue the king's true subject, and defend his castle (in which he had great ordnance) against them all. Sir Ralph Evers also kept Scarborough Castle with no less courage against the rebels ; he and his company, having no sustenance but bread and water, for the space of twenty days that they besieg'd him.

The king being (Oct. 22.) now in Windsor, intends in person to go against the rebels, commanding his nobles for this purpose to meet him at Northampton, Nov. 7. And it was time to take some good order, for they were now grown to be 30,000 men ; in which number (being divided into three battles) they (Oct. 26.) presented themselves before Doncaster : near which, the Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Shrewsbury, and Marquis of Exeter were encamp'd with an army, though little in number (as being but 5000) yet better furnish'd. And two ways they had to pass the river Don to the town ; a bridge, and a foord : the bridge, the duke took on him to defend ; not neglecting yet to entertain them with a treaty, as expecting daily more forces : the foord was undertaken by the rest of the army. This alone yet could not have stay'd the rebels ; but a great rain falling that night, so increas'd the water, that it was not passable the next day : besides, by the coming of some shot, the bridge was so fortified, that it was now defensible. This hindered not the treaty ; for the Duke of Norfolk and the rest knowing of what importance it was to gain time till all the king's forces were assembled, and having intelligence besides among the rebels, got a petition from them to be deliver'd to the king, which Sir Ralph Elecker and Robert Bowes should carry, (who, though manfully defending Hull, against the rebels, were at last forc'd to join and take the oath.) The duke himself also promis'd to go with them, upon condition that there might be a cessation from hostility in the mean time ; which was condescended to. Coming thus to court, and the duke being first heard (who acquainted the king with the state of all things) the aforesaid commissioners presented the intrusted petition with many excuses on their own part. But the king, who desir'd still to gain more time, would return no present answer ; and the rather, because he was inform'd by the duke, that the rebels began to disband ; for the treaty disheartned and divided them, while rumours were dispers'd every where, that some of the chiefs would compound for themselves, and leave the rest to the gallows. Insomuch that daily and nightly they ran away, especially the poorer sort, who had neither means to subsist, nor might have leave from their captain to take any thing by force ; which being advertis'd to the king, made him both give private order to discharge those troops he had appointed to meet him at Northampton, and to detain Elecker and Bowes, upon

pretext that some innovation had been attempted by the Yorkshire-men since their coming up ; nevertheless, at last for clearing all suspicion, (since the commons took this detention of their messengers so ill, that they encourag'd one another to be in arms again at an hour's warning) the king thought fit (Nov. 14.) to send his answer ; yet not by them, but by the Duke of Norfolk, together with a safe conduct (under the great-seal) for 300 persons to meet in the town of Doncaster for concluding all things ; neither did the king doubt to admit this great number, as being confident they would not only less agree among themselves, but that some would be won to his party. After which, the said Elecker and Bowes had their dispatch too, as being commanded to say, that his majesty took it marvelous unkindly at their hands, that knowing his benignity, they would rather rise in arms than petition his majesty, and that they had left their country open to the Scots, who prepar'd to invade them : referring the rest to the Duke of Norfolk, who (Nov. 13.) brought (as I gather out of those originals I have seen) the offer of a pardon to all, except six nam'd, and four un-nam'd, when the rest would submit. But as the four un-nam'd concern'd every body, so it was declin'd. Nevertheless, certain books the king sent down, which were, as I take it, the articles of religion, devis'd by himself, being receiv'd by them, took away much misunderstanding and ill impression, which their discontented priests had given ; while for accompanying hereof, express order was (Nov. 19.) sent to the bishops in their several diocesses, not to neglect the usual ceremonies of the Church. Hereupon the clergy of those parts met at Pomfret, and agreed on certain articles of religion, to be propos'd in the following treaty. The Archbishop of York being present, and taking occasion to tell them, that though pilgrimages were good, yet an arm'd pilgrimage could not be lawful. After this, a day of meeting at Doncaster was appointed, in which John Lord Scroop, Lord Latimer, John Lord Lumley, and Thomas Lord Darcy, Sir Thomas Percy, Robert Aske, and about 300 persons, were to treat with the Duke of Norfolk, Sir William Fitz-William Admiral of England, and the rest : but concerning Aske, there was some difficulty, the rebels demanding hostages for his safe return. But the king inform'd hereof, answer'd, that 'he knew 'no gentleman or other, whom he esteem'd so little, as to put him in 'pledge for such a villain ;' therefore he wish'd the Duke of Norfolk and the rest, to assure the passages over the river Don, and to secure Doncaster : and whereas the rebels had demanded an abstinence from war for fourteen days, in case no agreement should be made ; not to grant it, as being time given them to fortify themselves, whereas he should rather win it from them by policy for his own advantage. But the Duke of Norfolk supposing that a general pardon and a parliament in those parts (which they requir'd) might quiet all, had (Nov. 26.) by letter to our king, persuaded him to accord it, or else to march towards



the rebels with an army of gentlemen and household servants, and not to trust the commons ; since the rebels, though they had laid down arms, had yet (upon firing of beacons and other signals) agreed among themselves to resume them again on all occasions. And now Dec. 6. the 300 on the part of the commons came to Doncaster to the king's lieutenants, where their first demand was a general pardon, then a parliament to be held in those parts, and a court of justice, that none beyond Trent might be cited to London in law-suits. After which, they desir'd a repeal of the act of parliament for the last subsidy, for uses, for misprision of treason for words, for tenths and first-fruits ; then that the Lady Mary might be restor'd to her legitimation, the pope to his wonted jurisdiction, and the late expuls'd monks to their houses ; the Lutherans to be punish'd, the lord privy-seal and lord chancellor to be excluded from the next parliament, and the Doctors Leigh and Layton to be imprison'd for bribery and extortion. But as these demands were more insolent than those of the Lincolnshire-men, and howsoever such as the king would not accord, the lords rejected them ; whereupon the rebels assembled in great numbers, divers others also, desirous to know the success, appearing among them. Which caus'd the Duke of Norfolk to write again to the king what a multitude was gotten together, and if no agreement follow'd, his highness's army was in ill estate to resist. Therefore, he and his associates desir'd his grace to send them instructions for divers degrees of proceeding with the rebels, and that the last might be for gaining of time, in case they came to no agreement.

The king finding these difficulties, and suspecting besides that the emperor had or would have a hand therein, and that the rebels might have assistance from Scotland ; and for the rest, believing that all was but misunderstanding in the simpler sort, which yet he hop'd his book of articles, and other good orders would in time rectify, sent to the Duke of Norfolk a general pardon for the rebels, and promise of a parliament, with directions yet to the duke, that he should not make use thereof, but in case of extremity. But the duke and the other lords finding so many gather'd together, as their number was very great ; and being not able to distinguish those who came on the rebels part, from such as curiosity only brought thither ; and considering that the first denial of their demands had so inflam'd them, that they intended to have fallen upon the town of Doncaster, (had not the river this second time, swelling by rain the night preceding, prevented their attempt) made use of the king's general pardon and promise of a parliament, which they all gladly accepted, and return'd home. The contents of this pardon, dated Dec. 9. at Richmond, and sealed with the great-seal, was, as our records shew, that the king granted them all a general and free pardon of all rebellion, treasons, felonies, and trespasses unto the day of the date hereof ; provided that they make their

submission to the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Shrewsbury (the king's lieutenant,) and that they rebel no more. I find also by our records, that to the petition (formerly mention'd) sent by Elecker and Bowes, the king sent a reply, pen'd by himself ; which I doubt not gave much satisfaction (as another had before done to this effect sent to the Lincolnshire-men.) It was this :

'First, as touching the maintenance of the faith, the terms be so general, that it would be very hard to make certain answer to the same ; but if they mean the faith of Christ, to the which all Christian men be only bound, we declare and protest our-self to be that prince that doth intend, and hath always minded to live and die in the maintenance, defence and observation of the purity of the same. And that no man can or dare set his foot by ours, in proving of the contrary. Marvelling therefore much, that ignorant people would go about to take upon them to instruct and teach us (which hath been noted something learned) what the faith should be. And also, that they being ignorant people, be so presumptuous (seeing that we and our whole clergy in convocation, hath in articles declar'd it) as to take upon them to correct us all therein. Or that they would be so ingrate and unnatural towards their most rightful king, and natural sovereign lord, without any our desert, upon false reports or surmises to suspect us of the same, and give rather credence to forged light tales, than to the very truth by us these twenty eight years us'd, and by our deeds approv'd.

'The second, which toucheth the maintenance of the Church, and the liberties of the same ; we say it is so general a proposition, that without distinctions no man with troth can answer ; neither by God's laws, nor by the laws of the realm. For first, the Church which they mean, must be known. Secondly, whether those things which they call liberties, and say they would maintain, be things lawful and beneficial to the prince and commonwealth, or otherwise. And these known, we doubt not but they shall be answer'd, according to God's law, equity, and justice. Nevertheless, for all their generality, this we dare affirm, that (meaning what Church they list) we have done nothing that may not be abiden by, both by God's laws and man's laws, or that is prejudicial to our commonwealth, if our proceedings may be indifferently consider'd. And in our Church of England, whereof we be the supreme head on earth, we have done nothing so onerous and chargeable to them, as many of our predecessors have done, upon much lesser grounds. Wherefore, sithence this article pertaineth nothing to any of our commons, nor that they bear anything therein, we cannot but reckon a great unkindness, and unnaturalness in them, which had leaver a churl or twain should enjoy those profits of their monasteries for the supportation and maintenance of abominable life, than that we their prince should receive the same, towards our extream

'charges done, and daily sustain'd for their defence against foreign enemies.

'The third article toucheth three things ; the first is the laws, the second is the commonwealth, the third the directors of the laws under us. Touching the laws ; as it becometh not blind men to judge of colours, ne to take upon them to be judges of the same ; so we dare expresly and boldly affirm, as a thing that may be easily and duly prov'd ; that there were never in any one of our predecessors days, so many wholsom, commodious and beneficial acts made for the commonwealth, as have been made in our time ; and sithence some of them had credit and doing in our affairs, that would now perchance pick them thank without desert ; for our Lord forbid that both we and our council should have lost so much time, as not to know better now, than we did in the beginning of our reign, what were a commonwealth, and what were against the good and commodity of the same ; seeing we have been a king these twenty eight years, and by experience learn'd the perfectness thereof. And although the folly and unkindness of some will not perchance let them so knowledge it, yet we trust and doubt not but the most part of our loving subjects, especially those which be not seduc'd by false report, do both think it, accept it, and find it so. Now touching the commonwealth, what king hath kept his so long in wealth and peace, so long without taking or doing wrong one to another, so indifferently ministred justice to all estates both high and low, so defended them from all outward enemies, so fortified the frontier of his realm to his no little, and in manner inestimable charges, and all for their wealths and safeties ? What king hath given among his subjects more general and freer pardons ? What king hath been loather to punish his subjects, or shew'd more mercy among them ? These things being so true as no true man can deny them ; it is an unnatural and unkind demeanour of you our subjects, to believe or deem the contrary of it, by whose report soever it should be set forth against us. And at the beginning of our reign where it is said, that so many noblemen were counsellors, we do not forget who were then counsellors ; for of the temporality, there were but two worthy to be call'd noble, the one the treasurer of England, the other the high steward of our houshold. Others, as the Lord Marney and Darcy, but mean born gentlemen, nor yet of any great lands, till they were promoted by us, and so made knights and lords ; the rest were lawyers and priests, saving the two bishops of Canterbury and Winchester. If these be then the great number of noblemen that is spoken of, and that our subjects seem'd then contented withal, why then be they not much better contented with us which have so many nobles indeed, both of birth and condition, of our council. For first, of the temporality of our privy council, we have the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquiss of Exeter, the Lord



'Steward, (when he is present) the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Sussex, the Lord Sands our Chamberlain, the Lord Admiral treasurer of our house, Sir William Paulet comptroller of our house. And of the spirituality, the Bishop of Canterbury, Winchester, Hereford, and Chichester : and for because it is more than necessary to have some in our privy council learned in our laws and pacts of the world ; we by the advice of our whole council, afore-named, did elect and chuse into our privy council, and also in their rooms, our chancellor and privy-seal ; thinking them men in all our opinion most meet for the same rooms ; and we with our whole council think it right strange, that ye which be but *brutes and inexpert folk*, do take upon you to appoint us who be meet for our council, and who be not. Mark therefore now, how these seditious persons, which thus wrongfully have born you thus in hand, have falsly abus'd you ; that reckon there were then more noblemen in our privy council than be now : but yet though of our great clemency and princely goodness we declare now the truth to pull our subjects from that error and blindness they were led and train'd to by false and untrue surmise and report ; we would again that every of them knew, that it appertaineth not to any subject to presume to take upon him the appointment of his king and sovereign lord's council, ne for our part we will take any such thing at any of our subjects hands. Wherefore, we would that from henceforth they should better remember the duties of good subjects to their natural liege lord, and meddle no further with those or such like things as they have nothing to do withal.

'To the fourth article, where the commons do name certain of our council to be subverters both of God's law, and the laws of this realm, we do take and repute them as just and true executors both of God's laws and ours, as far as their commission under us doth extend. And if any of our subjects can duly prove the contrary, we shall proceed against them, and all other offenders therein according to justice, as to our estate and dignity royal doth appertain. And in case it be but a false and an untrue report, as we verily think it is, then it were as meet, and standeth as well with justice, that they should have the self-same punishment which wrongfully have objected this to them, that they should have had if they had deserv'd it. And one thing among others causeth us to think that this slander should be untrue, because it proceedeth from that place which is both far distant from that where they inhabit, and also from those people which never heard them preach, nor yet know any part of their conversation. Wherefore we exhort all ye our commons to be no more so light of credit in believing of evil things spoke of us your natural prince and sovereign lord, nor of any of our prelates and counsellors ; but to think that your king, having so long reign'd over you with the advice of his council, hath as good discretion to elect and chuse his counsellors, as those, whosoever they

'be, that have put this in your heads, or ye either, being but ignorant people, and out of all experience of princes affairs.

'Here in this final point, which ye our commons of Yorkshire, Westmorland, Cumberland, the Bishopricks of Durham, Richmondshire, Craven, Dent, Sedbane, and all other places that have been seduc'd to this insurrection to desire, and also in the matter of the whole discourse of your petitions ; we verily think that the rest of all our whole commons of many countries, to whom you be in manner but an handful, will greatly disdain, and not bear it, that you take upon you to set order to us and them, and especially to us, being sovereign lord to you both. And that (you being rebels) you would make them as bearers and partakers of your mischief, willing them to take pardon for insurrections, which verily we think and doubt not, they never minded ; but like true subjects, to the contrary, have both with heart and deed been ready to our call to defend both us and themselves. And now for our part, as to your demands, we let you wit, that pardon of such things as you demand, lieth only in the will and pleasure of the prince : but it seemeth by your lewd proclamations and safe conducts, that there be among you, which take upon them both the parts of kings and counsellors, which neither by us, nor by the general consent of our realm hath been admitted to any such room. What arrogance is then in those wretches, being also of none experience, to presume to raise you our subjects without commission or authority ; yea and against us, under a cloaked colour of your wealth, and in our name, and as the success and end would declare, if we should not be more merciful unto you, than you have deserv'd, to your own utter confusions ? Wherefore, we let all you our said subjects again wit, that were it not that our princely heart cannot reckon this, your shameful insurrection, and most ingrate and unnatural rebellion to be done of malice or rancor, but rather by a lightness given in manner by a naughty nature to communalty, and a wondrous sudden surreption of gentlemen ; we must needs have executed another manner of punishment, than if you will humbly knowledge your fault, and submit your selves to our mercy, we intend to do (as by our proclamations we doubt not ye be inform'd.)'

And now this great company being dispers'd, began to take books of controversies in hand, and inform themselves concerning the king's articles of religion. But the clergy of the north in general wholly opposing the king's reformation, kept the rebellion still on foot, though outwardly smother'd for a while (as will appear in his place.)

I shall come now to foreign history.

Barbarossa being driven from Tunis, repairs to the Turk, newly return'd from the expedition to Persia ; and persuades him to take arms against the emperor ; who wanted (he said) only Algier to command

intirely all that coast of Affrica. The counsel pleas'd him ; and the rather that Monsieur de Forrest the French ambassador concurr'd therein, and one Pignaselo a renegado of Naples. Assembling thus an army of 200,000 men, and 400 gallies and ships, (in which were 3000 pieces of ordnance) under the command of Lutsi Bassa, he appointed them to be ready at Velona, being not above 15 leagues distant from Otranto in Italy : from whence a small part of the fleet being sent to enter that continent, they chose rather to fall on Castro than Otranto, or Brindisi, being stronger than that they could be gotten easily. This great preparative yet, at last, came to nothing : for those of Apulia not rising in favour of the French (which was hop'd) nor Francis having any army near to second him, and Doria (besides that) having taken some of their gallies from them, the Bassa having gotten Castro, and taken store of captives, neglected the enterprize, and return'd ; while Forrest the French ambassador died at Verona.

About this time (1537.) Alexandro de Medicis, first Duke of Florence was (June 6.) betray'd by his kinsman Lorenzo de Medicis, who promising to help him to a lady much desir'd by the duke, entic'd him to his house in the night : but in stead of the lady, Lorenzo with two assassins came in and kill'd him ; which yet was reveng'd by Cosmo de Medicis, his successor.

Though the emperor were now retir'd to Spain, he yet continu'd his wars against the French in the Low-Countries (and the rather, that our king had promis'd to be neuter betwixt them,) giving order thereupon to besiege Therouenne ; which being advertis'd to Francis, caus'd him to raise an army of 25,000 men under Anne Montmorency his lieuutenant, wherewith (the king being present) Hesdin, St. Paul, and divers other places were taken : while by a publick act in Paris the emperor was declar'd a rebel and felon, and that he had forfeited all the estate he held of the French crown, being Artois, Flanders, Charolois, and some others. But some considerable forces being rais'd on the emperor's part, and half the French army being diminish'd by reason of garisons put into the towns won, and other occasions, Francis with the rest of his army return'd. The imperial army hereupon, (May.) commanded by the Count de Bures, took (June 15.) back St. Paul (June 19.) surpris'd Monstruel, and defeated Claude de Annebault, Mareschal of France, though bravely defending himself after his victualling of Therouenne. Things being brought to these extremities, (July.) Mary Queen of Hungary, regent of the Low-Countries, mediated and effected a truce on those parts between the two princes for three months : while in Savoy some towns revolting, the Count de St. Paul was sent thither by Francis, who recover'd all again, and freed Turin then (Sept. 5.) besieg'd by the imperials. Yet Alonso de Avalos, Marquis of Guiasto, won back the greatest part of the marquise of



Saluzzo in the behalf of Francois marquis thereof; who for falling away to the emperor, was by the French king not long since depriv'd of his possessions. But the marquis enjoy'd not this restitution, being kill'd soon after with a small shot, while he play'd the part of a canoneer at the siege of the castle of Carmagnola, Francis understanding now the progress of the Spaniard in those parts, commands the Seigneur de Humieres with some German foot to pass to Piedmont, both to defend the places he had gotten there, and take others; who (July 6.) there-upon besieg'd Asti, but in vain, it being well defended; so that raising the siege, he went to Albe, which (Oct. 10.) was rendred him without resistance.

Businesses passing thus with various success on both sides, Francis thought fit to send (Aug. 10. 1536.) Henry the new Dauphin (his elder brother Francis after four days sickness, being the last year dead of a surfeit of drinking cold water after tennisplay, rather than poyson by the emperors procurement, though one suffer'd for it) and Antonie de Bourbon Duke of Vendosme, and Montmorency, who made their way over the Alps, by force took divers towns, and perform'd many brave exploits; which being advertis'd to the king, made him resolve to go thither in person, where advising with the Dauphin, and Montmorency what was further to be done, news was brought of a general abstinence of war concluded by the mediation of the Queen of Hungary, from that time, Nov. 28. 1537. till the 22d of Feb. following; for as upon a truce made a little before in Picardie for three months, commissioners were sent to the emperor to treat of a peace, or at least a general truce, and that for a longer time, so this cessation was accorded: and the rather, that the pope had now a long while mediated it. And by this means, as the siege was rais'd from Therouenne, so the French remain'd in possession of all they had in Piedmont. This book being publish'd, the Marquis of Guasto demanded leave to kiss the hand of Francis; which being granted, he, with many Spaniards in good equipage, came towards the army at Carmagnola, while Francis, for more honouring of Montmorency (as a man who for his rare merits, he thought, deserv'd that esteem) took him in the middle, betwixt himself and the Dauphin, and so expected the marquis, who having first done his due respects, and after treated of an agreement concerning the soldatesque in the places taken on either part, departed with much satisfaction of the reception which Francis had given.

The emperor this while not unmindful of the Princess Mary, us'd all means for restoring her to her legitimation and possibility of inheritance. Therefore desiring of the pope that Reginald Pool (who a little before had written his books *De Unione Ecclesiastica*) should be made cardinal, the pope both easily granted it, (Dec. 10. 1536.) and in the beginning of 1537. imploy'd him as legate to Flanders, that by this means he might confirm the Roman Catholicks in England, and ad-

vance his designs, being to stir up enemies to our king. Though as Pool was of the blood-royal (his mother Margaret Countess of Salisbury, being daughter to George Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.) many wanted not, who believ'd that his zeal was complicate with some ambition to intitle his line to the crown, when our king might be depos'd, and his posterity, especially by Queen Anne, declar'd illegitimate. Being now (March) on his way, our king who was inform'd hereof, writ to Francis to deny him passage through his kingdom, or to deliver him up as a rebel, or at least not to treat with him as a legate; who thereupon dismiss'd him. Coming thus to the Low-Countries, his servant Michael Throgmorton was very inquisitive (as our records tell us) whether the queen (being now great) were thought by the physicians to bear a man-child or female: which, as it made the intentions of the cardinal more suspected, so it gave occasion to John Hutton, the king's agent in the Low-Countries, to gain Throgmorton. He was also commanded by our king to charge the queen-regent there with breach of treaty, if she receiv'd the cardinal, being (as he call'd him) a traitor; which he seconded also in that manner, that though at first she said it was not fit for her to refuse the pope's legate, yet being now urg'd again, at a time when she was (as is before related) in war with Francis, she forbad the cardinal to enter; telling him, that since he was an Englishman of that quality, his negotiation could not be hidden, and that it might be to her prejudice. Howsoever, the cardinal sent a letter to the Lord Cromwel, to clear himself of all design against our king, and dispatch'd John Matthei Bishop of Velona to the regent, both to charge her with disobedience to the apostolick see, and to protest that legate was never so us'd: adding, that his business was chiefly to dispute the errors of our kings reformation. But the lady regent not liking disputations of religion in her dominions, again refus'd him: so that he was forc'd to hold his correspondence in England by more clandestine means: whereof, as also his other proceedings, his servant Throgmorton, and one Frier Peto certified some part, as I find by our records; as also his return to Rome in Nov. 1537. where he was receiv'd with much triumph (as the said Throgmorton affirm'd.) This proceeding of the pope's on the other side made our king cherish the princes of Germany: for which he took this occasion.

The Protestants finding their late pacification with the emperor not observ'd in all points, met again at Smalcald, Feb. 7. 1537. to consult what was to be done. Hither Heldus came on the emperor's part, who exhorted the princes, first, to accept the council indicted: secondly, to aid the emperor with money against the Turk; or (if he stir'd not) against the French (now usurping Savoy,) etc. Thirdly, he objected to them, that they had receiv'd into their league new confederates since the treaty at Noremberg. To this the Protestants answer'd, that for the council, it was not propos'd in a due manner nor place (the emperor

and princes having decreed that it should be in Germany,) therefore they could not admit it. For the treaty of peace at Noremberg, it was not broken by them, but by the emperors officers, who in the *camera imperialis*, contrary to the conditions agreed on, had question'd men for causes touching religion. And for those entred into their league since the treaty of Noremberg, it was desir'd that they also might be comprehended in that peace; upon which condition they promis'd to furnish the emperor such monies as he requir'd. Howbeit, if the emperor offer'd violence to them, they protested to defend them as their confederates.

Things standing thus, King Henry privately dispatch'd William Paget and Christopher Mount to Smalcald, with instructions to take France in their way, and acquaint Stephen Gardiner his English ambassador, and the French king therewith, and by their directions to do all things, and that the voyage was to be perform'd in disguis'd habit. In conclusion, the sum of their instructions was, to dehort the German princes from according either with the emperor, or to the council indicted; but rather to refer all their differences to him and the French king. And herein as the king pretended to shew his love to the said princes, (who, if the emperor made a peace with them, should (he said) be singly and separately oppress'd) so he had his own ends, as knowing that if a council were held, his actions would receive no favourable censure; so that though not only the French king but the emperor had promis'd (as I find in our records) that in the council his affairs should not be question'd; yet he gave them no intire credit. Therefore, after the Protestants had sent him their recusation of the council, he (Mar. 25.) made a publick protestation against it; shewing, that the indiction belong'd not to the Bishop of Rome, but to the emperor, and the princes who should send or come thither. That the time was unfit, war being then betwixt the emperor and Francis; the place inconvenient for the English, as being in Mantua, whither they could neither come safely, nor declare themselves freely; that the manner of deciding controversies in religion was unjust, the Bishop of Rome being judge in his own cause; that therefore the pope's intention was rather to establish his authority on this occasion, than to yield to a reformation, and after all to glory that a council had damn'd the contrary opinion. That for his particular, therefore, he would not come there, as having more reason to keep home, and provide against the rebellions and mischiefs that the said bishop had now for three years space procur'd or rais'd in his kingdom, than run new dangers. In conclusion, that nothing remain'd to be done, but that every prince should reform in his own kingdom; all other ways being suspect, perillous and unequal: yet if any could shew a better expedient, he would give ear to it. The French king would not declare himself yet so far; and indeed he had use of the pope at this time. Nevertheless,



he publickly protested again to the princes, that he would never consent to a council which was not assembled in a safe place, and free manner: and that his son-in-law, the King of Scots was of the same mind.

May now approaching, Frederic Duke of Mantua requir'd money of the pope to maintain a guard for the security of his city during the council. But the pope denying this, or at least requiring, that if he paid this guard it might be at his command, found the duke averse; so that he deferr'd the council from May to November, and then to May next, and lastly, transferr'd it to Vicenza, being in the Venetian territory. And because (by reason of these delays) many doubted whether the pope really intended a redress to the enormities then generally complain'd of, he resolv'd privately to proceed in a reformation a year since propos'd. And this was a singular ingenuity: yet as he referr'd the businesses to the Cardinals Contarino, Theatino, Sadolet, and Reginald Pool, and some others who were passionate on their own side, they produc'd after many conferences, no more than a remonstrance of divers abuses in the government and administration of ecclesiastical persons and affairs; for in the Church doctrine they would not admit an error. But there were few princes then living who would not have been glad that something more had been done; but as their subjects were so much at the pope's dispose, (when he would use his authority,) and as no little sums were drawn out of their kingdoms; that I may say nothing of theological points vexed on either side. Howbeit, this reformation (being extant in Sleidan lib. 12.) is worth the seeing: for certainly it was the occasion of rectifying divers abuses in that Church; so that it hath been better, or at least warier ever since: whereby it appears, that controversies in religion, though they produce many pernicious effects, have yet this one good, that they make both sides more careful not to offend; while fear lest personal faults should redound to the detriment of the religion they profess, becomes a caution for vertue and good example; so can God draw good out of evil; and so can man pervert all again: for though indeed there was hope at this time that a further reformation might have follow'd (and certainly it had been the safest way to begin there) yet as Luther, Stermius, and others hearing what was done by the delegates at Rome, both irrided it publickly, and rejected all reformations but their own; so all hope of reconciliation in this kind was precluded: while the pope and cardinals hearing thereof again, found now so little probability of an accord by endeavouring to come nearer the Protestants demand, that they thought it would rather derogate from the authority of the Church (as if it might err) than establish a general peace.

It is time I return now to those home affairs which pass'd while those foreign businesses formerly related were in action.

The insurrection of the North was not yet so quieted, but that the king thought fit to hold a hand over them: therefore he commanded the Duke of Norfolk to stay there, and together with the Earl of Shrewsbury to compose all things: who thereupon took the submission of the commons; which was, I. To revoke all oaths and promises made in the former insurrection, asking the king forgiveness on their knees. II. To be true to the king, his heirs and successors. III. To observe and maintain all acts of parliament since the first year of the king's reign. IV. Not to take arms again, but by his highness's authority. V. To apprehend all seditious persons. VI. To remove all the monks, friars and nuns they had reinplac'd in the late dissolv'd monasteries. Together with which these lords had private instructions to bring in the Lord Thomas Darcy and Robert Aske; and for Aske, I find by our history and records, that he came to our king, and that upon the submission aforesaid, and oath not to depart for any long season without the king's leave, being well receiv'd for the present, he (Feb.) was dismiss'd again. But the Lord Darcy, suspecting he should be question'd, excus'd himself to Cromwel; saying, that all he did was only for retaining so much credit among the commons, as might better enable him to do his highness service; adding thereunto a note of the services he had done the king and his father for fifty years. But this did not avail; for he was sent for to London, and imprison'd, that so he might no more run such hazards, the king foreseeing the rebellion would break out again, as indeed it happen'd: for Nicolas Musgrave, Thomas Tilby, and others besieg'd Carlisle with 8000 men, but were repuls'd by the city; and in their return encountered by the Duke of Norfolk, who caus'd all the captains (save Musgrave, who escap'd) and about seventy persons, by law-martial to be hang'd on Carlisle walls.

Sir Francis Bigot, and one Halam attempted also to surprise the town of Hull; but were prevented, and they both taken and executed. For which insurrections, and some lesser which follow'd, I find yet no reason deliver'd, but that the people were unsatisfied because a parliament was not held at York, according to their expectation; and that they imagin'd the Duke of Norfolk had order secretly (notwithstanding the pardon) to chastise the principal offenders. But our king on the other side, allעדg'd, that since they had not restor'd all the religious houses, in which they had reimplac'd the monks, he was not bound strictly to hold promise with them. Howsoever, these new revolts ended quickly: and now the duke having this occasion, (Feb.) proceeded severely; for having by the king's commandment spread his royal banner, he thereupon executed martial-law where he thought it needful. In conclusion, so many were found to be complices in treason, or the conspiracy of it, that the Lord Darcy, Robert Aske, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer and his wife (or paramour,) Sir Thomas

Percy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, and William Lumley, were taken and brought prisoners to London ; and in June following the Lord Hussy for the Lincolnshire business, and the Lord Darcy were arraign'd at Westminster before the Marquis of Exeter then high steward, and found guilty of high treason. The Lord Darcy was beheaded at Tower-Hill, and the Lord Hussy at Lincoln : others were hang'd at Hull, and at York, some elsewhere, among whom were divers religious persons : the news whereof being certified by the Duke of Norfolk to court, the king by letter to him, said, he would close this tragedy : for he sent now a general pardon ; which was receiv'd with great joy, many being terrified with the dukes proceedings. All this great service of the Duke of Norfolk yet could not exempt him from calumny : for the Lord Darcy during his imprisonment, had accus'd him, as favouring the rebels articles when they first met at Doncaster. But the duke denied it, offering the duel, saying, that Aske (who suffered at York before the said lord) told him the said lord's intentions ; who (he said) bare him ill will ever since the duke had solicited the said lord to deliver Aske into his hands, when he was in chief credit with the rebels ; which Darcy denying, some expostulation had pass'd betwixt them. Nevertheless, I find the king was so well satisfied of the duke, that those things were pass'd over without further questioning.

Of all which proceedings (from the beginning) though James the Scottish king (now in France) were advertis'd ; yet he stir'd not. And it was happy for our state ; for had he joyn'd, he might have endanger'd the northern parts, as people stood then affected. Howsoever our king who thought his absence was not security enough, had employ'd Sir Ralph Sadler thither, with command to reside till James return'd (which was about Whitsontide, 1537) and to inform him of all occurrents. Howbeit, I find that James in his way touching on the coast of England, divers English cast themselves at his feet, and desir'd him to assist them, saying, he should have all : (for so the original hath it.) But the king would not suddenly discover himself. Coming thus to Edinburgh with his new married queen, (who was brought up under the Queen of Navarre, and not disaffected to the reformation of religion) he was receiv'd with much joy, which yet continued not long, she dying shortly after of an hec tick fever : (as hath been formerly related.) Whereupon Cardinal Beton and Robert Maxwel were sent into France to treat of a marriage betwixt him and Mary of the house of Guise, and widow of the Duke of Longueville, which also follow'd.

The king having appeas'd all things in these parts, procures the establishment of his authority in Ireland ; but as now the vigorous and many executions done upon all sorts of persons had made him terrible ; so that sweet temper of love and fear, which ought to be equally mix'd in all subjects hearts, was turn'd into that awe and dread



as few thought themselves safe ; which though it might have caus'd some apprehension in him, had he been capable thereof, yet without being troubled for any thing, he resolv'd to hold his way, and where occasion was, to punish severely : therefore he gave order that Thomas Fitz-Gerald, son to the Earl of Kildare, and five of his uncles after a long detention in prison, at this time should suffer death (Feb. 3. 1537.) at Tyburn ; who yet had he not hop'd for pardon by the intercession of the Lord Grey, to whom he yielded himself, (as is formerly mention'd,) he would have died some other death. All the race yet ended not so ; for Gerald, younger brother to Thomas Fitz-Gerald, being sought for, was packt up in a bundle of clothes, and convey'd to his friends in Ireland, and so to France, and from thence to the Low-Countries, in both which places being requir'd of our king, he did at length fly to Cardinal Pool in Italy, who being his kinsman, and finding him a fit instrument for his purposes, kept, and cherish'd him, until he obtain'd, in after times, that he might be restor'd to his country and place.

This being done, our king devis'd certain acts to pass in the parliament of Ireland ; being for the avoiding of all bulls, breves, dispensations, etc. granted by the pope ; and that the people should use the English tongue. That marchers should dwell upon their march lands : that certain religious houses there should be suppress : against alliance with the rebels ; for establishing succession ; for the first-fruits and twentieth part of spiritual promotions ; that those who took part with Kildare might be pardon'd, when they fin'd for it, etc. of which more may be seen in the Irish statutes.

This year, at Hampton Court, Prince Edward was born, Oct. 12. 1537. who (to use Polydore's words) was *princeps natus ad imperium* ; yet was not the happiness entire ; for Queen Jane, two days after her delivery, died, and was buried in the quire at Windsor ; whose loss much afflicted the king, as having found her always discreet, humble, and loyal ; for which reason also, he was not so forward to match again. Insomuch that notwithstanding some good offers made him, he continued a widower more than two years ; which in his declining age and corpulence (for he grew now very unwieldy) was a long space.

The prince yet not being above six days old, was made Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwal, and Earl of Chester : Sir Edward Seymour also, brother to the queen, lately made Lord Beauchamp, was (Aug. 16. 1536.) created Earl of Hertford. And Sir William Fitz-Williams (made Admiral of England lately) Earl of Southampton. And in March following Sir William Paulet, Treasurer of the king's house, was made Lord St. John ; and Sir John Russel, Comptroller, Lord Russel.

And now (as I find by our records) Queen Margaret hearing of this prince's birth, congratulates it, and together complains of some un-

kindness in her son, desiring she might end her days (being now about forty-nine) in quietness ; but if our king could give no remedy thereunto, it comforted her yet, that she understood how (upon the death of the Lord Thomas Howard) her daughter was at this time (Oct. 31.) releas'd out of the Tower.

I shall conclude this year with a prodigious effect of Mount Ætna, the flames whereof lifting up a huge mass of burning sulphur, by slow degrees, to a great height, sustain'd it there, till at length it scatter'd over all the country, and kill'd (as my author Sandoval hath it) innumerable men and beasts.

In March 1538, the Protestants meeting at Brunswick, our king sent thither Christopher Mount, with instructions, I. To see who were the confederates. II. Whether their league was for general defence, or limited to matter of religion only. III. To require a final answer, whether they would send a great legation with Melancthon, as they had promised. But they desiring King Henry should first declare what points he disliked in their confession, lest the ambassador should after so great expectation return without effect, excused themselves in this last point, pretending that they had present use of their learned men, etc. And as to the other two articles, they declared, that their league was only in the cause of religion, and (May 12.) sent the names of their confederates, being (as the record shews) twenty six cities, and twenty four princes ; among whom the King of Denmark was newly admitted. Nevertheless, to ripen matters for a further treaty, they gave commission to their agents now sent (being Francis Burgrat, and two other men not unlearned) to dispute with the English divines about religion, (Aug. 5.) which they did, till being recall'd home, they craved dismissal of the king, leaving with them their remonstrance touching divers abuses in England : as, I. The administrations of the eucharist in one kind only. II. Private mass. III. Celebate of priests. Against which they urged Scripture, and the ancient fathers ; adding, that their princes would never admit the same ; and that it belongs to his majesty to restore the purity of religion, as did the kings, David, Josias, Jehoshaphat, Ezekias, etc. This, though commended to the king and Cromwel by Archbishop Cranmer, was yet opposed by divers others, and particularly by Cuthbert Bishop of Duresme, (who extracted the said declaration for the king, and gave him arguments against it.) So that the king, for all answer to the said orators, defended the points they would have reformed. Insomuch, that they (Sépt.) return'd unsatisfy'd and frustrate. King Henry the while proceeding in his own reformation, as hoping the Protestants in Germany would be drawn to him. And because he had been often importuned to authorize a translation of the Bible, he committed the care thereof to Cromwel, and the printing to Richard Grafton ; who pretending the want of good paper here, got our king's and Francis's license to print it at

Paris, both in Latin and English, in a large volume : which therefore by Cromwel the vicegerent's injunctions this year (1538.) was to be set in every church for the people to read ; yet so, as the king by proclamation gave them to understand, that this was not his duty, but his goodness and liberality to them ; who therefore should use it moderately, for the increase of virtue, not of strife. And therefore no man should read it aloud to disturb the priest while he sang mass, nor presume to expound doubtful places without advice from the learned.

The king having issue male, proceeded more confidently in his designs : and because he knew that the pretended and false miracles of priests had seduced many ignorant people to a superstitious obedience to the Romish see, and reverence of monasteries, he resolv'd to detect them, at least, as many as he could ; for divers were so cunningly represented, as they had kept their credit for some ages ; the manner of these times being, if a man were restor'd to his health upon a pilgrimage, or obtain'd any thing he desir'd upon a vow to some saint, never to study other cause.

And here, out of our records, I shall mention some of the images and relicks to which the pilgrimages of these times brought devotion and offerings ; as our lady's girdle, shew'd in eleven several places, and her milk in eight ; the bell of St. Guthlac, and the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, both remedies for the head-ach ; the pen-knife and boots of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and a piece of his shirt, much reverenc'd by great-belly'd women ; the coals that roasted St. Lawrence ; two or three heads of St. Ursula ; Malchus's ear, and the paring of St. Edmond's nails ; the image of an angel with one wing, which brought hither the spear's head that pierc'd Christ's side ; an image of our Lady with a taper in her hand, which burnt nine years together without wasting, till one forswearing himself thereon, it went out ; and was now found to be but a piece of wood ; our Lady of Worcester, from which certain veils and dressings being taken, there appear'd the statue of a bishop ten foot high. These and others were now brought forth, and with great ostentation shew'd to the people ; among which were two notable trumperies I cannot omit ; one was the Rood of Grace, at Boxley in Kent, which being made with divers vices to turn the eyes and move the lips, was shew'd publickly at Paul's-Cross, by John Bishop of Rochester, and (Feb. 24.) there broken and pull'd in pieces. The other was at Hales in Gloucestershire, where the blood of Jesus Christ brought from Jerusalem, being kept (as was affirmed) for divers ages, had drawn many great offerings to it from remote places : and it was said to have this property, that if a man were in mortal sin, and not absolved, he could not see it ; otherwise, very well : therefore every man that came to behold this miracle, confess'd himself first to a priest there, and then offering something to the altar, was directed to a chapel where the relick was shew'd ; the priest who



confess'd him (in the mean while) retiring himself to the back part of the said chapel, and putting forth upon the altar a cabinet or tabernacle of crystal, which being thick on the one side, that nothing could be seen thorow it, but on the other side thin and transparent, they used diversly : for if a rich and devout man enter'd, they would shew the thick side, till he had paid for as many masses, and given as large alms as they thought fit ; after which (to his great joy) they permitted him to see the thin side, and the blood. Which yet (as Will. Thomas. my author, a clerk of the council to Edward VI. and living in those times, affirms) was proved (Nov. 24.) to be the blood of a duck every week renew'd by two priests, who kept the secret betwixt them. Besides which, the images of our Lady of Walsingham, of Ipswich, of Penrise, of Islington, and St. John of Osulston (called otherwise Mr. John Shorne) who was said to shut up the devil in a boot ; and divers others were (May 22.) publicly burnt : insomuch, that a huge image call'd Darvel Gadern being fetch'd out of Wales serv'd to burn Frier Forrest, (condemn'd for counselling people in confession not to believe the king's supremacy) and to elude some old blind prophecy.

And by this means the monasteries grew infamous where most of these images were kept, and divers were undeceived, who before held a reverend opinion of these pretended relicks and miracles ; yet, as this way, there was danger lest the people should not believe those miracles which the Church had delivered for true, the king held a hand over his subjects, and found means to humble them ; for they were taught, that howsoever the miracles of those later times proved counterfeit and false, yet that God hath done, and can again do miracles, when it is for His glory and service ; and that it did not repugn to faith, that for honouring the memory of His saints, He permitted them sometimes, where the people were not withdrawn thereby from His worship, to the worship of the creature.

Upon the cessation of arms betwixt the emperor and French king formerly mention'd, the pope endeavour'd a further peace and good correspondence, as thinking them capable both of making war with the Turk, and revenging his quarrel on our king, against whom he was much intente to join them. But there are many difficulties in procuring two potent princes to concur in the same enterprize, when it was for nothing else, but that they can never agree who should have the advantage of it. Nevertheless, both of them were disaffected to our king at this time, not yet so much for their particular interests, as that his overthrowing of religious houses, and many rigorous executions of his subjects, had given ill impressions of him ; which our king understanding, procures to hold his treaty with Francis. And therefore recalling (July 7.) from Spain Edmond Bonner, elect Bishop of Hereford, and his ambassador then with the emperor, he employ'd him in France, in the place of Stephen Gardiner, who had soured all

things ; since, being one who both dislik'd the king's late proceedings, and secretly favour'd the emperor, he did his master little service in that court. Bonner being now (Aug.) come, was roughly received by Gardiner, and coldly by the French king (as I find by an original ;) yet he obtained at first that the Old and New Testament in English might be printed at Paris in the largest volume, whereof yet complaint being made by the clergy there, the press was stay'd, and as much as was already printed, publickly burnt, save some few copies, that being gotten for waste-paper, were recover'd and sent into England, whither also the printers themselves follow'd shortly after (Dec. 17.), and finished their work. Howbeit, as Bonner had in his other affairs here but little satisfaction, he was repeal'd at last on this occasion ; being commanded by our king, to deliver a high message, concerning his pension, now four years detain'd, as also touching a fugitive and traitor, who was receiv'd and favour'd by Francis, he utter'd it in so haughty a manner (as was thought) that Francis return'd both to our king and him some harsh language ; nevertheless, as he fear'd lest it shou'd cause war, he sent to England an express messenger both to interpret and excuse himself, and to desire Bonner might be recall'd ; which the king did, (as thinking him henceforth an unuseful servant in that place) yet so as he forgot not to bestow the bishoprick of London on him for his reward, and to employ him to the emperor afterwards. But as Francis (having about this time made (Oct. 20.) a ten years truce with the emperor, as shall be told hereafter, and a treaty with Scotland) talked louder than before ; so the lady regent in the Low-Countries, permitting divers exactions on our merchants, shew'd disaffection to our state, without that our king in his present condition knew well how to repair himself, since being resolved to take order about his home-businesses, not yet fully settled, he thought of foreign affairs no otherwise, than to attend the occasion, and confederate himself where it might be for his best advantage. For which at last divers overtures were made. The first it seems came from the emperor, whose ambassador here signified to Cromwel lord privy-seal, his master's desire, that a match might be had betwixt our king and Christiana the Dutchess of Milan, being a beautiful lady, and at that present lately come into the Low-Countries. Cromwel answer'd, that he would first see her picture, and then speak to the king ; which being granted, one Hans Holin (or Holbin I believe) being the king's servant, was (March.) sent over, and in three hours space (as John Hutton our agent there hath it) shew'd what a master he was in his science. Our king here-upon seem'd inclinable, giving charge to Hutton to treat of the business. But the lady regent (though said to have sufficient power) referr'd all to the emperor, who having appointed an interview with Francis, was so slow in returning an answer, that our king understood it as a delay, and therefore neglected the business a while : and he had reason ; for

a treaty was now formed betwixt Francis and the emperor, for his son the Duke of Orleans and her, and the place nominated at Comptean, where Francis (now return'd from the interview, whereof hereafter) met Queen Mary regent of Flanders: whereof our king being advertis'd, sent some privately thither, to inform him of that which passed; but Milan being refused as dowry to the duke, the treaty was suspended. This made our king proceed again, imploying Thomas Wriothesly, and some others, to the lady regent for this purpose; but this treaty produced others, so that a match was propos'd betwixt Don Lewis of Portugal and our Princess Mary, in the terms she then was, excluded by act of parliament from all claim to the succession, except such as the king shall give her: as also a strict confederation and amity. The conditions our king requir'd with the Dutchess of Milan were great; for though she was but the second daughter of Denmark, Dorothea the elder being married to Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhine, and Duke of Bavier, yet he demanded with her the whole kingdom of Denmark, (there being no issue male now alive of Christiern II.) desiring for this purpose the emperor's assistance, which also the emperor seem'd to promise, as offering to treat with Duke Frederick about renouncing his title to it; and the rather, that he was more suspected at this time in the German affairs, than that the emperor desir'd to greaten him, by such an accession. And with Don Louis the emperor offer'd Milan, when the king would shew how to defend it, and give only a dowry of 300,000, or 200,000 crowns; promising further, if the French king, upon this occasion, deny'd the pension usually paid our king, to take no peace with him till he had paid it; he offer'd also to endeavour a reconciliation with the pope, if our king so pleased. Nevertheless, divers jealousies and cavils arising (especially after the interview) betwixt the emperor and Francis, (whereof presently) the treaty, though continuing, went on but coldly; the lady regent objecting sometimes that our king treated of a match in France with the daughter of Guise; another while saying, that in regard of the dutchess's nearness of blood to the late Queen Katharine, there needed a dispensation from the pope, which she knew the king would hardly accept; but these answers were taken as illusory, the treaty at last not only broke off, but a cruel war was intimated betwixt the emperor and our king; especially after he heard of the treaty betwixt him and the Lady Anne of Cleves, which follow'd. But Francis omitted not likewise to make his propositions, offering our king what lady he pleased in his country, which yet came to nothing, as will appear hereafter; neither ought their motions of alliance to seem strange, both as there were ever causes of jealousy betwixt these great princes, and as they knew well, that our king had settled his affairs at home.

While things past thus, the truce expiring in February betwixt the



French king and emperor, the pope obtain'd (Feb. 22.) yet that it should be continued for six months ; hoping in the interim to conclude a peace ; whereunto as his good intentions might concur, so his particular interests wanted not ; he imploying the Cardinal Carpi to the emperor, and Cardinal Jacobaccio to the French king for concluding two matches for his family ; one betwixt his grand-child Ottavio Farnese and Margarita relict of the Duke of Florence, natural daughter of the emperor : the other betwixt Victoria Farnese and Antoine de Bourbon Duke of Vondosme ; and for bringing them to an interview, at which himself would be present. All which was accorded, and the time and place of meeting appointed at Nizza about the beginning of June, 1538. where they all came ; but so as the emperor being lodg'd in Villa-Franca, and the French king in Villa-Nova, they neither saw one another in their several courts, nor at the pope's at Nizza : insomuch, that notwithstanding the pope's solicitation, their mutual jealousies of the pope's affection, the number of their attendants not to be regulated as long as third persons interven'd, their late defies, and greatness of businesses to be determin'd betwixt them, permitted no safe terms of meeting. Nevertheless, the pope (June 18.) (after he had in vain desir'd them to send some bishops to the council now at Vicenza) concluded a truce betwixt them for ten years, and so the meeting dissolv'd. The pope recalling his legates from Vicenza, and deferring the council till Easter the next year.

And now the emperor and Francis being (July 28.) near each other, and, for the rest, princes of so great courage, as they heard with some indignation the difficulties their counsellors had represented about an interview, resolved betwixt themselves to meet. Francis sent an invitation to him to repose at Aiquesmortes and Marseilles, in his way to Spain ; and Charles accepted it ; who coming thereupon near the shore, Francis, attended with Montmorency (now constable) and few others, without all difficulty passed in a shallop to the emperor's galley ; and after an hour's stay, and some complements in French, (which language both spake) Francis return'd to land. And now the emperor was pensative and doubtful whether he should go on shore ; many of his council oppos'd it ; but the Duke of Alva said generously, he should go ; which council the emperor follow'd : and (July 15.) hereupon landing, the French king and his queen, the Dauphine, and a huge train, receiv'd him with demonstration of joy : and two meals they did eat together, at which the Dutchess of Estampes (much regarded by Francis) was present. But the next day after, (being the sixteenth of July) rich gifts having pass'd on both sides, the emperor departed for Spain.

And now it was disputed at Rome, whether these two princes should join in a war against the Turk, or bring our king to reason ? The former took place ; the Turk, as being much animated against the

Christians, having made great preparatives : and when he had not, our king being a person with whom they would not easily have fought in the pope's quarrel : which also is the more probable, for that Francis would not so much as concur with him in a war against the Turk, though solicited by the pope, emperor and Venetians, no more than our king : tho' (as I find by our records) intreated by the said Venetians, as having a particular war with the Turk at this time in Morea and Sclavonia ; so that they above-named only join'd, according to a league made at Rome, Feb. 8. the pope furnishing 36 galleys, the emperor 82, and the Venetians as many ; who yet being led by Andrea Doria, and coming to fight with the Turkish fleet of 130 vessels, under Barbarossa, were on the coast of Epiro, towards night, Sept. 24. defeated ; when such a huge tempest of thunder and lightning arose, as scatter'd them every way : yet few days after they took from the Turk Castel Novo, a fort in the gulf of Catiro, and leaving a garrison there return'd.

All which engagements of war, though in effect they were so many diversions of it from us, could not secure our king from suspicion either of treachery at home, or invasion from abroad. Therefore he took especial care of the sea-coasts, and particularly had an eye to the actions of those who might stir in favour of Cardinal Pool ; who being encouraged by the pope, had no little intelligence from our kingdom. Notwithstanding all which attention, divers messages passed betwixt the said cardinal and his friends and kindred ; which cost some of them their lives not long after.

And now the king knowing that while any superstitious worship reigned here, the friers and priests would oppose his reformation, especially as long as such were accounted saints, who had resisted their prince, resolved, after he had burned so many images, to burn the bones of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury in the time of Henry II. (though others mention not the burning ; and one living in those times, affirms only, that his bones were scatter'd amongst so many dead mens, that they could not be found again without some great miracle.) Together with which, our king seized on that immense treasure and jewels which were offer'd to his shrine ; there being few since Henry the second's time, which passed to Canterbury, that did not both visit his tomb, and bring rich presents to it. Among which, there being one stone eminent, which it was said, Louis VII. coming hither on pilgrimage from France, Aug. 23. A.D. 1179, bestow'd ; our king wore it in a ring afterwards. For which reasons, as also for being so great an example of contumacy against his king, he was (as Sanders hath it) constrain'd *causam iterum ad tribunal dicere* ; that is to say, his life and actions being examin'd, it was declar'd by our king that he deserved no canonization ; and proved, besides, that the skull which the people did so much venerate (and which was now burnt as an im-

posture) was not his own, (it, together with his bones, being found in his tomb) and scatter'd, (as aforesaid) and that there was forgery in divers miracles there exhibited ; with which yet our king being not content, caus'd his name to be raz'd out of the calendar, and forbad the keeping of his holiday. But that it may appear what a kind of saint this man was, I will repeat some part of his life ; not out of his legend, or indeed Polidore Virgil, who most fabulously affirms, that certain men of Kent for cutting off Becket's horse-tail, their progeny ever after, as long as any of them remain'd, had tails like beasts ; but out of a book of the said clerk of the council, (W. Thomas.) formerly mention'd, leaving to every man yet the choice of believing what relation he pleaseth.

This man (as my author Wil. Thomas hath it) being born of an English merchant, and a woman of Barbary, having been brought up in learning, and promoted to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, contested with King Henry II. for the pope's authority : insomuch, that in his pontificalibus, with his mitre upon his head, and gilt cross born before him, he publickly excommunicated all those who opposed the Church ; wherewith the king being offended, Becket (1165.) fled to the pope, who cherished him so much, as in contemplation of him, he excommunicated the king and kingdom ; so that for about four year's space, neither mass, nor other publick service was used in the church. But by the intercession of the French king, Becket and the mass being restor'd, (1170.) and our king and kingdom absolv'd, all things seem'd quiet, till he began new quarrels : at which the king being displeased, said, if he had faithful servants, he should not be so wronged ; which some gentlemen that served him hearing, went to Canterbury, and taking their time, upon some ill language given, kill'd him in the cloister of the cathedral church, and so fled. Whereupon the monks shut their gates, and persuaded the people that the bells rung of themselves ; nor content herewith, they cast a certain composition into a well adjoining, and made the people believe that it appeared bloody by miracle, for that holy martyr ; which at last obtain'd such credit, that Henry II. came (Aug. 23. 1179.) in person, together with Louis of France, to visit that holy place, and give many rich possessions to the monastery ; for further testimony of his favour to them, refusing ever to receive again, or pardon the murtherers ; yet these wonders ended at last, for our king, on some occasion, coming to Canterbury, discovered the fraud of the well, and abolished the miracles.

But what pretext soever our king had to proceed thus with Becket, nothing was taken to be a greater cruelty and rapine : insomuch, that upon news hereof, the pope deferred no longer to publish (Dec. 17.) his bull of excommunication (formerly decreed 1535) against our king ; wherein he also mentions this fact with much horror and detestation ; sending also his agents abroad with the said bull, who set



it up in divers places of Flanders, France and Scotland ; being such a bull (saith the writer of the Council of Trent) as neither his predecessors left him example for, or his successors ever imitated. But the pope gain'd little hereby ; for all his rigours were but so many incentives to King Henry to oppose him ; therefore as he had (April 8.) sent publick protestations every where, against the council to be assembled (May.) at Vicenza, affirming, the same difficulties would be about holding of it there, which must have been at Mantua ; so having made way by the discovery of the former impostures, he suppress'd more monasteries, and every day more and more divested the clergy of their former authority. Howbeit, on the other side, he oppos'd all reformation but his own ; as appears both by burning two Dutch Anabaptists, and by a dispute he publickly (Nov. 19.) held in Westminster-Hall, with one John Nicholson alias Lambert, a priest ; against whom he maintained the presence of Christ in the sacrament, after the manner he set down in his articles : concluding, that he should have mercy if he recanted ; otherwise, that he should be burnt. But Lambert despising mercy on those terms, the sentence was (November 22.) executed. So deep a tincture doth religion thus give to the soul, as being once thoroughly enter'd, nothing afterward can either change or efface it.

The king having thus made it appear, that howsoever he rejected the papal authority, he concurred not every where with the reformers, thought he might with more reason now confront the report which Cardinal Pool and his friends had rais'd, that he had wholly altered his religion. In which number, besides Henry Courtney Marquis of Exeter (the king's cousin-german, as being son of Katherine, daughter to Edward IV.) and Henry Pool Lord Montacute, and Sir Edward Nevil brother to the Lord Abergavenny, and Sir Jeffery Pool, kt. were eminent ; he took occasion (upon secret information given by Sir Jeffery) to cause them to be indicted, for devising to maintain, promote, and advance one Reginald Pool late Dean of Exeter, enemy to the king, beyond the seas, and to deprive the king ; upon which the two lords, before Thomas Lord Audley (for the present sitting, as his High Steward of England) were (Dec. 21.) found guilty ; not long after which, Sir Edward Nevil, Sir Jeffery Pool, two priests, and a mariner, were (Jan. 3.) arraign'd, and found guilty also, and judgment given accordingly. The two lords and Nevil were beheaded, the two priests and mariner hang'd and quarter'd at Tyburn, (Jan. 9.) and Sir Jeffery pardon'd : Sir Nicholas Carew also (knight of the garter, and master of the horse to the king) for being of council with the said marquis, was (March 3.) beheaded. The particular offences yet of these great persons are not so fully made known to me, that I can say much. Only I find among our records, that Thomas Wriothesley secretary (then at Bruxels) writing (Nov.) of their apprehension to Sir

Thomas Wyat, (his highness's ambassador in Spain) said, that the accusations were great, and duly proved. And in another place I read, that they sent the cardinal money.

I find little more of this year for our parts, save that notwithstanding all these severities, neither was one Connesby, groom of the king's chamber, deterr'd from counterfeiting the king's seal manuel ; nor one Clifford from counterfeiting his privy signet ; both which therefore suffer'd death.

The emperor, now in Spain, among his home-businesses, thought none more requisite, than to take order for money : therefore he assembled (Nov. 1.) at Toledo a cortes or parliament of both states ; so that the grandes of Castilla and Leon on the one side, and Cardinal of Toledo and clergy on the other, did enter into it : where the emperor's necessities being represented by occasion of his late wars, it was declared, that neither his ordinary revenues, nor the Indies, nor the cruzades, tenths and other helps granted by the pope, did suffice to keep him out of debt. Wherefore the emperor desir'd, that at their charge all his estate and dominions every where might be preserv'd and secur'd, both by sea and land ; so as he might have the ordinary rent of Castilla and the Indies for paying his debts, and spending-money. The clergy hereupon agreed, that their most ready and equal way for supplying the emperor's wants, was to grant a sisa or tax for a certain time, with a limitation to what it should extend ; since less corruption and extortion would follow this way than any other : only they desir'd the emperor, that he should procure a license and commandment from his holiness to this purpose. But the grandes and nobles, who had immediate power in his hands to consent unto the emperor's demand, would yet resolve nothing suddenly in their own name, or the peoples, nor before they had committed the business to twelve elect persons among them ; among which the constable being chief, spake much against impositions, desiring rather to supply the emperor some other way : and that they might confer with the burgeses or procuradors of the chief cities hereof ; beseeching his majesty withal, that he would stay at home and study peace, as having made eighteen years of continual war both by sea and land : which answer being brought the emperor, it was reply'd on his part, 'that he demanded money, and not advice.' Hereupon, certain amongst them propos'd to lay imposition upon commodities exported ; but the rest agreed not. Whereupon the Cardinal of Toledo came (Feb. 1.) and told them, in his majesty's name, that he assembled them to the intent he might communicate his own and his kingdom's necessities ; it seeming reasonable, that as they were general, so should the remedy be : but by as much as is done, he conceiveth there is no cause to detain you any longer, and therefore gives you leave to depart.

The cortes being thus dissolv'd, the emperor upon occasion,

told the constable, 'He had done ill, and deserv'd to be thrown 'out of a corredor or open gallery, where they were.' To which he answer'd, 'Your majesty will please to advise ; for though I am 'little, I weigh much.' But it seems the emperor spake neither in earnest, nor the conestable as one that resented ; so that nothing follow'd. Howsoever, the grandees and nobles of Spain behav'd themselves insolently at this time to the emperor ; who having commanded a joust or tourney, wherein all the principal persons were to meet : it happen'd as they rode in their equipage and order to the place, an alguazil strook the Duke of Infantados horse, on some occasion ; whereupon the duke turning about, demanded, 'Do you know me ?' and the alguazil saying, 'Yea :' he with his sword cut him on his head ; who with blood about his ears coming to the emperor (then on horseback,) incens'd him so much, as he sent presently to apprehend the duke ; but the conestable being present, said to the officer, 'You have no 'authority as long as I'm in place :' and so forc'd him thence. The emperor now much offended, that all these *acrevemienços* were done in his presence, sends another officer to apprehend the duke ; at which the grandees and others were so displeas'd, that they all rode away in a troop ; so that the emperor having few or none to attend him in this great solemnity, was forc'd to desist and return ; both to his own great scandal, and those who came to be spectators. But the emperor found means afterwards, to let them know how sensible he was of this contempt.

The German Protestants, this while, being solicited for aid against the Turk, and denying it, unless the emperor first granted them such a solid and intire peace in the cause of religion, as might comprehend both the present and future confederates ; the adverse party enter'd (Nov. 25. 1538.) a counter-league to that of Smalcald, calling it holy, and stipulating mutual defence, if they were molested for the Roman religion. The emperor notwithstanding giving commission to Heldus and others, to treat with the said Protestants of an accomodation ; which yet took no effect, though there were a meeting held (Feb. 12.) at Francfort, to this purpose. Howsoever, our king omitted not to send his agents (Christopher Mount and Thomas Paynel) thither, shewing, he took it ill, that they treated of a pacification without his knowledge, desiring to understand the conditions thereof, and whether they intended to be constant to their profess'd doctrine : to which Burgart, and others in their name, (April 23.) coming to England, brought instructions to this effect, that their manifold troubles suffer'd them not hitherto to signify the said pacification, which yet was not likely to take effect, no conditions being so much as propos'd. Neither would they accept any contrary to the Augustane confession ; so that there needed be no doubt of their constancy : but they are inform'd, that his majesty had set forth a proclamation, injoining rigidly, and



under heavy censures, those points which the last year their ambassadors desir'd as abuses, might be reform'd ; which, unless his majesty pleas'd to mitigate, they could determine nothing of the legation of learned men, which he expected. 'For we have,' say they, 'disputed enough already, and the king is not ignorant of our opinions touching private mass; communion in one kind, and celibate of priests. And unless we understood that our doctrine herein were prescrib'd by God, we would not undergo the dangers we do for maintenance thereof: neither let the king imagine, that we will now either deny the said doctrines, or send any of our divines into England, to give approbation to the contrary.' Together with which, Philip Melancthon (April 1.) sent a letter to the king (superscribed *Sermo. etc. Capiti Anglicæ Ecclesiæ, post Christum supremo*,) exhorting him 'to perfect the reformation begun, and not hearken to those who would hinder it, by exacting too severely ceremonies and things indifferent; wherefore, he desires his majesty to mitigate the late proclamation.' What answer our king gave to this, doth not appear to me: but the king was so far from condescending thereunto, that he obtain'd a confirmation of the said articles in the next parliament, under greater penalties, as shall appear in its place. In the mean time he consulted to strengthen himself at home, by enriching his treasury. Therefore, having formerly (1536.) gotten the consent of his parliament, for dissolving all religious houses under 200*l.* yearly, he did now attempt the rest; so that though divers of the visitors had heretofore petition'd, that some might be spar'd, both for the vertu of the persons in them, and the benefit of the country (the poor receiving thence relief, and the richer sort good education for their children;) and though Latimer mention'd, that some two or three might be left in every shire for pious uses, Cromwel yet (by the king's permission) invaded all; while betwixt threats, gifts, persuasions, promises, and whatsoever might make man obnoxious, he obtain'd of the abbots, priors, abesses, etc. that their houses might be given up. Among which, those that offer'd their monasteries freely, got best conditions of the king; for if they stood upon their right, the oath of supremacy, and some other statutes and injunctions brought them in danger, or their crimes at least made them guilty of the law; which also was quickly executed. And particularly on the abbots of Glassenbury, Colchester, and Reading, who more than any else resisted.

In conclusion, the title made to these, seems not to be grounded upon a grant by statute, or claim of right, but was some voluntary surrender, purchase, or forfeiture. Howbeit, the king thought fit to have this proceeding presently confirm'd by act of parliament: therefore by his writs he summon'd it to begin April 28. 1539. In the mean while, rumours were every where dispers'd, that Cardinal Pool labour'd with divers princes, to procure forces against the kingdom, and that an

invasion was threatned. And this again seem'd more credible, in that the truce concluded between the emperor and the French king was generally known, and that neither of them wanted pretext to bring an army hither. This also was seconded by a sudden journey of the king unto the sea coast ; into divers parts whereof he had formerly sent sundry nobles and expert persons to visit the ports, and places of danger, who fail'd not for their discharge upon all events, to affirm the peril in each place so great, as one would have thought every place had needed fortification ; besides he caus'd his navy forthwith to be in a readiness, and musters to be taken over all the kingdom. All which preparatives being made against a danger which was believ'd imminent, seem'd so to excuse the king suppressing of abbies, as the people (willing to spare their own purses) began to suffer it easily ; especially when they saw order taken for building divers forts and bulwarks upon the sea-coast ; many, if not most of these we have at this day, being thought not so exact as the modern, yet of his raising. And that they suspected the discontented religious orders (sooner than any else) would assist an enemy. But if the reasons of these proceedings were held by some as current, by others they were taken to be no more than palliation, and by the clergy but rapine, who divulg'd beyond seas the miserable ruines of themselves, and houses, in such terms, as the Christian world was astonish'd ; for though their excessive number excus'd the king in some part for the first suppression, this latter (they said) had no such specious pretext, when yet surrender, purchase, or the like were urg'd ; so that notwithstanding the king's necessities, no little occasion of scandal and obloquy was given.

The number of monasteries first and last suppress'd in England and Wales were (as Cambden accounts them) 645 ; whereof these had voices among the peers : the Abbot of St. Albans (being as I take it) declar'd the first abbey of England (whether in favour of Pope Adrian IV. his father, call'd Breakspear, who upon his wives death rendred himself a monk there, or S. Alban himself protomartyr of England) St. Peters in Westminster, S. Edmondsbury, S. Bennets of Holm, Bredsey, Shrewsbury, Crowland, Abingdon, Evesham, Gloucester, Ramsey, S. Maries in York, Tewxbury, Reading, Battail, Winchcombe, Hide by Winchester, Cirencester, Waltham, Malmesbury, Thorney, S. Augustine in Canterbury, Selby, Peterborough, S. Johns in Colchester, Coventry, Tavestock. Of colleges were demolish'd in divers shires, ninety. Of chantries, and fire-chappels, 2374. And hospitals 110. The yearly value of all which were, as I find it cast up, 161,100*l*. being above a third part of all our spiritual revenues ; besides the money made of the present stock of cattel and corn, of the timber, lead, bells, etc. and lastly, but chiefly, of the plate and church ornaments ; which I find not valued, but may be conjectured by that one monastery of S. Edmondsbury, whence was taken (as our records shew) 5000 marks of

gold and silver, besides divers stones of great value. All which being by some openly call'd rapine, and sacriledge, I will no way excuse : though I may say truly, that notwithstanding so many religious houses were destroy'd, there are yet in every kind (the suppress abbies and chantries only excepted) left standing so many, as give no little increase to learning, splendour to religion, and testimony of charity to the poor. So that although I cannot but pity the ruine of so many pious foundations, as affording a singular conveniency to those who desir'd to retire to a holy, private, and contemplative life, when abuses were taken away ; yet I have thought fit to mention these particulars, that it may appear to foreign nations, we are not destitute of many monuments of devotion : of which also our king had such regard, that he did not employ all the profits arising from the aforesaid dissolutions, on fortifications or the like ; for he not only augmented the number of the colleges and professors in his universities, but erected (as he had promis'd) out of the revenues gotten hereby, divers new bishoprics ; whereof one at Westminster, one at Oxford, one at Peterborough, one at Bristol, one at Chester, and one at Gloucester ; all remaining at this day, save that of Westminster, which being revok'd to its first institution by Queen Mary, and Benedictines plac'd in it, was by Queen Elizabeth afterward converted to a collegiate church, and a school for the teaching and maintenance of young scholars : besides, many of the ancient cathedral churches formerly possess'd by monks only, were now supplied with canons, and some new ones erected and endow'd ; the revenues allotted by the king to those new bishoprics and cathedrals amounting to about 8,000*l.* per annum. So that religion seem'd not so much to suffer hereby, as some of the clergy of those times and ours would have it believ'd : our kingdom in the mean while having (as Cromwel projected it) instead of divers supernumerary and idle persons, men fit for employment, either in war or peace, maintain'd at the cost of the foresaid abbies and chantries : so that the desolations (appearing in their stately foundations at this day) are by our politicks thought amply recompenc'd. Besides, the king in the demolishing of them, had so tender a care of learning, that he not only preferr'd divers able persons which he found there, but took special care to preserve the choicest books of their well-furnish'd libraries : wherein I find John Leland (a curious searcher of antiquities) was employ'd. But hereof enough, since I do not intend to exceed the terms of an historian, and therefore shall come now to the parliament (April 28.) which being compos'd of persons well-affected to the king's service, (as his manner was always with great industry to procure such,) these statutes, among others, were enacted :

That religious persons being put at liberty, might purchase, sue and be su'd ; but not claim any inheritance, as descending on them : and that if they had made a vow of chastity after one and twenty, they



should not marry. But this enabling them not to buy, they thought no sufficient amends for the loss of their present maintenance.

That the king, by the advice of his council, or the more part of them, might set forth proclamations under such penalties and pains as to him or them shall seem necessary, which should be observ'd as though they were made by act of parliament: but that this should not be prejudicial to any person's inheritances, offices, liberties, goods, chattels or life, etc. [But this was repeal'd 1 Edw. 6. 12.]

That the king might nominate such number of bishops, sees for bishops, cathedral churches, and endow them with such possessions, as he will, [which, though repeal'd 1 and 2 Phillip and Mary yet order was taken therein again 8 Eliz. 1.]

It was declar'd also how lords in the parliament should be plac'd.

That leases made of manors belonging to monasteries dissolv'd, or to be dissolv'd, and assur'd to the king, should take effect: wherein is express'd, that the king should hold, possess, and enjoy to him, his heirs and successors for ever, all monasteries, abbacies, priories, nunneries, colleges, hospitals, houses of friers, or other religious and ecclesiastical houses and places, which since Feb. 4. (27 Hen. 8.) have been dissolv'd, suppress'd, renounc'd, relinquish'd, forfeited, given up, or by any other means come to his highness; or which shall be dissolv'd, etc. As also all mannors, lordships, lands, tenements, rights, liberties, etc. belonging to them. All which (except such as came by attainder of treason) should be under survey and governance of the king's court of augmentation of the revenues of the crown. Other men's titles yet sav'd.

It was also particularly enacted, that whereas Thomas Duke of Norfolk by the king's assent had purchased of one William Flatbury, late abbot of the monastery of Sipton in Suffolk, the said monastery, with all, etc. And whereas George Lord Cobham had likewise purchas'd the college or chantry of Cobham in Kent, it was enacted, that the act above-written should not be prejudicial to the said duke, or Lord Cobham. Whereby it appears, the king's intention was to unite all the abby lands, etc. to the crown, save these so specified.

The six articles, call'd by some the bloody statute, were also enacted this parliament: being.

'I. If any person, by word, writing, printing, cyphering, or any  
'otherwise, do preach, teach, dispute, or hold opinion, that in the  
'blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine (after  
'the consecration thereof) there is not present really the natural body  
'and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceiv'd of the Virgin Mary:  
'or, that after the said consecration there remaineth any substance of  
'bread and wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ,  
'God and man; or that the flesh under form of bread, is not the very  
'blood of Christ; or that with the blood, under the form of wine, is

'not the very flesh of Christ, as well apart, as though they were both together ; or affirm the said sacrament to be of other substance than is aforesaid, or deprave the said blessed sacrament : then he shall be adjudg'd an heretick, and suffer death by burning, and shall forfeit to the king all lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, and chattels, as in case of high-treason.

'II. And if any person preach in any sermon, or collation openly made, or teach in any common school or congregation, or obstinately affirm or defend, that the communion of the blessed sacrament in both kinds is necessary for the health of man's soul, or ought or should be ministred in both kinds, or that it is necessary to be receiv'd by any person, other than priest, being at mass, and consecrating the same.

'III. Or that any man, after the order of priesthood receiv'd, may marry, or contract matrimony.

'IV. Or that any man or woman which advisedly hath vow'd or profess'd, or should vow or profess chastity or widowhood, may marry or contract marriage.

'V. Or that private masses be not lawful, or not laudable, or should not be us'd, or be not agreeable to the laws of God.

'VI. Or that auricular confession is not expedient and necessary to be us'd in the Church of God : he shall be adjudg'd to suffer death, or forfeit lands and goods as a felon.'

If any priest, or other man or woman which advisedly hath vow'd chastity or widowhood, do actually marry or contract matrimony with another ; or any man which is, or hath been a priest, do carnally use any woman to whom he is or hath been married, or with whom he hath contracted matrimony ; or openly be conversant or familiar with any such woman, both the man and the woman shall be adjudg'd felons, commissions also shall be awarded to the bishop of the diocess, his chancellor, commissary, and others, to enquire of the heresies, felonies, and offences aforesaid. And also justices of peace in their session, and every steward, under-steward, and deputy-steward, in their leet or law-day, by the oaths of twelve men, have authority to inquire of all the heresies, felonies, and offences aforesaid.

In this parliament also Margaret Countess of Salisbury (being grand-child of George Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. and mother of Cardinal Pool,) as also the cardinal himself, and Gertrude wife to the late Marquis of Exeter, Sir Adrian Fortescue and Thomas Dingley, Knight of St. Johns, were attainted of treason. Against Margaret and Gertrude it was alledg'd, that they were complices with the Marquis of Exeter, and other traitors : our records also tell us, that certain bulls granted by the Bishop of Rome were found at Cowdrey, being then (as I take it) the Countess of Salisbury's house ; and that the parson of Warblington convey'd letters for her to her son the cardinal ; and that

she forbad all her tenants to have the New Testament in English, or any other new book the king had privileg'd. But whatsoever the cause was (for our parliament records are short in the particulars) I find by a letter from the Earl of Southampton, and Bishop of Ely to Cromwel, that (though she were seventy years old) her behaviour yet was masculine and vehement, and that she would confess nothing. Howsoever, the testimonies brought convincing her, she was condemn'd.

Against Cardinal Pool it was alledg'd, (July 10.) that he had conspir'd against the king with the Bishop of Rome, and had taken preferment of him.

Against the rest, I find no more, but in general, that they were complices. Howsoever, Fortescue and Dingley suffer'd first; for Margaret's execution was deferr'd for two years, as shall be told hereafter; and Gertrude died a natural death: and for the cardinal, he could not be taken, though I find our king requir'd him earnestly of all those princes that receiv'd him in their dominions.

The six articles being now publish'd, gave no little occasion of murmur, since to revoke the conscience not only from its own court, but from the ordinary ways of resolving controversies, to such an abrupt decision of the common law (as is there set down) was thought to be a diverting of religion from its right and usual course; since the conscience must be taught, not forc'd; without that it should at any time be handled roughly, as being of so delicate a temper, as though it suffer an edge to be put on, who doth more, diminisheth or breaks it. Besides, to make the contravening of doctrines to be capital, before they be fully prov'd, is prejudicial to that liberty, without which no man can justify himself before God or man. For if it be death to believe otherwise than we are commanded, how unsafe will it be to make exact enquiry? And without it who can say his religion is best? Besides, the example is dangerous; for if infidels and heathens (to retain their people in obedience) should do the like, who would ever turn Christian? Therefore Cranmer for three days together in the open assembly oppos'd these articles boldly; though yet it appears not what arguments he us'd. Only I find the king sent to him for a copy of them, and mislik'd not his freedom, as knowing all he spake was out of a sincere intention; though some thought he had a private interest, as being himself a married man, though fearing of this law, he sent away his wife for the present into Germany, she being kinswoman to Hosiander the divine of Noremberg, whom he married during his ambassade with the emperor about anno 1532.

But that it may seem less strange why the king, who before was much dispos'd to favour the reformers, did on a sudden so much vary from them, I have thought fit to set down some of the motives, as I conceive them. In which number certainly, the objections of Stephen Gardiner formerly mention'd may have place, while speaking against



the treaty with the Protestants in Germany, he alledg'd that they would not allow the king's supremacy, lest they should infer an investing of the same authority in the emperor, whose absolute power they seem'd to fear more than that of the pope himself: and as this suspicion alienated secretly the mind of our king, who saw that if he embrac'd their reformation, they would abridge his power; so they not only deny'd to approve his divorce, but lately (as is shew'd) in a peremptory manner refus'd all accommodation, unless our king yielded wholly to the Augustan confession. Again, the Duke of Saxony about this time particularly shew'd some disaffection to him in the overture of his match with Anne of Cleve.

Lastly, as affairs then stood, the king was both in that danger of rebellion at home, and invasion from abroad, as he thought it not safe to reform any further in religion; for which reason also he was severe against all new sectaries, especially Anabaptists; so when occasion was given, he still testified his desire as far as was possible to keep an unity with the Roman Church, affirming that the pope had slanderously call'd him heretick. Insomuch that the same time he publickly disputed with Lambert in Westminster-hall, he declar'd his resolution to continue in the religion he had openly profess'd. For these reasons therefore (for I shall not here intermeddle with those of conscience) it seems our king was the more dispos'd to keep him to the ancient forms of the Church. And now the Protestants in Germany despairing of accord with the emperor, assembled at Arnstet in Thuringia, Nov. 9. (1540.) to consult about mutual defence. To which purpose, they sent ambassadors to our king; who told them, that he would make a league with them in honest causes, as he had done with the Duke of Juliers, and after that he would treat of an accord and league in religion. Though Sleidan (a little differing herein) writes that King Henry told them plainly, he thought their doctrine touching communion in both kinds, private mass, and priests marriage, erroneous, and that his learn'd men should dispute herein. And that Cromwel thereupon told them, the best way was to send an honourable ambassade, and Melancthon assuring them if they came to any reasonable agreement of doctrine with our king, he would not only furnish them with a vast sum of money for their occasions, but enter into a strict league with them for defence in general. But they standing firm to the Augustan confession, and intending no league but in case of religion, the business ended (April 13.) for the present, in a resolution to answer the king's arguments concerning the six articles in writing, and send it in a book to him, and to desire abolition of them.

And now the six articles caus'd no little apprehension in all the reformers; yet I do not find the law was us'd with much rigour till Cromwel's death. Nevertheless, the terror of it made Latimer Bishop of Worcester, and Shaxton Bishop of Salisbury (being committed to

prison) to resign (July 1.) their bishopricks to the king, they being unwilling it seems to have a hand in the approbation or execution of them. So that if Sir Thomas More and the Bishop of Rochester had their scruples about the supremacy ; these men were as conscientious about the six articles.

This year the emperor, glad to repose himself a while from war, attended his pleasure in Spain, while Barbarossa with a strong fleet keeping the seas, and (Aug. 7.) landing his men, did mischief in many places. Recovering so after a brave resistance by Sermiento a Spaniard, the place of Castel-novo in the gulf of Cataro : which though it excited the emperor to proceed in war against the Turk, yet a mutiny (May 21.) arising in Gaunt (his native town) made him resolve in person to go and appease it. And the rather, that having now lost his empress, and check'd a little the greatness of some principal persons in Spain, he thought himself more free and disengag'd. All the difficulty was what way to take, for if the sea were full of hazard, there was no ready land-way, but by France ; which though best, when it could be handsomly procur'd, yet (the business being brought to his council) was judg'd impossible ; nevertheless, an overture thereof being secretly given to Francis, and a promise of Milan to one of his sons (as the French write) he both gladly embrac'd the occasion, and offer'd his two sons for hostages of his safe passage. This was thankfully receiv'd by the emperor, but as the age was full of ancient honour, (which I never found intermitted but in barbarous times) the emperor would have no security, but only a safe conduct under the hand and seal of Francis ; taking that pledge only for his life and the empire, while Francis that he might exempt his magnanimous guest from jealousy, sent his two sons and Anne de Montmorency the constable to receive him at Bayonne, whither in his mourning weeds, he came with twenty six persons only, in the end of November, 1539. And so like knight errant following his journey, he every where (as Francis had permitted) deliver'd all prisoners. Coming thus to Castel le Herand, the king (though troubled with an ulcer in his secret parts) and the queen and Dutchess of Estampes his favourite, and a great train of noble persons welcom'd the emperor with all demonstrations of love. This confident passage having (it seem'd) abolish'd all memory of their former rancour ; holding their way thus to Amboise ; the emperor was there almost stifled by a thick and sudden smock, which (though the French report it to have been the casual burning of some hangings near his chamber, and also might be true, yet one Style, imploy'd there by our king to write him the success of this journey, said) came thus. They who had charge from Francis to make the emperor's reception, had hung a long iron chain from the top of the castle to the bottom, cover'd all over with pitch, tar, and rosin in very great quantity, which being lighted at the emperors coming (somewhat in night) did after-

wards upon some accident, go out in that snuff and ill savour, as the emperor suspected it was done on purpose to choak him ; but these jealousies were soon clear'd, succours not only coming in quickly, but Francis commanding the authors of this disturbance to be hang'd, had not the emperor interceded for them. And here, during some stay, both princes (who formerly would have us'd their arms against each other) ending their emulation in shooting a stag, which they both hit at the same time with their hand-guns, (as Style relates) departing hence to Paris, the court of parliament in their robes, the chancellor and officers of the city met him, with a brave equipage, which yet the emperor seem'd not much to affect, his black cloth suit, and private train being not proper, as he thought, for such shews ; so that he wish'd they had been spar'd. Nevertheless Francis would not omit any thing which might serve either for ostentation or magnificence, so that in the splendour thereof, all note of their former dissention seem'd hidden or efac'd. Howbeit, there wanted not some who persuaded Francis to cancel the treaty of Madrid, and make a new one at Paris, and that Milan should be restor'd into the bargain. But as the constable Montmorency (a person of great worth) oppos'd this advice, so Francis abhorr'd it. Besides, the Dutchess of Estampes (who at first seem'd averse) being gain'd by a diamond, which the emperor having purposely let fall, had after given, (upon her taking it up) chang'd her language, and now began to serve the emperor. Seven days thus being past, either in masks, tilts, tourneys, and other royal disports and triumphs, or in friendly and private communication, the emperor thought fit to depart, giving by way of satisfaction for his good entertainment, many assurances of his love to Francis, who also for making it more entire to him, as well as withdrawing it from our king, had discover'd some secrets (formerly past betwixt them) which diverted the emperor much from making any new alliance in our parts. But as this, at last, was disclos'd again to our king, the unkind usage he receiv'd herein, made him attend an occasion to resent it. And now the emperor and Francis leaving Paris, the constable entertain'd them both at his goodly palace of Chantilly : the admirable situation whereof, and variety of country pleasures about it, was such, as it made the emperor wish, that he had such another place, when it had cost him one of his provinces. Both princes going hence to St. Quintin, bid adieu to each other, leaving nothing to be admir'd, in all the passages betwixt them, than that they never spake of any particular difference, but by way of gentle discourse, or urg'd it further, than either of them pleas'd to give ear ; so much did civility prevail with them over all other considerations : and thus at length, in February, the emperor came to Valenciennes ; whither Francis his children having accompanied him, and receiv'd both from him, and his sister Mary, lady regent there, all kind and regal usage (excepting an absolute promise to restore Milan)



they departed and left the emperor to attend his great occasions in those countries. Where being happy in nothing more than that his adventure of passing thro' France, (which nothing could justify but the event) had succeeded so well, he compos'd the stirs there shortly after.

The passages of this interview being advertis'd to our king, made him attempt betimes to break off their new alliance : or when that could not be done, to prevent the consequences. Therefore immediately upon the departure of the emperor from Paris, he sent the Duke of Norfolk to treat with Francis to this effect : to offer him assistance for recovery of Milan. And for this purpose, that the arrearages of the pensions due to our king, and salt-money, should be remitted : furthermore, that with all industry he should make him jealous of the emperor's ambition. And lastly, to propose a strict league with him, even to the exclusion of the pope from their dominions, as he said : he said he had already contracted with the Duke of Cleves, and in a manner with the Duke of Saxe, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Dukes of Bavaria, John Marquis of Brandenburg, the Lantgrave of Hesse, and the Marquis Joachim Elector, and other princes of Germany. The duke coming thus to Paris, had audience of Francis ; but finding him resolute not to break with the emperor, if he perform'd his part, he return'd before the end of February.

Having thus deliver'd together the whole business of the interview, and success thereof, lest the reader should be interrupted with broken and imperfect narrations ; I shall look back on some other affairs which pass'd this while.

Our king having found that neither the marriage propos'd betwixt himself and the Dutchess of Milan was like to take effect, nor any other in France, consider'd now where he might bestow himself with most advantage : whereupon Cromwel advis'd him to a treaty with Cleves ; and the rather, that he might oppose the emperor, who did still retain such a grudge against him for disinheriting the Princess Mary, as it was thought he would endeavour to execute the pope's sentence : so that hereunto certain considerations of state, rather than beauty or riches, did conduce. For as John Duke of Cleves was next neighbour to the emperor's dominions in the Low-Countries, and father-in-law to the Duke of Saxony, he seem'd most proper to join with in league to this purpose. But the old duke John dying (April 1539.) shortly after, the treaty was renew'd with Duke William his son, to whom also the Princess Mary was (May 1539.) propos'd, when he demanded her upon fitting terms. But difficulties appear'd in either of these affairs ; for the Lady Anne having been demanded by the Duke of Lorain's son, the old Duke of Cleves had in great part accorded it : and for the other match, it was much cross'd by the emperor, who

offer'd Duke William the Dutchess of Milan, not without some hope that he would release Guelders, which the said Duke claim'd by the gift of Charles of Egmond, late duke thereof. Howbeit, the treaties with our king went on (1538.) ; but so as they were by the Clevois cunningly delay'd, till a meeting with the emperor's deputies at Bruxels had past, and advice was taken with the Duke of Saxony : yet were not these the only impediments ; for the Lady Anne understood no language but Dutch ; so that all communion of speech betwixt our king and her was interclud. Yet, as our ambassador, Nicholas Wotton, doctor of law, employ'd in this business, hath it, she could both write and read in her own language, and sew very well ; only for musick, he said, it was not the manner of the country to learn it. But for her better description, Hans Holbin, the king's servant, took her picture, and her younger sister Amelies, and sent (Aug. 1539.) them hither ; upon whose excellent representation of the Lady Anne, the match being resolv'd on, was fully concluded at the coming over of Frederic Duke of Bavaria, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the several ambassadors of the Dukes of Saxony and Cleves : and shortly (Dec.) after the lady, with a brave equipage, was sent into England. The other treaty yet succeeded not ; for the young Duke of Cleves finding no disposition in the emperor to release Guelders, concluded a marriage with the only daughter of Henry King of Navarre, and Margarita the French king's sister, the year following ; which yet took no effect. This lady being (Dec. 31. 1539.) on her way now as far as Rochester, the king came disguis'd to her on New-year's-day : but the sight so dislik'd him, that he was glad (as his own words were afterwards) that ' he had kept himself from making any pact of bond with her, and that he was ' woe that ever she came into England ; and that he thereupon deliberated with himself how to break it off ; though, as he consider'd it ' would make a ruffle in the world, and drive the duke her brother into ' the emperor or French king's hands, he said it was too far gone.' The truth of all which is so declar'd by our records, that I make no question, but if her coming had hapned at any other time than when the emperor and French king were together in France, as is before related, he would have sent her back. Howsoever, he thought fit to discover himself at last to her ; who thereupon fell on her knees, but he taking her up, lovingly kiss'd her, without making shew of any inward discontent, which also he had so at length digested, that he resolv'd to marry her, when the ensurance made by her to the Duke of Lorain's son were clear'd ; which business being committed to Cromwel's care, who was a special counsellor of the match, he said (as the king afterwards charg'd him under his hand) that a sufficient instrument for this purpose was brought : but whether Cromwel did forget himself herein, or his master, it is hard out of our records to determine ; for I find in an original written by Cromwel, 25 of June, to the king, out of the Tower,

that Olesleger and Hobsteden (the Duke of Cleves's commissioners for bringing over the lady) had with them indeed no such instrument, nor any discharge or declaration touching the covenants of marriage betwixt the Duke of Lorain's son ; nevertheless, that Olesteger offer'd to remain here a prisoner, till a revocation of all the aforesaid covenants and contracts of marriage were brought ; and (Jan. 4.) that this being told the king, made him say, he was not well handled in this business. Howsoever, all was remitted to the council-table, where the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of Duresme said, if nothing but sponsals had past betwixt them, such a renunciation as was offer'd would serve ; and that then she making a protestation in an honourable presence before certain notaries, should be a sufficient discharge in law : and now the procuring of the said instrument in writing being undertook by the aforesaid commissioners, the king requir'd the lady to make a protestation before the lords to this effect : which being done, (Jan. 5.) he said to Cromwel, that 'there was no remedy now, 'and therefore he must put his neck in the yoke,' (as the words under his hands are :) whereupon, the next day after he solemnly married her at Greenwich, resolving to confederate himself with the princes of Germany, if they would come to some moderate accord in doctrine. But in the morning, Cromwel coming to him, and demanding whether he lik'd her better than before, he answer'd, 'Nay, much worse ; for 'that he having found by some signs that she was no maid, he had no 'disposition to meddle with her :' nevertheless, he outwardly cherish'd her ; without making any public demonstration of disfavour towards her, or neglect of any solemnity for her reception at London and elsewhere. All which made the greater shew, that king Henry remembering what enemies he had abroad, and discontented persons at home, had renew'd his guard of fifty pensioners intermitted since the first year of his reign.

It is formerly related, how not only James King of Scotland desir'd in marriage Mary the daughter of the Duke of Guise, and relict of the Duke of Longueville ; but a touch given that our king had some inclination to her : howbeit, Francis chose rather to give her to James, as knowing that less states united to greater, depend on them ; whereas the equal for the most part live in jealousy with their neighbours : therefore the match being concluded, (Jan. 10. 1538.) she was brought to Scotland, and soon after with child, which being a son, the grandmother Margaret, Queen of Scots, and sister to our king, having christen'd, shortly (1540.) after died, aged about fifty years, and was buried in the Carthusians Church, in Perth. But neither that child, nor another born the year following, liv'd long ; they (tho' in several places) ending their lives within six hours one after the other, the same day (as the Scottish history hath it.) I find little else by our records, of Scotland, for this year ; save that some libels and prophesies being



divulg'd in Scotland against our king, the authors were (Feb 24.) punished by James. The year following, Sir Ralph Sadler, secretary, was dispatch'd thither, about the time that the emperor and French king were together ; for our king knew well how much it concern'd him now on every part to prevent danger. The instructions given to Sadler were, (after presenting the king's love, and some horses) 'I. To bring 'David Beton, Cardinal and Archbishop of St. Andrews, into suspicion 'with that king, as having written to Rome, in other terms than he 'should ; which letters being intercepted in England, were now to be 'shown. But King James did not much weigh this.

'II. To persuade him, for augmenting his 'estate, to take into his 'hands the abbeys ; which James likewise refus'd, saying, What need 'I take them into my hands, when I may have any thing I can require 'of them ? And if there be abuses in them, I will reform them ; for 'there be a great many good.

'III. To discover his affection, by telling him how rumours were 'dispers'd (which the aforesaid interview made probable) that the emperor, French king, and Bishop of Rome would invade England ; and 'that it was said, King James would do the same.' But he protested with many oaths against it. Whereupon Sadler told him how near he was to the English crown ; and that he should esteem his uncle's friendship above any others, desiring again there might be an interview ; which James approv'd, when the French king might be present ; but afterwards by a particular message excus'd it : so that some jealousies pass'd betwixt them ; which also appear'd by certain fortifications rais'd about this time upon the borders by our king, and a navy of fifteen ships, and 2000 men made in readiness by James : who wanted not money, his clergy giving great sums only that their houses might not be dissolv'd. What the occasion of these preparations yet was, I cannot tell ; but I gather out of our records, that about this time certain Irish gentlemen came to invite him to their country, promising to acknowledge him their king, and that divers nobles and gentlemen of Ireland should come over to do him homage. How this offer was accepted, appears not ; but the preparatives came to nothing, by the good order which our king gave ; who both by frequent and kind messages, and securing his borders, kept his nephew in good intelligence. One doubt yet remain'd undecided, as I gather out of our records, which was, that our king took it ill, that James assum'd to himself his title of Defender of the Faith, only adding the word Christian unto it as if, said he, there were any other faith.

That beauty and attractive which should take the king's eye, in Anne of Cleves, not appearing, nor that conversation which should please his ear ; and her brother, besides, excusing himself in the performance of some articles of the treaty, he did more willingly think of a divorce ; for which purpose, the precontract with the Duke of Lorain's son was

chiefly pretended. For though Olesleger, Chancellor of Cleves, had, according to his promise, 26. Feb. 1540. procured an instrument in writing out of the records of Dusseldorp, dated Feb. 15. 1535. testifying the sponsalia heretofore made by the parents betwixt the Duke of Lorain's son, and the Lady Anne, should not take effect : yet this, it seems, either was not shew'd, or did not satisfy our king. Howsoever, it was not deposited in *archivis regiis*, but found among Cromwel's papers after his apprehension. And now although all scruples seem'd the more considerable, in that so many doubts had been already cast concerning the king's former marriages, yet the king determined, at what price soever, to separate himself from Anne of Cleves, and together to ruin Cromwel. For though he had not long before made him Knight of the Garter, Earl of Essex, and High Chamberlain of England, yet as he was odious by reason of his low birth, to all the nobility, and hated particularly by Stephen Gardiner, and the Roman Catholics, for having operated so much in the dissolution of abbeys ; and that the reformers themselves found he could not protect them from burning ; and lastly, that besides a subsidy that the clergy gave, of four shillings in the pound, he had gotten (April 12.) in the present parliament, not without much reluctance, one tenth, and one fifteen parts of all laymens goods ; he was universally hated : which our king considering, and having besides divers articles brought against him, he now judg'd him no longer necessary : therefore he gave way to all his enemies accusations ; which could not but be material ; it being impossible that any man, who medled so much in great and publick affairs, should not in divers kinds so mistake, forget, and err, as to incur the note of a criminal, when severe inquisition were made against him. And now the king having gotten sufficient proof against Cromwel, caus'd (June 23.) him to be arrested at the council-table, by the Duke of Norfolk, when he least suspected it : to which Cromwel obey'd, though judging his perdition more certain, that the duke was uncle to the Lady Katharine Howard, whom the king began now to affect. The news whereof, and his commitment to the Tower being divulg'd, the people with many acclamations witnessed their joy ; so impatient are they usually of the good fortune of favourites arising from mean place, and insolent over the ill : whereof the king being inform'd, proceeded more overtly, both in his parliament-business, and the divorce ; and the rather, that all former faults being now imputed to Cromwel, every body began to hope of a better age. But Cromwel (if we may believe some of our authors) foresaw his fall two years before, and therefore provided for his family ; neither did the late honours give him much comfort or security, when he thought they were conferr'd only to make him the greater sacrifice. It cannot be deny'd yet, but the crimes whereof he was attainted in parliament, are in the general terms, great and enormous, and such

as deserv'd the most capital punishment ; tho' as some of the accusations were conceal'd two years after they were alledg'd, and the particulars of some others not specified ; and lastly, as he was not permitted to answer for himself, the proceedings against him were thought rigorous, but so few pitied him, that all was easily pass'd over : nevertheless, I find by an original, that Cranmer writ (June 14.) to the king in his behalf boldly, considering the times ; 'for though' (as is in his letter) 'he heard yesterday in his grace's council, that he is a traitor ; yet, he saith, who cannot be sorrowful, and amaz'd that he should be a traitor against your majesty ? He that was so advanc'd by your majesty, he whose surety was only by your majesty, he who lov'd your majesty (as I ever thought) no less than God ; he who studied always to set forward whatsoever was your majesty's will and pleasure ; he that car'd for no man's displeasure to serve your majesty ; he that was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience as no prince in this realm ever had ; he that was so vigilant to preserve your majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceiv'd, but he detected the same in the beginning ? If the noble princes of memory, King John, Henry II. and Richard II. had had such a counsellor about them, I suppose they should never have been so traiterously abahdoned, and overthrown, as those good princes were ;' after which he says again, 'I lov'd him as my friend, for so I took him to be, but I chiefly lov'd him for the love which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your grace, singularly above all others : but now, if he be a traitor, I am sorry that ever I lov'd him, or trusted him, and I am very glad that his treason is discover'd in time ; but yet again I am very sorrowful ; for who shall your grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him ? Alas ! I bewail and lament your grace's chance herein, I wot not whom your grace may trust. But I pray God continually night and day to send such a counsellor in his place, whom your grace may trust, and who for all his qualities can and will serve your grace like to him, and that will have so much sollicitude and care to preserve your grace from all dangers, as I ever thought he had.' All which, as being a character of Cromwel in Cranmer's opinion, I have faithfully copied out of the original. Not yet that I will pretend excuses for him, whom the laws have condemn'd ; (though Fox doubts not to say, 'That as general councils have sometimes been observ'd to err, so princes and parliaments may be sometimes inform'd by sinister heads ;') but that this punishment may serve as a caution for those that serve severe princes, to procure sufficient warrant for all that they do. The crimes objected to Cromwel seeming to be chiefly an usurpation of power, to set at liberty certain persons not capable of it, and granting certain licences, and making certain commissions in high affairs, without the king's knowledge : for which, though Cromwel in his discretion might have



found due motives ; yet as he proceeded not warily therein, he fell into the danger of the law. Furthermore, he was accus'd for being an heretick, and favouring them : (but then, that the head of the Church's vicegerent in spiritual affairs, should be an heretick, and favourer of them, to some seem'd strange, to others gave an occasion of merriment.) As for his speaking certain high presumptuous words concerning the king, and sundry of the nobility, many thought it proceeded rather out of mistaking and rashness, than any ill intention. Cromwel, thus unheard, and almost unpitied, being condemn'd while he was in the Tower, omitted not yet to write unto the king, whereof hereafter. The context of my history requiring, that I come to the proceedings of the king's divorce.

I find by an original, that John Clark Bishop of Bath, was sent to the Duke of Cleves at the end of June, to tell him, that the king never consented heartily to the matrimony with his sister ; and that he never did, nor intended to consummate the same ; especially since he could not but take notice of the precontract with Lorain : besides which, that there were secret causes, which the king without great necessity would not have disclos'd, because they touch'd the honour of the lady ; yet that all her jewels should be restor'd, with an honourable augmentation in revenue, etc. And so that she should be transported into her country. Besides, that assurance should be given the duke of the king's love, in all his occasions with the emperor. After which, if the duke should remain perverse, to tell him, that the matter is already so debated by his majesty, and the whole realm, (as the reader will see hereafter) the parliament now sitting, that they be utterly resolv'd to proceed to justice. But these instructions again were check'd by others of July 3. and he commanded to persist only in the point of precontract with Lorain, which was upon remonstrance of the lords in the upper-house, to be debated in parliament, since they found the instrument for revocation thereof was of no value : and that certain persons were appointed of both houses, who should repair to the king, to beseech him, by way of humble petition, that it would please him, both to grant, that the bishops and the clergy of the realm, might examine the matter, and thereupon declare their judgment, and sentence ; and also to abstain from her company, till the case were decided : whereunto his majesty condescending and agreeing, upon Thursday next it should be opened to the parliament, and brought to the king, and from thence, remitted to the bishops and clergy ; and also notified to her. All which tending only to an examination, his majesty could not deny, not doubting that the said duke considering that it is the general motion of the whole realm, and remembring the effusion of blood which hath been in the same, by uncertainty of titles, will think it reasonable, that this last matrimony, for their more certainty, and the king's discharge, should be examin'd.

These second instructions (sign'd by the king as the former were,) yet did not please : he being finally commanded to urge for his best argument *authoritatem rei judicatæ* : all which instructions were sent the bishop in his way, and before he came to Bruges, where the emperor was ; whom he was commanded to salute on his majesty's part, and to deliver him certain letters. The particulars whereof, though not extant in our records, yet (as I gather by some circumstances) tended to a reconciliation with the emperor, whom the king in this match had disoblig'd. Of the delivery whereof also, the bishop (being not yet come to the Duke of Cleves) advertis'd our king, who this while commanded (June 25.) the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Southampton, and Sir Thomas Wriothesly, to acquaint the said lady therewith ; (who, upon pretence of better air, was lately remov'd to Richmond.) But the news struck her into a sudden weakness and fainting, till at last recovering her self, she was by little and little persuaded, I. To refer the matter to the clergy : II. To relinquish her title of queen ; instead whereof, the king had devis'd another, which he thought might content her : and this was (as I find by our records) that she should have the name and dignity thenceforth of his adopted sister ; which stile yet, afterwards gave some subject of discourse ; howsoever, she accepted it, (July 11.) and subscrib'd (in these terms) a letter to the king. Besides, she sent another to her brother the Duke of Cleves, acknowledging the justice of the proceedings ; and that she was untouch'd by the king, and that she was well intreated in England, and therefore desir'd to stay : lastly, she promis'd to shew the king all letters receiv'd from her brother, mother, or any else. Whereupon, the officers which before attended her as queen, were discharg'd, and others appointed to wait on her in the quality of the king's adopted sister.

And now (July 20.) the duke understanding by the Bishop of Bath, and Nicolas Wotton resident there, that our clergy assisted by the Court of Arches, had declar'd (upon her testimony that she was untouch'd by our king) that the marriage was void, and that either part might marry freely ; and that the whole parliament had (July 12.) confirm'd the sentence, and she accepted it, remain'd much perplex'd, as with tears he witnessed ; yet finding it a business publicly resolv'd, he said little ; especially after he heard that Richmond-House, and other fair lands, were allotted her for maintenance ; and that she should have precedence before all, save the queen, and the king's children. Howbeit, he would never consent to the disannulling of the match ; so that the bishop return'd, leaving the duke no otherwise satisfied, than that his sister had sped no worse. Thus at length the law pass'd, (July 12.) declaring the marriage void, both by the judgment of the clergy of England, and also by her own consent, and that it was high treason to judge or believe otherwise.

Another act also was made, shewing, what marriages were lawful, and what not. Wherein is ordain'd, that all marriages (without the degrees prohibited by God's law) made and consummate by carnal knowledge, shall be firm and good. Notwithstanding any precontract, which hath not been so consummate. [But this law was repeal'd, 1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. and 1 Eliz. 1.]

Other acts also pass'd this session of parliament, which began April 12. Among which I thought fit to remember these :

An act declaring in what cases a man may dispose all his lands by his last will in writing ; and in what, but part thereof. And in what cases the king, and other lords, shall have their wardships.

That no person shall sell or buy any right or title, or maintain it, or procure maintenance in any suit.

The punishment also by death of priests married, or unmarried ; and of women offending with them by incontinency, was repeal'd. For as the clergy of these times thought it (though one of six articles) too severe ; the punishment (upon their remonstrance) was laid on their goods, chattels, and spiritual promotions ; and this also better pleas'd the king.

Sanctuaries also, and priviledg'd places were reduc'd to a few, and certain rules prescrib'd to them.

That horses feeding on commons, not being of a lawful height, (that is to say, not being fifteen hands high, at two years old) should be seiz'd on by any man for his own use.

That forests, heaths, commons, etc. should be driven once in the year, and unlikely tithes in them to be kill'd. Nevertheless, that horses of small height might be put where mares were not kept.

The statutes also of 5 Rich. 2. 3. 6 Rich. 2. 8. 4. 4 Hen. 7. 10. and 23 Hen. 8. 7. touching fraighting in English ships, were only rehears'd and confirm'd, and a rate set down what should be paid for the freight, or portage of the several sorts of merchandizes, from the port of London to other places, and from thence to London.

That no alien nor denizon shall set up any trade in the king's dominions, and they who are denizons should be bound by and unto, all the laws and statutes of this realm, particularly those of 14 Hen. 8. and 21 Hen. 8. abovementioned.

That Trinity-Term, in regard of impediment of harvest, and danger of infection, should be abbreviated. Certain privileges also were granted to physicians in London ; as that they should not keep watch and ward, nor be constables ; and that they might practice chirurgery : barbers and chirurgeons were also made one company, and certain privileges given them ; as not to bear armour, or to be put in any watches or inquests.

A court also of the first-fruits, and the tenths granted to the king, was now erected.



The court of the king's ward also, and the names and several duties and offices thereof was erected.

It was enacted also, that the lands and goods of St. John's in Jerusalem, should be in the king's disposition ; for which these reasons chiefly were pretended : because the knights of Rhodes or Saint John, otherwise call'd friers of the religion of Saint John, drew yearly great sums of money out of the kingdom ; that they maintain'd the usurp'd power of the Bishop of Rome ; that they defam'd and slander'd the king and his subjects ; that the isle of Rhodes, whence the said religion took its name, was surpriz'd by the Turks ; that the revenues might be better employ'd for defence of the realm ; nevertheless, certain pensions were allow'd unto the prior, and others of the said order, that were dutiful subjects. But all their lands, as well in England as in Ireland, were granted to the king's majesty, to be in the survey, rule, and governance of the chancellor, and others, officers of the court of augmentations. And thus fell that ancient and pious order, not without much scandal abroad, both to the king and government. Tho' yet, the envious disrespect shew'd unto the English being such, as they never attained higher dignity than the turcoplier or captain's place of the light-horse in the isle of Rhodes, did (in the opinion of some) extenuate this proceeding : the king yet grew not much the richer hereby, as giving great portions of the said lands to divers of our noblemen and cavaliers, who (May 1.) had held a solemn jousts, tourney, and barriers in Westminster, and feasted sumptuously both the king and court.

Lastly a general and free pardon was granted of all heresies, treasons, felonies, and offences, (some particular persons and matters only excepted) in which number Cromwel was not yet included. For, though divers letters and messages (June 25.) passed from him to the king ; and one particularly written after his condemnation, and extant in our records, wherein he much excus'd himself, saying, ' That if his ' medlings under his majesty were great, so his majesty's authority was ' great ; and that he protested, besides, under many execrations, that ' he was innocent in his intentions ; and, lastly, utterly deny'd all ' treason and heresy, as that he was no sacramentary,' etc. yet he could not prevail. And thus July 28 (being four days after dissolution of parliament) he was brought to the Tower-Hill, where, after profession that he would die in the Catholick faith, his head was cut off.

And to this end came Cromwel, who from being but a blacksmith's son, found means to travel into divers foreign countries, to learn their languages, and to see the wars, (being a soldier of Bourbon at the sacking of Rome) ; whence returning, he was receiv'd into the Cardinal Woolsey's service : to whom he so approv'd himself by his fidelity and diligence, that the king after his fall voluntary took him for his servant ; in which place he became a special instrument for dissolving the

abbies, and other religious houses, and keeping down the clergy ; whom in regard of their oath to the pope, he usually term'd the king's half subjects : and for expelling the monks, he said it was no more than a restoring them to the first institution of being lay and labouring persons : neither did it move him, that so much strictness and austerity of life was injoin'd them in their several orders, since he said they might keep it in any condition. But as these reasons again were not admitted by divers learned and able persons, so he got him many enemies, who at last procur'd his fall ; but not before he had obtain'd successively the dignities of master of the rolls, baron, (July 9. 1536.) lord privy-seal, vicegerent to the king in spiritualities, (July 18. 1536.) knight of the garter, (Aug. 26. 1537.) Earl of Essex, (April 14. 1540.) great chamberlain of England, etc. He was noted in the exercise of his places of judicature to have us'd much moderation ; and in his greatest pomp, to have taken notice, and been thankful to mean persons of his old acquaintance, and therein had a virtue which his master the cardinal wanted : as for his other descriptions, I leave them to be taken out of Cranmer's letter formerly mention'd, with some deduction ; for it seems written to the king in more than ordinary favour of his ancient service.

At the same time with Cromwel, Walter, Lord Hungerford suffer'd. The crimes objected to him were, for taking into his house as chaplain one William Bird, who had called the king heretick, etc. That he had procur'd certain persons to conjure, to know how long the king should live ; also, that he had used the sin of buggery.

Shortly after which, divers great persons from Italy, and other places, came to see the king, whom he very courteously (July 22.) receiv'd, and being richly rewarded, dismiss'd them.

The king continued yet his rigor to those that disputed either his authority, or articles ; insomuch, that both the reformers and maintainers of the pope's authority suffer'd so frequently, that his enemies said, while he admitted neither side, he seem'd to be of no religion. Howbeit, this was but calumny, for Henry stood firmly to his own reformation.

And now the Lady Anne of Cleves contenting herself with the stile of the king's adopted sister, the Lady Katharine Howard, daughter to Edmond the third son of Thomas, first Duke of Norfolk, and brother to the present duke, was (Aug. 8.) married to the king, and presently after shewed publicly as queen.

Our historians say, that in August, this year, there was so great a drought, that the springs failing, the salt-water flow'd above London-bridge. I find also, that Frederick Count Palatine of Bavaria was in England, to obtain aid of the king, for the restitution of his father-in-law the King of Denmark. But as our records do not set down the time exactly, so I know not whether to place him in this year, or the

year preceding. Howsoever, he found some difficulty in his business, and the rather, that he asked so great a sum as 600,000 ducats, when the king had so much use of money, for the fortifying of his kingdom.

Let us look a while upon foreign business : The memory of those courtesies which were done the emperor, being yet fresh, Francis thought fit to send the Cardinal of Lorain, and Conestable Montmorency, to treat concerning the restitution of Milan : but the emperor Charles, resolute at what price soever not to quit it, made them at length this answer :

‘There is nothing I desire so much, as the peace and quiet of the world, which that it may be firm and true, I am content to give unto the king, more than ever he meant to ask, or I to grant. Of two daughters which I have, I am willing to bestow the elder in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, and with her for dowry the state of Flanders, with the stile and title of a king ; so shall Francis have two sons, both kings and neighbours : besides, if his eldest son and mine die, he and my daughter shall be the greatest princes in the world ; for they shall have Spain and all my other dominions. As for Milan, let them not think I will ever part with it, since it were nothing else than to disjoint (the Spanish is more elegant *descabecar*) all my estates. And let it not grieve the king ; for I had it by good and lawful succession, and possess it as belonging to the empire. Take Milan from me, and you take away my passage between Flanders and Spain, Italy, Sicily, and Germany. This is that I had to say to you. And if it please you not, there is no occasion to speak more of the business.’

The cardinal and Montmorency hereupon advertis’d this good offer ; but Francis, as a man passionate, and affronted, returned this answer.

‘That since he might not have his inheritance, he would have nothing else ; neither would he care to speak any more of peace.’

And thus the treaty brake off ; yet so, as it was thought that Francis herein shew’d some wilfulness ; he being not further off from Milan for having Flanders, nor to be bound so by any confederation, as he might not easily find occasion to dissolve it, the causes both of war and peace betwixt great princes being perpetual. And now the emperor, glad of this refusal, prosecutes his business in Germany, without care of giving Francis any further satisfaction.

In France, where all was now quiet, little past this year, save that Francis being desirous to enlarge his borders, built a fortress at Ardres, and made a bridge over to the English pale ; which our garison hearing, (Sept. 7.) beat down. The French (Oct. 13.) yet re-edify’d it ; but our garisons overthrew it again. Whereupon the French raising some forces under Monsieur de Biez, our king (June.) commanded Henry Arundel Lord Matrevers (Nov. 14.) (made deputy of Calais in the place of Arthur Plantagenet) (Jan. 1541.) to put the town into



defence by fortifying and victualling it ; and shortly after sent over the Earl of Hertford, and Sir Edward Kerne, who disputed the right of the borders with Monsieur de Biez, and other commissioners from Francis. But as no effect follow'd hereon, and Francis besides took occasion to complain, that our king in the late parliament hath made the French liable to subsidies, and other new impositions, contrary to the ancient treaties : our king on the other side, remonstrating that those acts were neither new, nor derogatory to the said treaties ; both princes remain'd unsatisfy'd of the others actions, therefore on the French party Monsieur de Vendosme was (April.) commanded to raise forces in Picardy ; and (October 27.) from England were sent William Earl of Southampton, (July 28.) made lord privy-seal, and John Lord Russel, newly constitute high admiral, with a few troops of Northern horse : without yet that any thing was attempted on either side for the present.

I will conclude this year with a narration of the first beginning which the Jesuitical order took from Inigo de Loyola of Guipuscoa in Spain. This Inigo or Ignatius being born 1492. (that is to say, in the year that the Indies were discover'd, and Granada taken in by Ferdinand) seems the third great effect of that unparallel'd ascendent which Spain had at that time : he lived yet obscurely till he came to twenty nine years of age, but then turn'd soldier in the wars of Navarre, 1521. where being hurt in the knee, the pain thereof seems to have waken'd devotion in him to a religious life ; for as soon as he recovered, he went to our Lady of Montserrat, to whom he offer'd his sword and dagger, which being done, he gave his clothes away to a poor man, and took upon him a shirt and miserable habit, which he girt about him with a rope of rushes : and in these arms (for so are Sandoval's words) he watch'd one whole night before our Lady, and so went to an hospital three leagues off, and there attended the sick persons, whence he travell'd after to the Holy Land ; being return'd thence, and now in his age of thirty three, he began to learn grammar at Barcelona, which in two years he attain'd. And being desirous to make further progress, he went to the university of Alcala, and so to Salamanca, where being oppos'd and persecuted, he left all and came to Paris, and there studied till he had found at last divers others, with whom he agreed to return in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and Jerusalem. Thus about 1536, going first to Venice, he staid till his companions overtook him, and went from thence to Rome, whither he follow'd them ; and obtain'd of Paul III. the foundation of the Jesuitical order, 27. Sept. 1540. The decay of religious houses in England, and the progress of the Lutherans in Germany, authorizing (it seems) their institution, who sithence have so dilated themselves, as their disciples fear not to say, that for advancement of their doctrine, they have gone to farther countries than the apostles ever reach'd ; and that God

reserv'd the intire discoveries both of East and West Indies until the latter times, only that those holy fathers might have the honour of their conversion. Of the devotion and miracles which this Ignatius is said to have exhibited in his journeys, I affirm nothing, as contenting my self to have taken the more historical part out of Sandoval, (who seems to be a great extoller of him.) Sundry reformers on the other side, instead of confessing him to be a good man, or a miracle-worker, said, he was an incendiary, and haunted with evil spirits. Which latter part not only Sandoval, but Turrianus and Bobadilla (both of them Jesuits) confirm ; moreover Turrianus related (as Hospinian hath it) that he dy'd in much fear and trembling, and that his face was strangely black ; Hasenmullerus besides (once a Jesuit) adds that no bones were found in his body, and that all the Jesuits at his burial were witnesses thereof. Concerning which therefore no little dispute is on both sides, whether good or bad angels took them away, while divers sober men think neither : but that we may pretermit the contentions of men passionate on the one or the other side, as unfit to establish that peace in which God is best serv'd, there is little occasion to say more of the Jesuits in this place, than that they are generally held such ministers of the King of Spain, that they have more advanc'd (by the secret operations of their confessions, and intelligence, which is admirable) the designs of the house of Austria, than either the continent of Spain, made intire by the union of Granada, (as is formerly touch'd) or the Indies themselves. By which means, as also that their doctrine and learning is so exact in all things, save where they overmuch study the pope and Spaniards ends, they have made themselves the most considerable among all religious orders.

And now a cruel time (1541.) did pass in England ; for as few durst protect those who refus'd to subscribe to the six articles, so they suffer'd daily, whereof Fox hath many examples ; neither was it easy for any man to escape, (commissioners being appointed in every shire to search out and examine those who were refractory ;) nevertheless these punishments did but advance their religion ; for as they were notify'd abroad, and together their constancy presented, who were burnt, it was thought they had some assistance from above, it being impossible otherwise that they should so rejoice in the midst of their torments, and triumph over the most cruel death. Therefore not only the learned and better affected sort, but even all Christian princes endeavour'd some consent of opinion : the pope himself not omitting to concur therein, as thinking it better to allow some degrees of latitude in religion, only when their several authorities might be conserv'd, than to hazard a general schism and distraction. Hereunto also it conduced not a little, that the Turk taking notice of these divisions, prepared to invade Germany. Therefore the emperor ap-

pointed a meeting (Oct. 28.) at Worms, where divers learned and able men on both sides should (Jan. 1.) dispute, hoping so an end would follow. Howbeit, as the divines could not agree among themselves, the business was referr'd to a diet, to be held (April 5.) at Ratisbonne, whither the pope sent Cardinal Gasper Contareni. And here the emperor being present, requires both sides to permit the choice of the delegates to him, which they granted; whereupon he appointed on the one side, Julius Pflug, John Eccius, John Groper; on the other, Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, and John Pistorius; gravely advising them to handle the business sincerely; these men, after a modest excuse, (April 22.) accept the charge, desiring only certain assessors who might testify their proceedings; whereupon (April 27.) the emperor gave them Frederick Count Palatine, and Nicholas Perenot, Seigneur de Granville, and some others; offering them further a book to consider, some passages whereof they all admitted, others they corrected, and of some others the Protestants writ their opinion apart; so the book was re-exhibited to the emperor, and he (it seem'd) well contented therewith; nevertheless, because the pope interven'd not herein, this way was oppos'd, Contareni alledging, that all agreement in this kind would be vain, unless the holy see confirm'd it; whereupon the emperor (July 7.) referring the Protestants confession to him, he again refers it to the pope: but as this requir'd time, so the emperor desirous his endeavours should take some effect, demands whether those articles whereof the delegates were agreed might be receiv'd, until a council were had. The Protestants desir'd it; but the legat and Catholick princes oppos'd (July 12.) it, saying, they were not the most material, and therefore to be pretermitted till the rest were determin'd, etc. Concluding with a desire, that all might be deferr'd to the general council now intended.

The emperor finding all reconciliation at this time to be hopeless, and that the Turk still approach'd, took this way, promising himself to go to Rome, and solicit the pope herein; advising (July 28.) the Protestants in the mean time. I. To insist in the reconciled points. II. The Roman Catholick bishops to reform their own particular churches, and so make way for a general reformation; taking order withal, that religious houses should not be thrown down, nor people drawn from one country to another upon pretence of converting them: yet that they who came willingly might be receiv'd; promising further, if a general council could not be obtain'd, to procure a provincial; or if neither, that within eighteen months another diet should be called, whither he would intreat a legat from the pope to come; suspending, in the mean time, that rigid decree at Augsborg, (1530.) against the Protestants; whereupon, they also promis'd him their assistance against the Turk. And thus (July 28.) ended the diet; to which our king sent Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Henry Knevet, by



whom (if we may believe Sanders) he held a doubtful part ; sometimes excusing himself to the Protestants, sometimes offering a reconciliation with the pope by the emperor's means, when penance and restitution should not be requir'd. But as neither our histories nor records, nor the diligent Sleidan make mention hereof, that I can find, so I leave the credit thereof to the reader's discretion.

Francis not satisfy'd with the answer formerly mention'd, nor the negotiation of Montmorency, did resent both. Against the emperor he took offence for not restoring Milan according to his promise (as he alledg'd) to Montmorency : against him again, he shew'd no little displeasure (as some affirm) for dissuading him to seize on the emperor at that time : though I rather believe it was on occasion of some private quarrel betwixt the Admiral Brion and him ; in which, ill offices were done him by the Dutchess of Estampes, lately ally'd to Brion's kindred : howsoever, Montmorency was confin'd to a private life ; neither would the king ever after see him. And now Francis, resolv'd when occasion was offer'd to break with the emperor, sends Anthony Rincon, a revolted Spaniard, in ambassage to the Turk, and one Cæsar Fregoso, a Genouese, to the Venetians : both these meeting (June) in Piedmont with Seigneur du Bellay, the king's lieutenant there, were advertis'd that the Marquis of Guasto, the emperor's lieutenant in Milan, laid wait for them : howbeit, whether trusting to their quality, or address, they agreed to pass by water along the Po ; sending yet their commission and dispatches by another way into Venice : for the rest, hoping betwixt changing their habit, and diligence, to escape : but (as it falls out very often, that they who hide not themselves cunningly, give but the more occasion to discover themselves so) they were prevented, and (July 3.) by certain persons with visors assassin'd upon the water. Francis hearing hereof, said it was done by the emperor or the Marquis of Guasto's procurement, and that the law of nations was violated therein : but they, on the other side, disclaim'd the fact, offering to put the suspected persons into the pope's hands, to be there examin'd ; protesting, nevertheless, that the killing of Rincon was only a chastisement due to a treacherous subject. Francis hearing this, surpriseth George of Austria (natural son to Maximilian late emperor) in his journey from Spain to Flanders through France, and commits him to prison. Some other passages also happen'd about this time, which increas'd the jealousy betwixt them : for as Francis had given in marriage Joan daughter of Navarre to the Duke of Cleves, and therein strengthen'd himself against the emperor ; so he again by giving the Dutchess of Milan to the son of the Duke of Lorain, got the same advantage of alliance against Francis.

A little rebellion now (April.) appearing in Yorkshire, in which Sir John Nevil was a complice, the king took order to suppress it betimes ; commanding the said Sir John Nevil to be put to death at York. Shortly

after which follow'd the Countess of Salisbury's execution ; which, (May 27.) whether occasion'd by the late rebellion, (as being thought of Cardinal Pool's instigation) or that she gave some new offence, is uncertain : the old lady being brought to the scaffold (set up in the Tower) was commanded to lay her head on the block ; but she (as a person of great quality assur'd me) refus'd, saying, ' So should traytors do, and I am none : ' neither did it serve that the executioner told her, it was the fashion ; so turning her gray head every way, she bid him ' If he would have her head, to get it as he could : ' so that he was constrain'd to fetch it off slovenly. And thus ended (as our authors say) the last of the right line of the Plantagenets.

And now the king resolved to go in progress to Yorkshire ; not yet so much to extinguish the relics of the last commotion, as those of superstition, miracles and pilgrimages : besides, he was in hope to meet his nephew of Scotland, who being solicited again for interview, had (it seems) promis'd it. Yet before he went, he caus'd two lords and divers others to be put to death : one was the Lord Leonard Gray, who having been (the year precedent) recall'd from his deputy's place in Ireland, was then committed upon suggestions ministred by the council there, with whom (I find by our records) he often wrangled ; who furnish'd therefore divers articles of high-treason against him : so that though he had (the year 1539) repuls'd O Donel and O Neal (who invaded the English pale) and render'd the king divers good services heretofore in France, Ireland, and other places, he could not escape. The chief points objected against him (extant in our records) were, his readiness to join with Cardinal Pool, and other the king's enemies, he having for that purpose (as was alledg'd) left the king's ordnance in Galway ; and then he consented to the escape of his nephew Gerald, formerly mention'd ; which, with divers others, to the number of twenty (if Hall say true) being brought to a jury of knights, (June 25.) (for being no parliament lord, he could not be judged by his peers) he saved them the labour of condemning him, and without more ado confessed all ; which, whether this lord (who was of great courage) did out of desperation or guilt, some circumstances make doubtful : and the rather, that the articles being so many, he neither deny'd, nor extenuated any of them ; though his continual fighting with the king's enemies (where occasion was) pleaded much on his part : howsoever, he had his head cut off. The other was a young lord, Thomas Fines Lord Dacres of the south, who suffer'd (June 28.) for committing a murther in company of some light persons (who were with him a deer-stealing.) All things being now ready for the intended journey, the king, accompany'd with his queen, passed thro (Aug.) Lincolnshire, where the people (thankfully acknowledging their late pardon) presented him with divers sums of money ; which the Yorkshire men also imitated. And now being come to York, he

caused (Sept. 20.) proclamation to be made (as I find in our records) that if any man in those parts found himself wronged for lack of justice, or otherwise, by any whom his majesty hath put in trust, or other, he shall have free access to the king and his council for redress. After this, news was brought him that his nephew King James would not meet : so that although our king had made great preparations to receive him, all was frustrated. This fill'd the king with indignation ; yet he conceal'd it for the present, though resolving in himself to resent it in the highest degree. Therefore departing from York, Sept. 26. towards London, he was (Oct. 14.) on the way encounter'd by the ambassador of Portugal, desiring a license for the transportation of wheat into that country, being in great need thereof. To which was answer'd, 'That if that king would admit in his next navigation to 'Calicut, some Englishmen of our king's appointment to adventure 'there for providing this realm with spices, he should have his request.' But of this, although the said ambassador undertook to write to his master, I find no further mention. Our king (December.) being now return'd, prepar'd for war. Which James hearing, sent ambassadors hither to excuse himself, and renew their former correspondence, which King Henry refusing, James also levies men, (as shall be told the year following.)

But our king (Nov. 2.) encounter'd after this journey a greater vexation ; for the queen was suppos'd to offend in incontinency : some particulars whereof being extant in our records, I have thought fit to transcribe, rather than to make other narration ; the family of which she came being so noble and illustrious, and the honour of her sex (which is tender) being concern'd therein.

The letter sent (Nov. 12.) from divers of the council to William Paget, our ambassador then in France, was this :

'After our hearty commendations, by these our letters, we be commanded to signifie unto you, a most miserable case, which came lately 'to revelation, to the intent that if you shall hear the same spoken of, 'you may declare the truth as followeth :

'Where the king's majesty upon the sentence given of the invalidity 'of the pretended matrimony between his highness and the Lady 'Anne of Cleve, was earnestly and humbly solicited by his council, 'and the nobles of this realm, to frame his most noble heart to the 'love and favour of some noble personage to be join'd with him in law- 'ful matrimony, by whom his majesty might have some more store of 'fruit, and succession, to the comfort of this realm ; it pleas'd his 'highness upon a notable appearance of honour, cleanness, and 'maidenly behaviour, to bend his affection towards Mistress Katharine 'Howard, daughter to the late Lord Edmond Howard, brother to me 'the Duke of Norfolk, insomuch as his highness, was finally contented



‘to honour her with his marriage, thinking now in his old days, after  
 ‘sundry troubles of mind, which have happen’d unto him by marriages,  
 ‘to have obtain’d such a jewel for womanhood, and very perfect love  
 ‘towards him, as should not only have been to his quietness, but also  
 ‘brought forth the desir’d fruit of marriage, like as the whole realm  
 ‘thought the semblable, and in respect of the virtue and good beha-  
 ‘viour which she shew’d outwardly, did her all honour accordingly.  
 ‘But this joy is turn’d into extreme sorrow ; for when the king’s  
 ‘majesty receiving his Maker on Alhallows Day last past, then gave  
 ‘him most humble and hearty thanks for the good life he led and  
 ‘trusted to lead with her, and also desir’d the Bishop of Lincoln, his  
 ‘ghostly father, to make like prayer, and give like thanks with him ;  
 ‘on All-Souls Day being at mass, the Archbishop of Canterbury  
 ‘having a little before heard, that the same Mistress Katharine Howard  
 ‘was not indeed a woman of that pureness and cleanness that she was  
 ‘esteem’d ; but a woman, who before she was joined with the king’s  
 ‘majesty, had liv’d most corruptly and sensually ; for the discharge of  
 ‘his duty open’d the same most sorrowfully to his majesty, and how it  
 ‘was brought to his knowledge, which was in this form following.

‘While the king’s majesty was in his progress, one John Lossels came  
 ‘to the said Archbishop of Canterbury, and declar’d unto him, that he  
 ‘had been with a sister of his married in Sussex, which sometimes had  
 ‘been servant with the old Dutchess of Norfolk, who did also bring  
 ‘up the said Mistress Katharine, and being with his said sister,  
 ‘chanced to fall in communication with her of the queen, wherein he  
 ‘advised her (because she was of the queen’s old acquaintance) to sue  
 ‘to be her woman ; whereunto the sister answer’d, that she would not  
 ‘so do : but she was very sorry for the queen ; “Why,” quoth Lossels ?  
 ‘“Marry,” quoth she, “for she is light both in living and condition :”  
 ‘“How so,” quoth Lossels ? “Marry,” quoth she, “there is one Francis  
 ‘“Derrham, who was servant also in my Lady of Norfolk’s house, which  
 ‘“hath lien in bed with her in his doublet and hose between the sheets  
 ‘“an hundred nights. And there hath been such puffing and blowing  
 ‘“between them, that once in the house a maid which lay in the house  
 ‘“with her, said to me, ‘She would lie no longer with her, be-  
 ‘“cause she knew not what matrimony meant.’ And further she said  
 ‘“unto him, that one Mannock, sometimes also servant to the said  
 ‘“dutchess, knew a privy mark of her body.” When the said Lossels  
 ‘had declared this to the said Archbishop of Canterbury, he consider-  
 ‘ing the weight and importance of the matter, being marvellously  
 ‘perplex’d therewith, consulted in the same with the Lord Chancellor  
 ‘of England, and the Earl of Hertford, whom the king’s majesty  
 ‘going in his progress left to reside at London, to order his affairs in  
 ‘those parts ; who having weigh’d the matter, and deeply ponder’d the  
 ‘gravity thereof, wherewith they were greatly troubled, and unquieted,

'resolved finally, that the said archbishop should reveal the same to  
 'the king's majesty ; which because the matter was such, as he hath  
 'sorrowfully lamented, and also could not find in his heart to express  
 'the same to the king's majesty by word of mouth, he declar'd the  
 'information thereof to his highness in writing. When the king's  
 'majesty had read this information thus deliver'd unto him, his grace  
 'being much perplex'd therewith, yet nevertheless, so tenderly loved  
 'the woman, and had conceiv'd such a constant opinion of her honesty ;  
 'that he suppos'd it rather to be a forged matter, than of truth.  
 'Whereupon it pleas'd him secretly to call unto him the lord privy  
 'seal, the lord admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Thomas  
 'Wriothesly, to whom he open'd the case, saying he could not  
 'believe it to be true : and yet seeing the information was made,  
 'he could not be satisfy'd till the certainty thereof was known ;  
 'but he would not in any wise, that in the inquisition any spark  
 'of scandal should rise towards her. Whereupon it was by his  
 'majesty resolv'd, that the lord privy-seal should go straight to London,  
 'where the said Lossels that gave the information was secretly kept,  
 'and with all dexterity to examine and try whether he would stand to  
 'his saying : who being so examin'd, answer'd, That his sister so told  
 'him, and that he had declar'd it for the discharge of his duty, and for  
 'none other respect ; adding, that he knew what danger was in it ;  
 'nevertheless, he had rather die in declaration of the truth, as it came  
 'to him, seeing it touch'd the king's majesty so nearly, than live with  
 'the concealment of the same : which asseveration being thus made  
 'by the said Lossels, the king's majesty being inform'd thereof, sent  
 'the lord privy-seal into Sussex, to examine the woman, making a  
 'pretence to the woman's husband of hunting, and to her for receiving  
 'of hunters ; and sent the said Sir Thomas Wriothesly to London  
 'at the same instant, both to examine Mannock, and also to take  
 'the said Derrham upon a pretence of piracy, because he had been  
 'before in Ireland, and hath been noted before with that offence ;  
 'making these pretences, to the intent no spark of suspicion should  
 'rise of these examinations. The said lord privy-seal found the  
 'woman in her examination constant in her former sayings : and Sir  
 'Thomas Wriothesly found by the confession of Mannock, that he had  
 'commonly us'd to feel the secrets and other parts of her body, e're  
 'ever Derrham was so familiar with her ; and Derrham confess'd that  
 'he had known her carnally many times, both in his doublet and his  
 'hose, between the sheets, and in naked bed, alledging such witnesses,  
 'of three sundry women, one after another, that had lien in the same  
 'bed with them, when he did the acts, that the matter seem'd most  
 'apparent. But what inward sorrow the king's majesty took when he  
 'perceiv'd the information true, as it was the most woful thing that  
 'ever came to our hearts, to see it ; so it were too tedious to write it

‘unto you. But his heart was so pierc’d with pensiveness, that long it  
 ‘was before his majesty could speak, and utter the sorrow of his heart  
 ‘unto us : and finally, with plenty of tears, (which was strange in his  
 ‘courage) open’d the same. Which done, she was spoken withal in it  
 ‘by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the Duke of  
 ‘Norfolk, the Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and the Bishop of  
 ‘Winchester ; to whom, at the first, she constantly deny’d it ; but the  
 ‘matter being so declar’d unto her, that she perceiv’d it to be wholly  
 ‘disclos’d, the same night she disclos’d the whole to the Archbishop of  
 ‘Canterbury, who took the confession of the same in writing, subscrib’d  
 ‘with her hand : then were the rest of the number, being eight or nine,  
 ‘men and women, which knew of their doings, examin’d, who all  
 ‘agreed in one tale.

‘Now you may see what was done before the marriage ; God know-  
 ‘eth what hath been done sithence : but she had already gotten this  
 ‘Derrham into her service, and trained him upon occasions, as sending  
 ‘of errands, and writing of letters, when her secretary was out of the  
 ‘way, to come often into her privy-chamber. And she had gotten also  
 ‘into her privy-chamber, to be one of her chamberers, one of the  
 ‘women which had before lien in the bed with her and Derrham :  
 ‘what this portended is easy to be conjectur’d. Thus much we know  
 ‘for the beginning : whereof we thought meet to advertise you, to the  
 ‘intent afore specify’d : and what shall further succeed and follow of  
 ‘this matter, we shall not fail to advertise you thereof accordingly.

‘You shall also receive herein inclosed a packet of letters, directed  
 ‘unto Sir Henry Knevet, his grace’s ambassador with the emperor,  
 ‘which his highness’s pleasure is you shall see convey’d unto him by  
 ‘the next post that passeth from thence into the emperor’s court. Thus  
 ‘fare you right heartily well.

‘From the king’s palace at Westminster the twelfth of November.

‘Your loving friends,

‘Thomas Audley, Chancellor. E. Hertford. William Southampton.  
 ‘Robert Sussex. Stephen Winton. Anthony Wingfield.’

Besides the persons specified in this letter, one Thomas Culpeper (being of the same name with the queen’s mother) was indicted for the same fault (as our histories have it,) which he and Derrham at their arraignment confessing, Culpeper had his head cut off, and Derrham was (Nov. 31.) hang’d and quarter’d. But it rested not here ; for the Lord William Howard (the queen’s uncle, newly return’d (Dec. 7.) from an embassy in France) and his wife, and the old Dutchess of Norfolk, and divers of the queen’s and the said dutchess’s kindred and servants, and a butter-wife, were indicted of misprision of treason (as concealing this fact,) and (Dec. 10.) condemn’d to perpetual prison ;



though yet by the king's favour some of them at length were releas'd. The king yet (Dec. 22.) not satisfy'd thus, for more authorising his proceeding, referr'd the business to the parliament sitting Jan. 16. 1541. Where upon petition of both houses, that he would not vex himself, but give his royal assent to what they should do, they had leave to proceed, and together thanks given him that they took his sorrow to be theirs. Hereupon they attainted the queen and the Lady Jane Rochfort, as also Culpeper, Derrham, etc. And so the queen and Lady Jane Rochfort (wife to the late Lord Rochfort, and noted to be a particular instrument in the death of Queen Anne) were brought to the Tower, and (Feb. 13.) after confession of their faults, had their heads cut off.

An act also pass'd, declaring, that it shall be lawful for any of the king's subjects, if themselves do perfectly know, or by vehement presumption do perceive any will, act or condition of lightness of body in her which shall be the queen of this realm, to disclose the same to the king, or some of his council; but they shall not openly blow it abroad, or whisper it, until it be divulg'd by the king or his council. If the king, or any of his successors shall marry a woman which was before incontinent, if she conceal the same, it shall be high-treason, etc. [But this act was repeal'd, 1 Edward VI. 12. and 1 Mary 1.]

Divers other acts also pass'd, whereof I have thought fit to set down these: that they who under colour of a false token or counterfeit-letter got other men's money into their hands, should be punish'd at the discretion of those before whom they were convicted, any way but death.

It was declar'd also, how many ston'd-horses every man should keep according to his degree. But this was afterwards repeal'd; though yet of special use in defence of the kingdom, when due regard of the persons were had.

Further it was declar'd, who might also shoot in guns and cross-bows.

Moreover, that shooting with bow and arrows should be us'd, and unlawful games debarr'd.

The order also for punishment of murder and blood-shed in the king's court, with all the ceremonies thereof, was set down; the occasion, it seems, being given by Sir Edmond Knevet, who being (June 10.) lately condemn'd to lose his hand for this fault, was yet pardon'd.

The authority of the officers of the court of wards and liveries, was set down.

That in certain cases there should be trial of treason in any country where the king by commission will appoint; and this saved much trouble and charges: for as divers things were made treason in this king's time, which yet were repeal'd afterwards, so the lords of the council were not only continually vex'd with these businesses, but the king at great charges in remanding the prisoners.

That none should be justice of assize in his own country.

The court of surveyors of the king's land, the names of the officers there, and their authority, was set down.

All practice of conjuration, witchcraft and false prophecy, was made felony.

The kings of England for a long time rul'd Ireland by no other name than lords thereof, our king now thought fit to change the stile, and honour a populous and warlike kingdom with the title of a king. Therefore in a parliament held at this time in that country, he gave order to be declar'd King of Ireland ; which was proclaim'd here during this parliament, and (Jan. 29.) finally enacted 35 Henry VIII. 3. This being notify'd to James, much offended him ; though whether out of emulation for his assuming the title, or that himself had any design on this country, (as by his laying claim to divers parts thereof, and by former passages may be suspected) is uncertain. Howbeit, understanding that Mac-Connel and some Scots, who held part thereof, (as Lesleus hath it) were not disturb'd in their possession, he more patiently suffer'd it. Our king on the other side, finding none contested with him for the sovereignty of the island, did not so much regard their particular right : though yet, as there were divers commotions about this time, he had occasion to hold a hand over the disaffected persons : but by the diligence of Sir Anthony Saintleger, whom the king had (July 7.) made deputy there, all was quickly compos'd.

During this session (March 28.) of parliament some wrong was offer'd (as our histories say) to their ancient privileges ; a burghess of theirs being arrested : whereof the king understanding, not only gave way to their releasing him, but punishment of the offenders ; insomuch, that the sheriffs of London were committed to the Tower, and one delinquent to a place call'd Little-ease, others to Newgate. By which means the king (whose masterpiece it was to make use of his parliaments) not only let foreign princes see the good intelligence betwixt him and his subjects, but kept them all at his devotion : which also he so industriously procur'd, that rather than he would seem to require more at this time than they had lately given, he borrow'd divers sums of money of men, above fifty pound yearly in his books (which he look'd on often) giving them in lieu thereof, privy seals, as security for their repayment in two years ; by this means suffering his parliament rather to take notice of his wants, than to supply them ; which yet serv'd to prepare them for his next occasion. The Irish nobility also being well inform'd of these proceedings, and collecting thereby the absoluteness of the king's power every where, the chief of them this year submitted themselves, and acknowledg'd him now their king ; among whom Eustace the great O Neal presented himself, and (Oct.) was made Earl of Tyrone.

The diet of Ratisbonne being (July 28.) ended, the emperor from thence sent to the pope, desiring him to permit an interview to Lucca,

which the pope accorded ; whereupon the emperor passing thro' Milan, came by land to Genoa, and (Aug.) thence taking water to Lucca, where the pope now was. And here many things were to be determin'd : for first, the emperor (as he had engag'd himself to the Protestants of the last diet) urged a council, which the pope thought fit to hold at Vicenza, where it was last indicted ; but the Venetians oppos'd it, as fearing lest the Turk, with whom they had lately made a peace, should think it was call'd to confederate all Christian princes against him. Thus was the council again frustrated : other affairs being also interrupted by the ambassador of Francis, who made divers instances, that at least the bodies of Rincon and Fregose might be restor'd : hoping that together with the law of nations, they would not yet violate that of nature, and deny them the rights of burial. But the emperor still protesting himself to be no way conscious of this fact, omitted answer to the rest. This while the Turk having gotten some places of importance in Hungary, and overthrown the army of Ferdinand (led by Roccandolph) the pope endeavour'd a reconciliation of all the present differences ; desiring the emperor to give to Francis the estate of Milan, and him to restore all he had in Piedmont to the Duke of Savoy. But the emperor resolute not to leave Milan, broke off the treaty ; for the rest, preparing for an expedition to Algier : his fleet consisting of 64 gallies, 200 ships, 100 frigots, 20,000 foot, and 2000 horse, besides voluntiers and seamen. Setting sail with these from Majorca, and other places where his fleet attended him, he came in two days to the coast of Algier, defended by Azan-Aga, and about 800 Turks (being cavalry for the most part) and about 5000 Moors, renegadoes. It was now Oct. 23. 1541. when his men landed without much resistance. The first thing done was to require Azan-Aga to yield the place, and turn Christian, as being the son of Christian parents, and born in Spain : but he answer'd, that he desir'd no more honour than to comply with his loyalty, and die by the hands of so excellent an emperor. But as the season of the year was far advanc'd, foul weather began, so that they fought neither often, nor with much advantage on either side. At last, a huge tempest arose, which finally destroy'd 150 ships, little and great, with all that was in them, save some horses and a few men : and now the tempest still increasing, the emperor, who between noise and danger could not sleep, demanded of some seamen then with him, 'How long the rest of the fleet might live, 'if the tempest continu'd ?' They answer'd, 'At most two hours :' he demanded then, 'What a clock it was ?' They told him, 'Half an 'hour past eleven :' whereupon he said to them, 'Comfort your selves ; 'at twelve the friers and nuns rise, and will pray for us.' But the tempest continu'd till far in the next day, when the miserable carcases of ships and men, swimming in some places, and drowning in others, made an hideous spectacle ; while if any got to land the Arabs and



Moors without mercy kill'd them. And now, besides the above-mention'd ships, fourteen or fifteen gallies were cast away ; by which means not only the artillery and victuals fail'd, but even the desire to continue the siege : for one such another tempest would have destroy'd all. Yet there was much difficulty in embarking of the soldiers, for the ships did not suffice to carry them : therefore they were forc'd to cast over-board their most generous horses, who swimming from one ship to another, were drowned at last, not without much compassion of all, and especially their masters. The rest of the navigation homewards yet was not prosperous, many ships perishing. At last, the emperor came to Calari in Sardigna, where, through contrary winds, he was constrain'd to pass his Christmas ; at length fair weather appearing, he arriv'd in Spain : and this was the third unfortunate voyage to Algier, it having been twice before attempted in vain.

A rupture (1542.) with Scotland being now secretly resolv'd, our king thought fit to assure Francis, sending for this purpose to Sir William Paget his ambassador there, instructions, which were chiefly to hold Francis to his treaties of perpetual peace. But Francis saying it was made upon certain conditions, which were broken by our king, it was answer'd, (Feb. 1540.) the treaty was sans condition, and when it were not, that he had broken none. But Francis requiring then assistance for Milan, as was promis'd ; (1536.) it was reply'd, that both by the treaty last offer'd by the Duke of Norfolk, and another formerly by Pommeray, this was spoken of indeed, but that there was complicated with it another condition, that he should forsake the Bishop of Rome, which he refus'd to do, but as this was interrupted with some wrangling, so there was no little debate about ships detain'd on either side, our officers having with-held some, under pretence they were pirates, and they again seizing on ours by way of reprisal ; so that matters were breaking forth to an open war. Which being advertis'd to our king, gave him little hope of amity on that part, and consequently made him not only desist from a treaty of marriage betwixt the Duke of Orleans, and the Princess Mary, propos'd (1536.) by Pommeray and now renew'd, but seek friends elsewhere (as will appear hereafter.) Our king refusing in the mean time to enter into league with him against the emperor.

Though the right line of the Plantagenets were extinct (March.) in the Countess of Salisbury, and consequently no fear of pretence to succession, on that part, there remain'd yet a natural son of Edward IV. call'd Sir Arthur Plantagenet (created, (April 26. 1523.) by King Henry VIII. Viscount Lisle) who came to his end on this occasion : this lord, during his lieutenancy in Calais, being suspected, as consenting to a practice of some of his servants, (whereby they conspir'd to deliver that town to the French,) (April 17.) was thereupon sent for, and committed to the Tower ; but upon due examination his innocency appear-

ing, the king at this time, not only gave order to release him, but for his more comfort, sent him a diamond ring, and a gracious message ; which so overjoy'd and dilated his spirits, that the night (March 3.) following he dy'd.

The emperor being (Feb.) now in Spain, Ferdinand holds a diet at Spire, where he requires aid against the Turk, whereof Francis being advertis'd, sends Francis Oliver thither with charge to represent, I. The assassinate of Rincon and Fregose, pretending it to be the more heinous, in that Rincon's imployment was to hinder the Turk from invading Hungary. II. To dissuade them from taking arms against the Turks, till their own differences were compos'd. Lastly, to represent both the levity of the Hungarians, and their disaffection to the German nation ; and therefore, that they should fortify their strong places betwixt Austria and Hungary, and the other confines, without taking much regard to the rest. As for pacification in religion, that they should conform themselves on all sides to the confession of our faith, left us by the Nicene council. And for other points, if they could not agree in them, they should not yet be occasion of hate or division. But the wiser sort, who believ'd that Rincon's dispatches, (when they were to be seen) would have told another tale, did not much believe the first part of his speech : as for the second, since it tended only to give Hungary into the Turk's hands, they rejected it wholly : and for the last, they regarded it little, (though a wise and charitable advice) as being resolv'd already of their religion. After him, the Bishop of Modena, the pope's legate, tells them (March 23.) that the pope desir'd peace in Christendom, and provision for wars against the Turk. As for the council which had been suspended hitherto by the emperor's consent, to try if a concord might, the while, be wrought in Germany, that it was reason to call it. Only that Germany could be no fit place for holding thereof, since his holiness resolving to be present, could not endure so long a journey ; or such a change of air, besides, he fear'd it would be turbulent. Nevertheless, for satisfying them, he was content the same should be assembled at Trent, (that is to say) in the borders of Germany. Ferdinand and the Catholics accept this place with thanks, (when it might not be held at Ratisbonne or Colen.) But the Protestants wholly dislik'd it. And now the French ambassadors finding themselves but slighted, go thence discontented. And so the diet broke up (after war had been (April 11.) decreed against the Turk, and peace establish'd in the empire.) And May twenty-second the council was indicted to begin in November following.

Francis being now inform'd by his ambassadors that the Germans were so far from receiving his advice, that they thought him to be a perturber of the peace of Christendom, is not yet discourag'd. Therefore, after a procession made in Paris, for success in his war, and a

present sent to the Turk of six hundred marks of silver, curiously wrought, and five hundred vestments, for those that attended him, together with a request that he would send his fleet against the emperor, and a public defiance sent to Charles, he (July.) invades his territories in five several places ; against them in Brabant he employs the Duke of Longueville, who was to join with Martin Rossen, general for the Duke of Cleves, to invade that part : against Artois, the Duke of Vendosme : against Luxemburgh, the Duke of Orleans : in Piedmont Monsieur du Bellay his lieutenant there : and against Perpignan, (the chief town of Roussillon, and the barrier of Spain, to the southward) the Dauphin, promising to second him in person.

He began first in Piedmont, as being the immediate way to his desired Milan : in which he held these places, Turino, Montcalier, Savilian, Montdevis, Pignarola, etc. For the emperor stood, Asti, Vercelli, Ulpian, Fossan, Quierasco, and Alba ; among which Quierasco was first attempted and yielded : Vendosme in Artois taking and razing Tourneham : the Duke of Orleans (assisted with 500 horse from Christiern the third King of Denmark) took Luxemburgh, and other places ; which yet René Prince of Orange and Count of Nassaw recover'd shortly after. Nevertheless, Rossen deceiv'd him with a plain trick : for commanding his infantry to lie flat in a champian field behind his cavalry, the Prince of Orange, who did not imagine he was so strong, charged him ; but the foot rising, they and their horse together defeated him. Whereupon Rossen and Longueville being about 35,000 men, besieg'd Antwerp ; but it was stoutly defended, not only by the natives, but by foreign merchants, and particularly the English ; whereupon, Rossen raising siege, and going to Lovain, demands of them money, victuals, artillery and ammunition ; which they of Lovain accorded in part, commanding thereupon some wine to be carried in carts to the gate. But the scholars, unwilling both to let it go, and suspecting besides that when the gates were so embarrass'd, the enemy behind the hogshead might get into the town, cut off the harness from the horses, and went to the artillery planted upon the wall, and discharg'd it upon the enemy : whereupon Rossen departing, spoil'd the country round about. This while, the Dauphin brought an army of 40,000 men, whereof 14,000 Switz, and 4000 horse to Perpignan, which he besieg'd, hoping Barbarossa and the Turkish fleet would second him, according to his request by Polin, whom Francis employ'd in those parts. But the town being bravely defended, and the emperor besides preparing to relieve it, he rais'd the siege, and the rather that winter was now coming on. This while, the emperor omitted not to complain to the pope, of Francis, protesting that he both disturb'd the peace of Christendom and the council, and hindred him from opposing the Turk. Whereupon, the pope desiring to reconcile them, the emperor answer'd, ' It was in vain to make treaties with those who did



'hold none ;' desiring him therefore rather to take arms against him, as a confederate with the common enemy of Christendom.

The excuse from James, formerly mentioned, being not held satisfactory, our king prepares for war ; nevertheless, he thought not fit to discover himself, but as late as he could. Therefore upon James's request, he appoints commissioners to examine businesses betwixt them, not omitting yet to levy men ; of which James being advertis'd, rais'd forces likewise (as is before set down.) During this treaty, some inroads being made into Scotland, and ports attempted, I find by Lesleus twenty-eight Scottish ships were (Aug. 24.) taken. Whereupon, the Scots entring the English marches, Sir Robert Bowes (who resisted them) with divers others were taken prisoners ; without being permitted yet to ransom themselves. Hereupon the Duke of Norfolk with the king's army march'd forward, but upon a second motion of peace stays at York : and together with the Earl of Southampton, Bishop of Durham, and Sir Anthony Brown, treats with certain Scottish commissioners, who having variety of instructions, (which they shew'd one after another) and finally proposing an interview, were thought to be sent thither only to gain time, winter now coming on, and the French king having so much to do at home, as is before related. So that the king commanded the Duke of Norfolk to proceed, and (Oct. 21.) together publish'd a declaration of the causes of this war. Which being extant in our records, and set forth at large by Hall, I shall not need to insert here, though yet for satisfaction of the reader, I shall extract some particularities from thence.

The chief causes, I conceive, were, that James entertain'd some of the chief rebels of the North. That he denied some grounds, (though of very small value) for which good evidences were produc'd. That he frustratèd our king, after a promise of an interview. That his subjects made an inroad while the treaty was on foot. Besides all which, King Henry claim'd homage and fealty, as due to him out of an ancient title to that crown ; the demand whereof he said he had neglected a great while, because of his nephew's minority, and other kind reasons, his title being by lineal succession, and recogniz'd for many ages by the kings of Scotland, to the reign of Henry VI : which he prov'd, I. By history. II. By instruments of homage, by the several kings, and divers great persons, seal'd with their seals, and remaining in his treasury. III. By registers and records, judicially and authentically made. The historical part, he began chiefly, (that I may omit the relation of Brutus and his three sons) at Anno Dom. 900. (being 642 years past) shewing that Edward, son of Allured, had it under his dominion. Athelstane made one Constantine king thereof. Eldred took homage of Irise [or Ericus] King of Scots, and Edgar of Kinald [or Kenneth.] That this was interrupted yet in Edward King and Martyr his time. But Malcolm did homage to Knute, and Edward the Confessor making war

against Malcolm, overthrew him, and gave his kingdom to Malcolm his son, who made him homage and fealty ; that Malcolm did homage to William the Conqueror, and after him to William Rufus, but failing in his duty, was depos'd ; and Edgar, brother to the last Malcolm, and son to the first, ordain'd in that estate, who did his homage and fealty accordingly. This Edgar did homage to Henry I., David did homage to Matild the empress, but refus'd it to Stephen, as having done it to Matild ; but after his death, David's son made his homage to Stephen. William, King of Scots, and David his brother, with all the chief nobles of Scotland, made homage to Henry II., his son, with reservation of their duty to his father. This William, after much rebellion and resistance, during the absence of Henry II., made his peace and composition with his homage and fealty ; he also came to Canterbury, and there did homage to Richard I. William did homage to John, on a hill beside Lincoln, and made his oath upon the cross of Hubert, then Archbishop of Canterbury. Alexander King of Scots married the daughter of Henry III. and did his homage at York. Alexander came to the coronation of Edward I. and did his duty : John Baliol made homage and fealty to Edward I. Robert Bruce made war against the Baliols, which interrupted the business of forty four years : but afterwards Edward Baliol prevailing, made homage to Edward III. After this, David Bruce, though on the contrary faction, made homage to Edward III. Edward Baliol, who had the clear title, surrendred the crown to Edward III. at Roxenburgh, who thereupon caus'd himself to be crown'd, and for a time entertain'd and enjoy'd it as proprietary and owner of the crown, both by confiscation and voluntary surrender. In Richard II. and Henry IV. their times, some interruption happen'd by reason of inward dissensions in this kingdom ; yet Henry V. commanded the Scots to attend him in his journey to France. And in this time the realm of Scotland being descended on the Stuarts, James Stuart King of Scots, made homage to King Henry VI. at Windsor. All which homages (though interrupted sometimes for more than sixty years) were yet within the memory of man. Of which therefore, instruments made and seal'd, with the seals of the kings of Scotland remain ; so that it was not for the earldom of Huntingdon, (as the Scots pretend) but for the kingdom of Scotland. As for records and registers, that he had divers which were authentical, and among others, that of Edward I. in discussion of the title of Scotland, then challeng'd by twelve competitors. And that sentence was given for Baliol, who accordingly enjoy'd the realm. That in a parliament following, they did agree to the superiority of the king of England, and ensuring their determination, did particularly, and severally make homage and fealty with proclamation, that whosoever withdrew himself from doing his duty therein, should be reputed as a rebel ; and so all made homage and fealty to Edward I. That during this

discussion, the realm was rul'd by guardians deputed by him, and all castles and holds surrendered to him as to the superior lord. And in the time of vacation, benefices, offices, fees, promotions, pass'd as in the right of this crown of England; sheriffs also nam'd and appointed, writs and precepts made, obey'd and executed. And that at this time, the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasco were not archbishops, but recogniz'd the Archbishop of York, whose authority extended over all their country. That sithence the time of Henry VI. this kingdom was lacerated and torn by diversity of titles till his time. So that though Edward IV. after great travels, having attain'd quietness in this realm, finally made preparation of war against Scotland, yet he was prevented by death. As for Richard III. that he usurp'd the kingdom till Henry VII. his father overthrew him, (which Henry VII. by reason of his estate not fully settled at home, forbore to compel the Scots to do their duty.) And for his own time, that twenty-one years past of it in his nephews minority, when he had more care to bring him out of danger to the place of a king, than to receive of him homage when he had full possession of the same.

The conclusion of this declaration yet seem'd to be ambiguous; as not pretending directly to insist upon the claim, though he saith, that such be the works of God superior over all, to suffer occasions to be ministred, whereby due superiority may be known, demanded, and required.

The Scottish writers tell the business otherwise: not denying yet but Athelstane was king of the whole island by the testimony of divers of our Britain writers. Nevertheless, that their words were so to be understood, as the further parts of Scotland were not comprehended therein. As for the homage done, that it was for the earldom of Huntingdon (though as there was no investiture thereof in the King of Scots, till the time of our Henry I. when David married the daughter and heir of the Earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland, it reaches not to homages formerly made.) Again, among those who did homage, some were reputed kings of Northumberland, rather than Scotland. And for Balliol's resigning the crown, they say, the nobles did not consent to it: and many other things, which for avoiding prolixity, I omit; desiring the reader to believe, that I am so far from undertaking to define the point, as (in an historical way) I have only produc'd such notes as my leisure would suffer me to gather at this time: professing, for the rest, that I should not in any wise have intermeddled therewith, but that Hall by setting forth the declaration, gave the occasion.

These proceedings from time to time being advertis'd to Francis, caus'd him to send (August) Monsieur de Morvilliers to congratulate the constancy of James in refusing an interview, which he attributed to his resolution not to forsake the Roman Church: advising him for



the rest, to stand upon his guard ; and for that purpose, sending him money and artillery.

And now the army being ready to march on, William Fitz-Williams, Earl of Southampton, Captain of the Foreward, died at New-Castle ; a brave lord, and so much esteem'd, that for the honour of his memory, his standard was born in the foreward in all this expedition. The year thus being far spent, the Duke of Norfolk Lieutenant General, accompanied with the earls of Shrewsbury, Darby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Rutland, and other lords of the northern parts ; Sir Anthony Brown, master of the king's horse, and Sir John Gage comptroller of his house, and above 20,000 men (the Earl of Angus also being there present) enter Scotland 21 of October, and finding no resistance, burnt in eight days above twenty villages and towns : whereupon the Bishop of Orkney and James Leirmouth came on their kings part to require peace ; but the conditions not pleasing, the treaty was dissolv'd. Nevertheless, our army retreated presently to Berwick, as being betwixt the rigour of the season and want of victuals, constrain'd thereunto. So that though Lesleus saith, the English retir'd upon hearing that the Scottish army approach'd ; this yet by others is thought improbable, because they invaded not England till three weeks after the Duke of Norfolk was at Berwick, and had licens'd many of his soldiers. About which time (Nov. 24.) therefore the Scottish army being assembled, they entred England on the west marches with an army of 15,000, or (as some say) a greater number. But Thomas the Bastard Dacres and Musgrave, having first sent to Sir Thomas Wharton, warden of the marches, to come to their aid, and then leaving a stale or ambush on a hill side, came forwards with 100 light horse, which being charg'd by some of the Scots, retir'd towards their stale, and to Wharton now appearing, who had not yet above 300 men (as our writers say.) But whatsoever the stratagem was, the Scots believing (it seems) the Duke of Norfolk was there with all his power, suddenly, as men amaz'd, fled. The English-men pursu'd, and took the earls of Casselles and Glencarne, the Lord Maxwell Admiral of Scotland, the Lord Fleming, the Lord Somerwel, the Lord Oliphant, Lord Gray, and Sir Oliver Sinclere, the king's minion (as our historians term him,) and divers others of note, to the number of 200 and above, and 800 of the meaner sort (so that some had two or three prisoners,) and 24 pieces of ordnance, with much arms and baggage.

The Scottish writers tell the business a little otherwise ; confessing yet the foresaid prisoners to be taken, and that their men ran away, and were defeated. But some say, the reason of it was, that Sir Oliver Sinclere being suddenly declar'd their general, when the English appear'd, the nobles took it so ill, that they car'd not to fight. They say also, that the king was at Solway (where this encounter hap'n'd) a little before, and no further off than Carlawroch, when the blow was

given ; which, perhaps made some think that he was present at the fight, and receiv'd a wound, of which presently after he died, and not of sorrow.

James being (Dec. 7.) now return'd, had in recompence of his misfortunes, a daughter born, afterward call'd Mary ; which yet, together with the many divertisements his servants gave, could not keep him from a deep melancholy, which was augmented also (as the Scottish and our writers say) by the sudden murder of an English herald, whom our king sent thither to ransom prisoners (though yet none of his subjects, but Leech a Lincolnshire rebel, kill'd him :) all which made that impression in him, that he died (Dec. 14.) within few days after, and was buried near his first wife Magdalene, in the abbey of Holy-Rood. He was of a middle stature, yet well compact and strong, given much in his youth to the love of women, to which his governors gave way, thinking thereby to rule him the longer. This hindered him not yet to be active in all state affairs, and frugal in his own ; qualities rarely found in princes so much addicted to their pleasure. No man endur'd labour, cold, hunger, better (as his many expeditions, in person, against rebels, shew'd). Under pretence of favouring the poorer sort, he was noted to be severe to his nobility, which made them less ready when he had occasion to use them. Insomuch, that (as Buchanan hath it) he could not persuade them to come to battle with the Duke of Norfolk.

The murder of our English herald being related to our king, mightily incens'd him : and therefore he not only requir'd Leech, (who yet was not demanded till after the death of King James, nor executed till May following ;) but sent (Dec. 4.) to his ambassador Paget in France, both to acquaint Francis therewith, (whom he lately knew had suffer'd in the like kind,) and to desire him not to assist James. But the answer hereunto was cold, as will appear hereafter.

The news of the king's death, (Dec. 22.) and the princess birth being brought to our king, awakened in him new counsels ; so that instead of pursuing war against Scotland, he began to think how he might recover the young daughter thence, and match his son Edward to her. To which also he was so intente, that he (Dec. 26.) sent a dispatch to his ambassador Paget, commanding him carefully to observe what past betwixt France and Scotland, as being jealous lest Francis should get or detain her from him. And there was reason to fear it, Francis having by the intervention of the queen and Cardinal Beton, a great party there. Nevertheless, as our king knew how much it concern'd either nation, that all causes of hostility should be taken away, and both kingdoms united : so he doubted not but many, especially the wiser sort, would concur with him.

And now in Scotland two factions were eminent ; one that of the queen, seconded by Cardinal Beton, who (as the Scottish writers say)

forg'd a will, by which himself, assisted with three of the most powerful nobility, should govern the state, and with him all the French faction join'd. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, chief of the other side (though observ'd to be a lover of quiet) was yet encourag'd by his followers to assume that dignity ; as being so near of blood, and the princess Mary so young, that many occasions might happen, whereof he might prevail himself : which reasons also inclin'd him to depend on the king of England.

While these things past in Scotland, the prisoners taken in the last battle, were by Sir Henry Savil and Sir Thomas Wentworth conducted from York to London, whither they came Dec. 19. wearing every one (as our king had appointed) for a cognizance, a red St. Andrew's cross, and were presently sent to the Tower, whence (Dec. 21.) King Henry, for more ostentation, commanded Sir John Gage, comptroller of his household, to bring them by two and two together, in new gowns of black damask, and other apparel suitable (all at his cost) from the Tower to the Star-chamber, where Thomas Lord Audeley, the lord chancellor, was to tell them, what cause King Henry had of war against them, both for denying their homage, and invading his realm without defiance, and keeping his subjects without suffering them to make ransom, contrary to the laws of the marches. Nevertheless, that such was his benignity, that he would shew them kindness for unkindness, and right for wrong : and thereupon (after their promise to remain true prisoners) commanded that they should be no more return'd to prison, but brought to divers noble houses, there to be regal'd and made much of. Thus the Archbishop of Canterbury had the Earl of Casselles commended to him ; the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Glencarne ; Sir Anthony Brown, the Lord Maxwell ; the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Somervell ; Sir Thomas Lee, the Lord Oliphant ; the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Oliver Sindlere ; Thomas Thurleby (lately made first Bishop of Westminster) Robert Erskin ; and many others, were with divers of our chief nobility, where having past some time with as much contentment as the news of their king's death (now brought) permitted, they forgot not to express how glad they would be that a match might succeed betwixt our prince and their princess, promising also their furtherance therein ; which being related to our king, was (Dec. 26.) taken so well, as they were not only dismiss'd upon hostages to be given for their return (when they were not able to effect this match,) but richly rewarded. After which, again, being feasted, they kept their journey towards Scotland, till they came to the Duke of Suffolk, (the king's lieutenant in the Northern parts) being then at Newcastle, where their hostages being receiv'd, they had licence to go home ; and with them also went the Earl of Anguis, and his brother Sir George Dowglasse, (now fifteen years absent from their country) who, during their long stay in these parts, had a liberal



pension bestow'd on them by our king, for which also they promis'd their best assistance on all occasions. Cardinal Beton, who this while (by pretext of his counterfeit will) had made himself viceroy, was now (upon detection of the forgery) depos'd, and James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, chosen in his place : a nobleman follow'd by many, both for his nearness of blood to the crown, and that the cardinals cruelty and ambition had made him so hated. Besides, there was found after the king's death, certain papers, in which the names of above three hundred of the principal nobility and gentry (and among them James Hamilton) were accus'd as criminals : and this again made them more confident of his protection. Moreover, he was noted willing to inform himself in the controversies of religion, and gave hope of a mild and temperate disposition. His first publick action was the convoking of a parliament in March following ; whereof our king being advertis'd, sent Sir Ralph Sadler (his secretary) thither, to procure the marriage formerly mentioned, and a perpetual peace : Scottish ambassadors being also deputed to treat thereof with our king. What Sir Ralph Sadler's first instructions were, appears not by our records, more than is formerly related out of the Scottish writers : but by a subsequent dispatch, dated May 6. I find that our king, in reward of some business that the viceroy should effect, had promis'd his daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, in marriage to his son : and because our king passionately desir'd to have the young princess into his hands, both that he intended to marry her to his son Prince Edward, and that he fear'd the French would prevent him, I nothing doubt but this was the affair intimated betwixt them. Our records also tell us, that George Dowglas, and the other lords who were sent home, excus'd (April.) themselves at first, as neither knowing what they did, nor able to perform their promises ; so that though they had undertaken to procure the marriage, and to get some holds into their hands, where they might with more advantage set forth our king's purposes, they declin'd it ; alledging, among other difficulties, a certain fickleness in the viceroy's disposition, and that the French party was so great. Howbeit, upon further debate (April 14.) of the business, certain Scottish ambassadors were sent hither, being Sir William Hamilton and Sir James Lermouth ; but their negotiation not pleasing, as being unwilling to admit other governour than the Earl of Arrain, during the queen's minority, or to deliver the holds of Scotland, till she had issue by Prince Edward, or to put her into our king's custody, with some other demands which were distast'd by them, it was thought fit (May) to send the Earl of Glencarne and Sir George Dowglas ; who, I find, seconded the overture of the contract of marriage and perpetual peace (which the first made) in more plausible terms : yet not so, but that Sir George Dowglas was dispatch'd post to Scotland, to bring a more satisfactory answer ; which was obtain'd : insomuch,

that a treaty for marriage sign'd and seal'd, was brought back by those Scottish ambassadors in Aug., 1543. (as Lesleus hath it.) And because I find among our records this following treaty of June 29. I shall enquire for no other.

'I. That the lords of Scotland shall have the education of the 'princess for a time : yet so as it might be lawful for our king to send 'thither a nobleman and his wife with a family, under twenty persons, 'to wait on her.

'That at ten years of age she should be brought into England, the 'contract being first finished by a proxy in Scotland.

'That within two months after the date hereof, six noble Scots should 'be given as hostages for the performance of the foresaid conditions 'on their part : and that if any of them died the number of them 'should be supplied.

'Furthermore, it was agreed that the realm of Scotland (by that 'name) should preserve its laws and rights : and that peace should be 'made for as long time as was desir'd, the French being excluded.'

Nevertheless, the queen, cardinal, and all the clergy oppos'd this treaty, and the cardinal so particularly, that he was remov'd to a chamber apart, or (as others have it) into a prison, till the main question of the marriage was voted and agreed, and hostages promis'd for performance thereof. But as the cardinal found means to corrupt his keeper, so he escap'd ; and then began again to trouble all, using for this purpose the help of the queen-mother, and the pretext, it was unfit that the Dowglasses, being wholly devoted to the English, should from a long banishment be admitted to the supream council concerning publick affairs. Besides, he got huge sums of money from the clergy, upon colour that there was no other way to redeem themselves from imminent ruine. Furthermore, he persuaded that the hostages should not be sent into England ; he procur'd also that our ambassador should be contumeliously us'd ; whereof he complaining to the viceroy, had no other answer, but that the cardinal had so discompos'd all things, that he could give no reason for the present. The question was then, what course they should take about the hostages left in England, upon condition that the late nobles who were prisoners should return, in case the marriage and peace took no effect. But the cardinal answer'd, 'That kindred, friends, children, and all should be sacrific'd for the 'good of their country.' Howbeit, Gilbert Kennedy Earl of Cassilles could not be persuaded to stay ; for having left two brothers his pledges, he said he would redeem their lives with his own : and there-upon, though many dehorted him, he went into England. Which generous counsel succeeded so well, that after a large commendation given him by our king, he was dismiss'd with his brothers freely, and richly rewarded. On the other side, he was so offended with the rest, that he detain'd all the Scottish shipping in his ports, and resolv'd to

denounce war against them. Whereupon the cardinal and queen-mother inform'd the French king thereof, and that the factions were such, as there was danger both kingdoms should be united ; desiring him further, to send over Matthew Stuart Earl of Lennox, as being of great power in that country, and noted then to be adverse to the Hamiltons : besides, it added to his reputation, that it was thought the last king, if he had died without issue male, would have design'd him his heir and successor, and gotten it confirm'd by parliament. And to invite him the more, there was some secret hope given, he might marry the queen-mother, and divers other things set down by Buchanan. These motives, together with the French king's approbation and promise of assistance, made this young lord to resolve to repair to Scotland ; whereof the viceroy being inform'd, endeavours to get the young princess out of her mother's hands, hoping thereby not only to govern all, but to draw the English on his side ; but the design being vented to the cardinal, a guard was given to the young queen.

In the mean while the Earl of Lennox arrives (April) out of France, without discovering yet any thing of his intentions ; only he tells his friends in private the promises made him, and what help he might expect from the French king. Whereupon they exhorting him to try his strength, he gather'd 4000 men and advances ; whereof Hamilton being advertiz'd, and finding himself inferior in power, sent to treat of peace, which follow'd, and an agreement for the present that the queen should be brought to Stirling, and four principal persons should have care of her education : and the rather, that it was suspected that the Earl of Arran would have deliver'd her to the English. Whereupon she was conducted by Lennox unto the place appointed, and (Aug. 20.) committed unto the tuition of Grames, Erskin, Lindsey, and Leviston, and shortly after crown'd. The viceroy being thus frustrate, and for the rest, not much favour'd by the people, suffer'd himself to be gain'd by the cardinal ; to whom he shew'd himself so obsequious, as he seem'd to hold the name rather than the power of a viceroy. Inso-much, that the cardinal, who a little before was in danger of suffering for a notable forgery, now absolutely govern'd all. Whereof our king being advertis'd, did no longer hope to recover the queen by the help of the viceroy, but resolv'd openly to demand her, upon pretext that there was fear of her being convey'd into France ; and in case of refusal, to denounce war. The message hereupon being brought, the Scots utterly denied him, so that provision for war was made by our king. All things yet pass'd not so quietly in Scotland as was desir'd by that state ; for as the cardinal being of immoderate ambition, could not indure the Earl of Lennox's power, so he endeavour'd to suppress him ; which he did also with much cunning. For whereas hope had been given him of a marriage with the queen, he advertis'd her to entertain him fairly till he had receiv'd an answer of the French



king of a letter, wherein, though he made honourable mention of him, he thought it convenient yet the said earl should be recal'd. It being not likely otherwise that the kingdom would long continue in peace. In the mean while, as Lennox was young, handsome, and gentle, and brought up in all exercises of a cavalier, he past his time in tiltings, masks, and other noble disports; in which, though he had the Earl of Bothwell for rival, this lord yet appear'd so inferior to him, as he retir'd home: nevertheless, Lennox finding himself at last deluded, and that all this was done only by the queen and cardinal, to have the more leisure to ruine him; he protested he would be reveng'd; neither wanted there an opportunity for 30,000 crowns being sent by the French king to him, in the disposing whereof yet he was wish'd to use the advice of the queen and cardinal, he distributed the money amongst his friends; but the cardinal alledging that the money was sent to himself, and to be employ'd in wars against the English, and that Lennox had intercepted it against all right, rais'd an army to seize on him and the money together. But as Lennox was not ignorant of these preparatives, he gather'd in a short space an army of 10,000 men, saying, he would prevent the cardinal; who being now desirous to gain time, as knowing Lennox was not long able to maintain this expence, entertain'd him with frequent solicitations and messages; Lennox also doubting lest some of his followers might forsake him, agrees with the viceroy and him, and comes to Edinburgh, where (after a while) being advertiz'd, that some treachery was intended, he conveys himself by night to Glasco, and from thence to Dunbritton; after which, hearing both, that the Douglasses and the Hamiltons were agreed, and that through the calumnies of his adversaries, the French king was alienated from him, he seem'd much troubled, and the rather, that some noble persons who desir'd to end these controversies, were suddenly committed. But as our king prepar'd now to invade Scotland, this business had another end than he could easily imagine.

And now if just causes of competition to the young Queen of Scotland hapned, no less just causes for war against Francis were given, of which I find the chief, or at least the most recent, were these:

'That he with-held divers of our ships, and seiz'd upon our merchants goods.

'That he detain'd the pension due yearly to King Henry.

'That he had fortified Ardres to the prejudice of our English pale, on which also he had incroach'd. Moreover divers ancient unkindnesses not sufficiently concocted remain'd in our king's breast: as that he had given his daughter Magdalen to James, and afterward the daughter of Guise, contrary to his promise and treaty.

'That he had not deserted the Bishop of Rome, and consented to a reformation, as he once promis'd.

'That whereas with much freedom and confidence he had reveal'd 'divers secrets to him, they had been disclosed again unto the emperor, 'while he was at Aigues Mortes, and after at Paris.' Besides which, there was a common quarrel taken betwixt the emperor and our king, for having confederated himself with the Turk, etc. as in the following treaty. But to these Francis answer'd, 'That our king had fail'd also 'in not assisting him against the emperor.' Our king replied, that Francis had violated the treaty first. Besides, he could not be ignorant of the wars against his rebels at that time; howsoever these businesses were so roughly contested, that the ambassadors were stay'd on both sides, though at length dismiss'd, and (March.) an open rupture resolv'd. The consequence whereof having a good while since been presaged by our king, made him determine to enter into league with the emperor, and to call a parliament.

The league with the emperor was to this effect (as appears by our records.)

- I. That there should be abolition of former injuries.
- II. A free intercourse.
- III. A perpetual peace.
- IV. That they should aid or countenance no enemies of each other.
- V. That rebels or fugitives should not be harbour'd, but upon warning given to be gone, if they obey'd not, to be banish'd and proscib'd.
- VI. He shall be taken for a common enemy who shall invade England, Guisnes, Calais, Berwick, Wight, Jersey, Garnsey, Man, Spain, Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zeland, Hainault, Artois, Limburg, Luxemburgh, Namours, Frise, Overysell, Utretch, Mechlin.

VII. And if he invade with 10,000 men, the prince invaded shall require aid of the other, who shall send him within forty days, at his own charges, in this proportion, viz.

That if the enemy fall on Calais, or the castle and county of Guisnes, the emperor shall send at least as many soldiers, horse and foot, as may be paid for 700 crowns the day, each crown valued at 45 sol' Tournois.

If on Wight, Jersey, Garnsey, Man, or England, the emperor shall send for aid, such a number of foot as can be paid for 700 crowns a day.

But if the emperor be invaded in any of his countries above-mentioned, the King of England shall send him for aid, such a number of foot at least, whose pay, considering their cloaths, diet and weapons, comes to 700 crowns a day, each crown worth forty sol' Tournois.

And it is in the choice of him who demandeth aid, whether he will have men or money, which money shall be paid by the month, consisting of twenty-eight days.

And whether men or money be requir'd, the prince of whom it is demanded, is not bound to be at this charge above four months in

one year. But if the prince in whose aid they are sent, will retain them longer, he may, at his own charge.

Neither prince is bound to aid the other in divers places at once : and if both shall be invaded at the same time by the King of France, the one shall not be bound to aid the other.

If this aid be demanded upon a false rumour, and the enemy shall neither besiege any city or fort, nor make spoil, nor encamp in the country of the demandant, then the said demandant is to repay the money.

Concerning the kingdom of Spain and Ireland, it is agreed, they shall aid one another by sending horse and foot, or ships at the cost of the demandant : and concerning these two kingdoms, the number and costs of the aid shall be as the time, and occasion, and strength of the prince, of whom it was demanded, will suffer : which thing shall be referr'd to the conscience of the prince so call'd upon.

And for the pay of the soldiers, it shall be rated accordingly to the market of the country wherein they are.

VIII. If any article of this treaty be violated by any of the subjects, they shall be punish'd, and it remain.

IX. That no letters of merque shall be given without due warning, to the end the losses and wrongs may be otherwise repair'd by the prince.

X. That because many scandalous and heretical books are spread abroad by translations, it is agreed that *no book written in English shall be printed or sold in Germany, or the emperor's dominions* : nor any book written in Dutch, in England, under pain of imprisonment to the sellers and printers, and burning of the said books.

XI. That there shall be intercourse of traffick according to the treaty made 1520. and confirm'd and order'd in the treaty of Cambry, 5 August, 1529.

XII. That if there be any damnification of the subjects on either side, the wrong'd party upon requisition may have the cause heard, and due reparation made.

XIII. That when upon invasion (as aforesaid) war is denounc'd, no truce shall be made by either prince without the consent of the other, except there be danger of siege from the enemy : in which case there may be truce made (apart) for two months, within which time he is to give notice to the other.

XIV. That no peace shall be made, nor any treaty severally with the French king, or any other to the prejudice of this, but this to continue firm.

XV. That none are to be comprehended in this treaty, but by common consent ; as also no enemy to either, nor in whose dominions the other hath any pretence.

XVI. This treaty to be ratified by the two princes, under their



princely word and oath, and under pain to be infamous, and hated both by God and man, and under pledge of their goods, so that it shall be lawful to invade the realm and dominions of the infractor, to take persons and goods and carry them away, till satisfaction be made: provided, that they come not to this extremity, till a diet or meeting hath been requir'd, and justice deny'd or delay'd.

XVII. This treaty to be understood according to the simple and plain tenor of the words, and no interpretation admitted otherwise.

XVIII. It is also covenanted and agreed, that, as soon as may be, the two princes shall by their ambassadors declare to the King of France (requiring his answer thereto) viz.

1. They shall complain, that the Turk (enemy to Christian faith) had taken boldness, by his friendship, to invade Christendom.

2. That he renounce his correspondence with the said Turk, recalling his orators that are now resident with him.

3. That he satisfie for the loss and prejudice done by the Turk, through his occasion and procurement, to Christendom, viz. I. That he restore the town of Maram to the King of the Romans. And, II. That he content the emperor for the costs and damages sustain'd in the loss of Castle-Nuovo, which the Turk, with the aid (Aug. 1539.) of 12 galleys of the King of France, took.

4. That he cease from war with the emperor, that he may more commodiously and safely take upon him the defence of the Christian commonwealth.

5. That he repay to the Germans the loss by them sustain'd, in defending themselves against the Turk.

6. That he pay the King of England all arrearages, and that he give him some lands and possessions to secure the satisfaction of the perpetual pension. And if there be any thing else which each of these two princes will require from the French king, it shall be lawful for him to do it, so that he declare his intent therein in open and plain terms, before the ratification of the present treaty.

XIX. If the French king, either for terror of conscience, or fear of revenge, shall desire to come to agreement for peace; neither of these two princes may treat with him apart, until the King of France hath given them satisfaction, viz. till he hath paid the King of England all that is in arrear due to him by bargain. Also, for security for the payment of the annual pension due for ever, he shall surrender into the possession of the King of England, the whole country of Ponthieu, with the town of Bologne, and territories of Monstrueil, Therouenne, and Arde, with the lands, villages, and towns adjoining, as far as the borders of the said country of Ponthieu, etc. On condition, that the King of England and his successors shall hold all for them and theirs, free from all feod. On this condition yet, that they hold themselves fully satisfy'd with the profits arising out of these lands for the annual

and perpetual pension. To the emperor he shall restore the dutchy of Burgundy.

XX. If the King of France will not accept peace on these conditions, or delay it forty days after proposition, the two princes shall denounce war against him. Wherein

The King of England shall challenge to himself the kingdom of France, dutchy of Normandy, Aquitain and Guienne. The emperor, the dutchy of Burgundy, the cities and towns of Abbeville, Amiens, Corby, Bray, Peronne, Hannere, and St. Quintin, with their territories. Before recovering of all which, neither of the princes shall desist from hostility, but by consent of the other, and for the good of Christendom.

XXI. They shall have each a fleet at sea, to secure traffick : which ships bearing 2000, or (if need be) 3000 soldiers, shall be set to sea within a month after war denounced to the French king, and shall remain there on the coasts of France, infesting his country, and defending their friends. Nor shall they licence their soldiers, or diminish the number of ships or men, but by consent. And if there be any loss by tempest or fight, they shall supply it. For the designs, they shall be ruled by the admirals and the councils of the two princes.

XXII. After war, as aforesaid, denounced by common consent, in time and place agreed on, (so it exceed not the space of two years) the two princes shall either in person, or by lieutenant, invade the realm of France with a compleat army ; that is to say, 20,000 foot, and 5000 horse, or less ; nor shall desist within four months, unless he be beaten, or receive some disaster, except by mutual consent.

XXIII. When King Henry shall with 20,000 foot, and 5000 horse, invade the dominions of the French king, the emperor shall at his own costs, lend him 2000 lansquenets, and 2000 of able horsemen, to serve under him, till he license his troops.

XXIV. When the King of England shall pass the sea to invade France, and pass through any of the dominions of Charles, the said emperor shall give him free passage, and let him have ships, carriage, victuals, and ammunition, so he pay for them at a fair and reasonable price.

XXV. This treaty to be ratify'd and sworn by both princes within fifteen days after requisition.

Commissioners for our king were Stephen Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bishop of Westminster. Sir Thomas Wriothesly principal secretary : for the emperor, Eustachius Chappuis, doctor of both laws, counsellor and master of requests to the emperor, and his lieger ambassador here in England.

This league minuted and agreed in Feb. 1548. was sworn to by Charles, April 8, at Molin del Rey near Barcelona, in the presence of Edmond Bonner Bishop of London, our king's ambassador,

and publish'd in June following: our king in the mean while providing for war, and his parliament largely contributing to the expences thereof.

In this parliament, a book intituled, 'A necessary Doctrine and 'Erudition for any Christian Man,' receiving its approbation, was in May following printed and publish'd in English by the king's command; wherein he departs not from his articles set forth anno 1536. except in admitting seven sacraments, and handling the points in a more copious manner: for here at large, out of the Scriptures and fathers, he explains the creed, the sacraments, and the decalogue, the Lord's prayer, with the ave; then the doctrine of free-will, and good-works: lastly, adds prayer for the dead; all with much moderation; as chusing rather to resolve high and obscure questions in general terms, than by any peremptory and particular determination to make his people obnoxious; a fault noted by some authors in Charles and Francis; both which about these times commanding their divines to collect their doctrine into certain brief heads, propos'd it barely without explication or proof, under the greatest penalties. But King Henry having labour'd first to make tenets understood, took order in the next place to have them observ'd on these conditions. Therefore among other laws enacted in this session, beginning Jan. 22. 1542, and lasting till May 12. following, this is the first:

Recourse must be had to the Catholick and Apostolick Church for the decision of controversies: and therefore all books of the Old and New Testament in English, being of Tindal's false translation, or comprizing any matter of Christian religion, articles of the faith, or holy Scripture, contrary to the doctrine set forth A.D. 1540. or to be set forth by the king, shall be abolish'd. *No printer or bookseller shall utter any of the aforesaid books: no persons shall play in interludes, sing or rhyme contrary to the said doctrine: no person shall retain any English books, or writings concerning matter against the holy and blessed sacrament of the altar, or for the maintenance of the Anabaptists, or other books abolish'd by the king's proclamation. There shall be no annotations or preambles in Bibles or New Testaments in English, the Bible shall not be read in English in any church.* No women or artificers, prentices, journey-men, serving-men, of the degrees of yeomen, or under husband-men, nor labourers, shall read the New Testament in English. Nothing shall be taught or maintain'd contrary to the king's instructions. And if any spiritual person preach, teach, or maintain any thing contrary to the king's instructions or determinations made, or to be made, and shall be thereof convict, he shall for his first offence recant; for his second, abjure, and bear a faggot; and for his third, shall be adjudg'd an heretick, and be burned, and lose all his goods and chattels. And this statute, though rigorous, was yet a qualification of the six articles, which imposed death upon



the first offence in this kind : and as the king was now in good terms with the emperor, he might the better moderate them.

That the lords authorized by the statute of 28 Hen. VIII. 14. to set the prices of wine in gross, may mitigate or enhance the prices of wine by retail, as time and occasion shall require. Which act, though expired before our times, had yet this use, that vintners then were very much restrain'd from couzening ; and the extraordinary number of them diminished.

- That any person, being no common chirurgion, may administer outward medicines.

That bishops new erected, shall pay their tenths into the courts of the first-fruits.

That pensions, etc. granted out of abbeys, etc. should be paid still as they were before.

That laws especially should be made in Wales by the officers there. Whereupon the council in the principality of Wales and marches was confirm'd, and divers other orders establish'd, too long to be recited here. Only I must not omit how gavelkind (which being heretofore us'd in Wales, did so divide and subdivide the lands of the ancient nobles and gentry there, that at last every man's part came to very little ; and so disabled them to keep the dignity of their houses) was here taken away and extinguished.

In this parliament also, a subsidy was granted to the king, to be paid in three years, after this rate ; they who were in goods worth twenty shillings and upwards to five pound, paid four-pence of every pound ; from five pound to ten pound, eight-pence ; from ten pound to twenty pound, sixteen-pence ; from twenty and upwards, two shillings. All strangers, as well denizens as others, inhabiting here, doubled the sum : strangers, not inhabitants, that were sixteen years old and upwards, paid four-pence for every head or poll. As for lands, fees and annuities, every native paid eight-pence in the pound, from twenty shillings to five pounds ; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixteen-pence ; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings ; from twenty pounds and upwards, three shillings. Strangers still after all these rates doubling the sum. As for the clergy, they granted a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid of their benefices in perpetuity, in three years following : and every priest having no perpetuity, but an annual stipend, paid yearly during the said three years six shillings eight-pence. Besides which, I find, upon occasion of a dearth of victuals, a sumptuary law was made, whereby the mayor and sheriffs of London, as also the serjeants and yeomen of their houses, were limited to a certain number of dishes : they were forbidden also to buy certain kinds of fowl. Nevertheless, in regard of the great confluence of people in this parliament time, and the scarcity of fish, the king by proclamation dispensed eating of white-meats in Lent, forbidding yet the

eating of flesh so strictly, as Henry Earl of Surrey, with divers lords, knights, and gentlemen, were (Feb. 9.) imprisoned for offending herein.

And now the Irish finding by O Neal, that the use our king made of this stile of King of Ireland, was to confer nobility more amply on them, according to their several merits and services; O Brian, Mac-William-a-burgh, and Mac-Gil-Patrick, came hither, and (June 3.) upon notice taken of their desert, O Brian was created Earl of Thomond, and (July 1.) Mac-William Earl of Clanriecard; some others had also honours given them, and received therein an obligation to continue firm to the English crown: of which likewise the successors of the aforesaid lords have given ample testimony.

The separation or divorce betwixt our king and the Lady Anne of Cleves now standing uncontroverted, and Queen Catharine beheaded, our king bethought himself of another match. In the concluding whereof yet he found some difficulty: for as by a statute formerly mention'd, it was declared death for any whom the king should marry, to conceal her incontinency in former time, so few durst hazard to venture into those bonds with a king, who had (as they thought) so much facility in dissolving them: therefore they stood off, as knowing in what a slippery estate they were, if the king, after his receiving them to bed, should, through any mistake, declare them no maids: so that now he fix'd upon the Lady Katharine Parr, widow to the Lord Latimer; who, as she was esteem'd ever a lady of much integrity and worth, and some maturity of years, so the king after marriage liv'd apparently well with her for the most part. The publishing of this marriage was (July 12.) accompanied with a declaration of his league with the emperor, and denouncing war to Francis: for which purpose, two kings of arms on the emperor and our king's part, were dispatched to him; while for more authorizing their message, they were to require performance of certain conditions before mention'd. But Francis not suffering them to come at all within his dominions, they return'd; and both princes, without more ceremony, prepar'd for war: the beginning and progress whereof, that I may be the better understood, I shall look a while on foreign history.

Guillaume de Bellay Seigneur de Langey, one of the compleatest gentlemen of his time, to whom the charge of all affairs in Piedmont was chiefly committed, finding himself declining in health, desires leave to return home, but too late; for (Jan. 9.) being intercepted by death in his way, he desir'd the king his master to accept thereof, as a testimony that he had served his majesty to the uttermost of his force: whose loss, I find, happen'd the more unseasonably, in that Francis had now need of his best strength against two so puissant princes as resolved to invade his dominions in person. The emperor set out first, as having divers businesses to determine by the way; leaving for governour of Spain, his son Philip, assisted by Fernando de Toledo

Duc de Alva as captain general, and Francesco de les Covos for other dispatches during his absence. His chief design was to draw the pope from the French king : to which, though the pope was sufficiently dispos'd, yet he durst not (saith Sandoval) lest Francis should renounce his authority, as our king had done, and give ear to the Lutherans. Which being certified to the emperor by his ambassadors at Rome, made him withdraw some revenues which he had given with Margaret his natural daughter to Ottavio Farnese, the pope's grandchild. And now the emperor having all things ready for his voyage, arrives from Barcelona at Genoua May 25, 1543, as our records say, or June, according to Sandoval. His necessities yet were great ; insomuch, that as he was forced, before his leaving Spain, to pawn the Moluccas to Juan King of Portugal, (and the rather, because some revolt happening in the West-Indies about this time, he was disfurnish'd of the revenues usually receiv'd from thence :) so in Italy he was constrain'd to sell the fortresses of Florence and Ligorno to Cosmo de Medices Duke of Florence, for 150,000 ducats ; though yet he wanted not so many reasons to retain these places, as (unless a most urgent necessity did excuse him) it cannot but seem most strange, both as he lost so principal an access to Italy by sea, and such a puissant means of conserving the Florentines at his devotion : nevertheless, I find he would not part with Siena, though as being an inland-town, and without means to be easily relieved, it could not so aptly serve for to make good his authority in those parts. To which yet I find Diego de Mendoza governour thereof so encouraged him, as he seem'd rather to invite an attempt against Rome. The emperor reposing a while at Genoua, was desir'd by the pope to permit an interview ; which at last was accorded at Bussetto, between Parma and Cremona, where the pope and emperor did meet, June 21. Their different ends yet did not permit them to speak principally of a council, nor at all, till their other businesses were determined : for the emperor, desirous to incite him against the French king, and (howsoever) to get money of him, bent his chief discourses that way. The pope, on the other side, ambitious to get Milan for his grand-child Ottavio Farnese, who had married Margaret, natural daughter to the emperor, intended little else ; offering for this purpose, to make what cardinals the emperor desir'd, to give 150,000 crowns for some years, towards his war against France, and yet to leave the castle of Milan and Cremona in his hands. Others say, the pope would neatly have bought Milan for his grand-child, when the emperor could give him good assurance for his purchase, and that the emperor would not part with the fortress of Milan and Cremona. But to leave these things to the several authors, I find, that the emperor requiring more money, the business was suspended, and the conclusion referr'd to commissioners, who should treat thereof as the emperor proceeded in his journey thro' Germany :



who, for all advantage and satisfaction in this interview, had no account to give at his coming thither, but that he could protest, he had made some overture of a council. The pope finding thus no certain resolution given to his request, inclined to Francis ; and the rather, that the league betwixt our king and the emperor being publish'd, he was highly incens'd against him, as having join'd himself in league with one who was so lately excommunicated, anathematiz'd, curs'd, depriv'd, and made incapable of all confederation : which yet so little moved the emperor, as when it was represented, that the pope's proceeding here was passionate, and for his proper interest only, and that religion stood upon firmer principles than that it could be personated in any one man, he did not relinquish his former intention : for more confirmation whereof also, he fail'd not to reproach unto the pope his assisting of Francis ; saying, He might with much more reason prevail himself of our king's assistance, than Francis could do of the Turks.

The emperor being now (Aug.) come into the Low-Countries, resolves to chastise the Duke of Cleve ; the chief places of whose country he took in fifteen days. Nevertheless, upon his submission, he restor'd (Sept. 7.) all but Gueldre and Zutphen ; of which yet he gave him some hope, when he would hold it in fee from the empire.

This being advertis'd to Francis, made him detain Jane of Navarre ; but for her the emperor afterwards gave the duke in marriage (the pope dispensing with the former contract) Mary daughter of Ferdinand. This prosperous exploit yet was check'd by the success of Francis, who this while had taken Landrecy, Bapaumes, and Maubege, (where there is a fair and magnificent convent of gentlewomen of noble houses, which yet are not so bound to any vow of religion, but that they may marry, and was in effect an academy for their sex). Afterwards he took almost all Luxemburg : therefore the emperor prepar'd forces to withstand him, and recover the said places. To which purpose Sir John Wallop, with 6000 men, being sent by our king, (who failed not to assist the emperor) landed at Calais, and from thence keeping along betwixt the frontiers of France and the Low-Countries, did much spoil upon the French, till he joined with the emperor's forces before Landrecy, which the emperor besieg'd : whereof Francis being advertis'd, resolves to relieve it : hereupon the two great armies being near each other, it was thought a blow would follow. The emperor, who desir'd much to fight, puts his men in order ; which being done, he exhorted them to do bravely, shewing withal the imperial standard, which one Quixada carry'd, saying, 'If this should fall, and my self too, I charge you to take it up before me.' Francis also drew out into the field, not omitting in the mean time to send men, victuals and ammunition, into the town : the two armies thus confronting one another, night came on, through the benefit whereof Francis dislodging secretly, retires with his army. The imperialists finding this,

follow ; but as Francis had laid an ambuscado, he took divers of the more forward, among whom, it was the fortune of Sir George Carew, Sir Thomas Palmer, and other English, to be taken prisoners. The emperor yet continued the siege for some four or five days ; but as it was now towards the midst of November, he went with his army to Cambray ; where, persuading the inhabitants that the French had a design upon them, he counsell'd them to build a citadel ; which they approving, he found means to possess himself thereof. He also sent Hernando Gonzago and Juan Baptista Gastaldo to our king, to treat further of a war against France the next year ; he omitted not also to call a diet at Spire ; whither he went with desire (as much as safely he might) to oblige the Protestants to him ; and the rather, that the Turks had at this time not only taken Strigonium, and other places in Hungary, but the town of Nizza in the confines of France and Italy, in this manner : Antoine Polin (afterwards Baron de la Garde) had now made two voyages from Francis to Solyman the Turk, to solicit him to send his sea-forces against the emperor. Whereupon Barbarossa was dispatch'd with commission to join with him : he taking fresh-water at Ostia, within five leagues of Rome, gave that alarm, that the inhabitants began to fly ; but Polin assur'd them by his letters: from thence coming to Marseilles, Francois de Bourbon, Duke of Anguien, encounter'd them, having charge to command the naval army of the king, which was 22 galleys, and 18 other ships : whereupon they besieged (Aug. 20.) and took the town of Nizza, but not the castle, which being stronger than it could be won easily, they, carrying some of the inhabitants with them, retir'd to their shipping ; and the rather, that they heard the Marquis de Guasto was coming out of Piedmont towards them ; who (I find) recover'd it shortly after. And thus ended the two years negotiation of Polin with the Turk, with small present effect, and no consequence but the carrying away of a few slaves by Barbarossa, who winter'd at Thoulon, betwixt Nizza and Marseilles. Howsoever, I find by Sandoval, that it was so heinously taken in Rome, that some cardinals in a publick consistory mov'd to deprive Francis from the title of Christianissimo.

I shall draw this year to a conclusion, with a beginning given to the council of Trent, now appearing in some rudiments. Many years had pass'd without any manifest necessity of calling a council. Those few separatists which remain'd of the Waldesians, Picards, and Hussites, being disarm'd, illiterate, and obscure ; and these later not much differing from the Roman Church, but in the use of the cup in the eucharist : but (1517.) Luther, Zuinglius, and divers others, of late appearing, though not sufficiently united among themselves, gave yet the Roman Catholicks so little cause to glory therein, that their greatest dissention seem'd to be who should be furthest off from them : every reformer in his turn pretended both to discover new errors, and to

shew himself more averse. This made the pope resolve at last on a council ; and the rather, that all Christian princes desir'd upon any reasonable terms a peace of religion, as knowing how much it concern'd them to settle that affair : neither did they think there would be much difficulty, when all sides came prepared thereunto, most of the points in difference being to be reconcil'd in middle and indifferent terms, or to be rejected as doubtful, (upon the grounds taken on either side) or at least not tending to much edification. The meeting was design'd at Mantua first, by Pope Clement VII., 1533. then by Paulus III., 1537. but being thence brought to Vicenza, and there suspended during his pleasure, at last it was (1542.) removed to Trent, in the confines of Germany ; which also was hasten'd by the pope, as fearing the consequence of a national council in Germany, whereof the emperor had lately given (1541.) hope ; so that he was (at what price soever) determin'd to prevent it, as knowing well what prejudice it might bring to his authority. Neither did he any longer apprehend the defection of Francis ; who knowing he should lose the pope in his businesses of Milan, and elsewhere, if he trifl'd any longer with the Protestants, had (May 22.) made severe edicts against them. Whereupon bulls also were dispatched every where abroad, notifying the said convention to begin November the first following : which yet was in such terms as scandalis'd the emperor, supposing that Francis was us'd therein with more respect than he deserv'd ; since, in the late diet at Spire, having secretly offer'd his assistance both to the Protestant and Roman Catholick party in Germany, he had declar'd his intentions were only to foment division ; and besides, had collegu'd himself with the Turk, But for composing these differences, the pope having appointed the Cardinal Contareni to go to the emperor, and Sondolet to Francis ; Contareni dying in the way, he employ'd Cardinal Viseo in his place ; one so openly disaffected by the emperor, that it was thought no good effect would follow. Howsoever, to make it appear, that this universally desir'd council was not retarded by him, he sent (Aug. 26.) unto Trent, the cardinals Pietro Paulo Parisio, a good canonist, Giovanni Morone, an expert statesman, and Reginald Pool, opposite to our king, and so eminent as might give authority to proceedings against him. Their secret instructions were yet rather to entertain the ambassadors and prelates which should be there assembl'd, than to treat of any thing material without further direction. The emperor sent hither Diego de Mendoza, his ambassador resident at Venice, and Nicolas Perenot, Seigneur de Granville, together with Antonio Bishop of Arras (his son) and some few bishops of the kingdom of Naples ; who, together with some few prelates, (of the most affected to the pope) being commanded to be present, were all that could give name and reputation to this general council : so far was it from having other kingdom or religion concurrent therein. Howsoever, the imperial mandate being



exhibited (Nov. 1.) by the agents of Charles, instance was made that the council should open, and a beginning be given, at least, to a reformation in discipline. But the papal legates interpos'd a delay, saying, it was not convenient to begin an universal council with so little a number : whereupon the business came to protests on both sides ; and so the legates referring all to the pope, nothing was concluded. Whereupon, the imperialists departed, whom also the Neapolitan bishops follow'd, and finally the legates themselves, after having been there seven months without more than this ostentation of a council.

Little else happened this year of foreign affairs, that I thought worthy my relation, but that Philip Prince of Spain (though very young) had given him in marriage Donna Maria, Infanta of Portugal, by John III, and Donna Catalina sister to the emperor.

Information being made to our king, that divers this year were (July 28.) burnt for religion at Windsor, it appears by our histories, that he was nothing pleas'd ; which yet, whether it proceeded from some better impression he might have taken of the Protestant Reformation ; or that he grew weary of the too many severe executions, which had made his government thought in foreign countries to be rigorous, cannot easily be determined. Howsoever, he made it known now that he could forgive. And therefore, though some of his courtiers, as Sir Thomas Cardine, Sir Philip Hobby, and others of his subjects were fallen into the danger of the six articles, he voluntarily gave them his pardon ; and together, withdrew much of his favour from the Bishop of Winchester, who was reported more than any to persecute them, and suspected to dislike secretly the king's proceedings : which was made more probable, when not long after his secretary German Gardiner was (Mar. 7. 1544.) executed for denying the king's supremacy. And perchance, as King Henry intended shortly to go in person to the wars in France, the many punishments he had inflicted on others might have begot some apprehensions in him : yet not such as could deter him from the journey ; for he made great preparations of soldiers and habiliments of war, and particularly of iron pieces and granades, which I find this year were first cast in England : while for the more contenting the queen in his absence, he conferr'd certain honours on William Lord Parr, her brother, who (Dec. 23.) was made Earl of Essex : and her uncle Sir William Parr who was made Lord Parr of Horton, and chamberlain to the queen. All which yet seem'd nothing to him, unless he parted in good terms with his parliament : for he accounted it his most loyal spouse : and not without reason, since there was nothing I know desir'd by him, which they perform'd not. This session (being the third) began Jan. 14. in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and continued till Mar. 29. 1544.

The first act was concerning the succession : and herein, as I find, he endeavour'd to close with the emperor, in giving the Princess Mary

a possibility of succession ; so he settled that business among his children in such sort, that all cause of competition was taken away (as far as by our laws he might.)

The beginning of the act is a recital of a former, 28 Hen. 8. touching the succession ; to which reference must be had. Whereupon it follows thus, or to this effect.

Forasmuch as his majesty sithence the death of Queen Jane, hath taken to wife the Lady Katharine, late wife of John Nevil knight, Lord Latimer, deceas'd, by whom as yet his majesty hath none issue, but may have full well, when it shall please God : and forasmuch as our said most dread sovereign intendeth, by God's grace, to make a voyage-royal in his most royal person into the realm of France, against the French king ; his highness most prudently considering how this realm standeth at this time in the case of succession : and albeit, for default of such heirs as be inheritable by the said act, he might by the authority of the said act, give and dispose the said imperial crown, and other the premisses, by his letters patents under his great-seal, or by his last will in writing, sign'd with his hand, to any person or persons of such estate therein as should please his highness to limit and appoint : yet, to the intent his majesty's disposition and mind should be openly declar'd to the lords' spiritual and temporal, and other his subjects of this realm, to the intent that their assent and consent might appear to concur with thus far as followeth of his majesty's declaration in this behalf ; his majesty therefore thinketh convenient, afore his departure beyond seas, that it be enacted by his highness and parliament : and therefore be it enacted, that in case the king's majesty and his only son Prince Edward should decease without heirs of either of their bodies lawfully begotten, so that there be no such heir male or female of any of their two bodies, to have and inherit the said imperial crown, and other his dominions, according, and in such manner and form as in the aforesaid act, and now in this is declar'd, that then the said imperial crown, and all other the premisses, shall be to the Lady Mary, the king's highness daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, with such conditions as by his highness shall be limited by his letters patents under his great seal, or by his majesty's last will in writing, sign'd with his hand. And for default of such issue, the said imperial crown and other the premisses shall be to the Lady Elizabeth, the king's second daughter, and her heirs lawfully begotten, with such conditions as is aforesaid. Any thing in the act made 28 Hen. 8. to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided, nevertheless, that if the said Lady Mary do not keep and perform such conditions as the king shall declare and limit in manner aforesaid ; that then, and from thenceforth, for lack of heirs of the several bodies of the king's majesty and Prince Edward, the said imperial crown, and other the premisses, shall be and come to the Lady

Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, in such like manner and form, as tho' the said Lady Mary were then dead, without any heir of her body begotten.

And be it further enacted, that if the said Lady Mary do keep and perform such conditions which the king's majesty shall hereafter declare and limit, in form aforesaid ; and that the said Lady Elizabeth for her part do not keep and perform such conditions which the king's majesty shall declare and limit, in form aforesaid, that then, and from thenceforth, for lack of heirs of the several bodies of the king's majesty, and the said lord prince, and the said Lady Mary lawfully begotten, the said imperial crown, and other the premisses shall be and come to such person and persons, and of such estate and estates as the king's highness, in form aforesaid, shall limit and appoint.

Provided, that if the Lady Mary do not keep and perform such conditions which shall be limited and appointed as aforesaid, and the said Elizabeth being then dead without any heir of her body lawfully begotten ; that then, and from henceforth, for lack of heirs of the several bodies of the king's majesty, and the said lord prince lawfully begotten, the said imperial crown and other the premisses, shall be, come, and remain to such person and persons, and of such estate and estates as the king's highness by his letters patents seal'd under his great seal, or by his last will in writing, sign'd with his hand, shall limit and appoint.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in case the king's majesty do not declare and limit by his letters patents, or by his last will, in form as is aforesaid, any conditions to the estates and interests afore-limited to the said Lady Mary, and Lady Elizabeth, nor to the estate or interest of any of them ; that then every such of the said Lady Mary, and Lady Elizabeth, to whose estate or interest no condition shall be limited by the king's majesty in form aforesaid, shall have and enjoy such interest, estate, and remainder in the said imperial crown and other the premisses, as is before limited by this act, without any manner of condition. Any thing in this present act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And forasmuch as it standeth in the only pleasure and will of Almighty God, whether the king's majesty shall have any heirs begotten and procreated between his highness and his most entirely beloved wife Queen Katharine, or by any other his lawful wife ; or whether the said Prince Edward, the Lady Mary, or Lady Elizabeth, or any other, shall have any issue of their bodies lawfully begotten ; and that if such heirs should fail, and no provision made, this realm after the king's transitory life should be destitute of a lawful governor to order and rule the same : be it therefore enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the king's highness shall have full power and authority to give, dispose, appoint, assign, declare, and limit by his



gracious letters patents under his great seal, or else by his highness last will made in writing, and sign'd with his most gracious hand, at his only pleasure from time to time hereafter, the imperial crown of this realm, and all other the premisses, to be, remain, succeed and come after his decease, and for lack of lawful heirs of either of the bodies of the king's highness and Prince Edward begotten, and also for lack of lawful heirs of the bodies of the said Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, to be procreated and begotten (as is before limited in this act) to such person and persons in remainder or reversion, as shall please his highness, and according to such estate, and after such manner and form, fashion or condition as shall be express'd, declar'd, nam'd and limited in his highness's letters patents, or by his last will in writing, sign'd with his most gracious hand (as is aforesaid.) Any thing contain'd in this present act, or in the said former act to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

There followeth also in the said act a new form of oath against the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and the penalty on those who refus'd to take the oath, or did interrupt this act, or any estate limited thereby.

In another act it was declared where, and before whom, treasons committed out of the realm should be tryed. That the king's stile also, of King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth the supreme head, shall be united and annex'd for ever unto the imperial crown of this realm of England.

That no person should be put to his trial upon an accusation concerning any of the offences compris'd in the statute of the six articles 31 Hen. 8. but only upon such as shall be made by the oath of twelve men before commissioners authorised ; and the presentment shall be made within one year after the offence committed. That no person should be arrested or committed to ward for any such offence before he be indicted. That if any preacher or reader shall speak any thing in his sermon or reading contrary to any matter contain'd in the six articles, he shall be accus'd or indicted thereof within forty days, or else shall be discharg'd of the said offence. And this also qualified a little the punishment of the six articles.

That the lords and commons shall remit unto the king all such sums of money as he had borrow'd of them since Jan. 1. Anno 33 of his reign.

That certain tenures shall be reserv'd (at the king's pleasure) upon houses and lands, being sometimes abbey lands, under forty shillings a year.

That all persons which have any houses, lands, gardens and other grounds in the town of Cambridge, adjoyning upon every high-way street, or lane, in his own right, or the right of his wife, or, etc. shall

cause the same to be pav'd with paving stone unto the middle of the same ways, and in length as their grounds do extend, and so shall from time to time maintain them, upon pain to forfeit six pence for every yard square not sufficiently pav'd, to the king and informer. And had this statute extended to the other cities and great towns of England, it would have been much to the beauty of them, and the commodity of passengers.

That the king shall have authority during his life to name two and thirty persons, viz. sixteen spiritual and sixteen temporal, to examine all canons, constitutions, and ordinances provincial and synodal, and to establish all such laws ecclesiastical as shall be thought by the king and them convenient to be us'd in all spiritual courts. But this (it seems) expir'd with the king's life.

An ordinance also (never sufficiently commended) was made for preservation of woods, which being too long and particular to rehearse; I shall desire the reader to peruse in his place: there being no law either more useful to this kingdom (in regard of our navy and otherwise,) or whereof the infraction can with more difficulty be repair'd; so many years, if not ages, being requir'd before they can come to that growth, which any rash hand may cut down in a very short space.

Some other acts also pass'd, which the reader may see in their place.

And now the parliament ending Mar. 29. 1544, that war which was denounc'd by our king against Scotland for the treaty broken in some particulars, and the law of nations in others, appear'd in his preparatives; and the Lord Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford was shortly after constituted by our king, lieutenant general of the north, and sent thither with a well-furnish'd army: for as it was only a quarrel of unkindness with the Scots for their not admitting readily the loving offer he made of marrying his son Prince Edward with their young queen, none was thought more fit to determine, or if need were, to compose the business, than the princes uncle. Besides, the Duke of Norfolk (whose service he had heretofore us'd in those parts) was appointed to attend him in his journey to France. And now consultation being had which way to invade Scotland, it was resolv'd, by sea; yet so, as the king's land-army might make a diversion on the borders and (if need were) joyn with the other forces. The fleet being ready (which was of 200 sail,) Sir John Dudley Lord Lisle (newly made Admiral of England) was appointed to conduct it; who setting sail, shortly afterwards came to Newcastle, where the Earl of Hertford, Francis Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, and other principal persons with the king's army attend him. These being speedily shipped, came to Grantham-Crag near Leith, (May 4.) where spending some three or four days in disembarking their men, and taking out their ordnance and victuals, the cardinal of Saint Andrews made provision to receive them: our army march'd in three

battels, whereof the lord admiral had the van, the Earl of Hertford the middle, the Earl of Shrewsbury the rear ; who from thence going to the town, encountred 6000 horse, besides many foot, led (as our histories have it) by the cardinal and divers noble persons : but as they judged themselves too weak, and consequently offer'd not much resistance, they were quickly discomfited, and their ordnance taken : whereupon our men entring Leith, found more riches there (they said) than they could have easily imagin'd. Marching thence to Edenburgh, the townsmen offer'd to yield themselves, when they might depart with bag and baggage ; but this not being accepted, they prepar'd for defence. Nevertheless, our men both forc'd the town, and burnt it for three days together : at which time William Lord Evers warden of the east-marches, and governor of Berwick making his way by land, did (notwithstanding all opposition) joyn his forces with the rest. The army thus greatned, burnt and spoil'd all places about Edenburgh in a crueller manner than became such as would obtain the favour either of that queen or country for their young prince. Nevertheless, as they could not take the castle of Edenburgh, they retir'd to Leith, where the lord general having made divers knights, they shipped their great artillery, and among them some fair pieces gotten in the voyage ; divers ships also were taken by them. And now being ready to depart, they burnt the town of Leith, and the peer of the haven ; and so on May 15. the fleet set sail, while the land army, desirous to commit further spoil, march'd to Seton, and so to Haddington, and Dunbar, which towns they burnt. After which, coming to a strait (which our historians call the Pease) and a great mist happening, they made a halt, being advertis'd that the Scottish army would fall on them : but the mist breaking up, they marched on without resistance, and so came to Ranton, within eight miles of the English borders, which having ruin'd and burnt, they upon May 18. enter'd Berwick, without having lost in all this journey above forty persons. Our navy in the mean while, taking out of every creek and haven on the Scottish coasts all the ships and boats they could find there.

The expedition thus gloriously ended, the king found his business nothing advanc'd ; he had done more than became a suitor for alliance, too little for one pretending to conquest. Neither had this invasion other event than a general detestation of a marriage sought for in such rough and unusual terms : but our king, who understood the business otherwise, said, ' That since he could not obtain, he would strive to ' chastise.' Howbeit, he omitted not to advise how he might raise a faction in that kingdom, whereof he might prevail himself. And because the Earl of Lennox, now deserted by the French, seem'd most proper for this purpose, he resolv'd to admit a treaty with him : which affair also upon his misfortune, and the retreat formerly mentioned, had been negotiated by the Earl of Glencarne and his brother at Car-



lisle, May 17. 1545. which again was seconded in that manner, that our army now returning, he came by sea to Westchester, and so to the court, where he was well receiv'd by our king : and at last this treaty concluded betwixt them, by the name of Matthew Earl of Lennox, and Thomas Wriothesly (made Jan. 1. baron and May 14. chancellor upon Audley's death,) the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir William Paget by way of indenture, June 26. 1544.

' That for the security of the said Earl of Lennox against the power of the cardinal, and the Earl of Arran, and the safety of the realm of Scotland, it is agreed, that. the said earl will observe the articles agreed on his behalf by the Earl of Glencarne and others at Carlisle, May 17. 1544.

' That he will be the king's servant and subject, and serve him against all that shall impugn his graces title and authority in Scotland or elsewhere.

' That he will surrender into his majesty's hand the castle of Dumbritton, as also the isle of Butte, and help him to win the castle of Ross therein.

' That when the king, having the direction of the realm, shall have made him governor, the said earl shall never call a parliament, nor do any matter of great moment without the king's advice.

' That he shall foresee that the king's pronept be not convey'd out of Scotland, but strive to get her person into his custody, and to deliver her into the king's hands.

' That because the king hath upon his earnest suit given him leave to marry his grace's niece the Lady Margaret Dowglas, the said earl bindeth himself to endow her with the yearly value of 500 marks sterling.

' That the king, in consideration of the loss which the said earl shall sustain in France by this agreement, will give unto him and his heirs possessions in England of 1700 marks sterling.

' That the king will aid the said earl in Scotland for two or three months with 500 men ; besides such men as his grace will send to take and keep Dumbritton.

' That the king having obtain'd direction of that kingdom, will constitute the said earl governor.'

In which treaty, though our king bestowed the Lady Margaret Dowglas upon him, and that there wanted not some, who thought it best she should be reserv'd upon all events, when the young queen through any accident should die, he chose rather yet to gratifie this gentile lord. And therein both put a perpetual obligation upon him, and enabled him to be an ancestor of that happy off-spring which hath followed since.

The earl now possess'd of this lady, was sent in August into Scotland with twelve or fourteen ships, and about 600 men, under the com-

mand of certain English knights : these coming to the castle of Dumbrifton, were receiv'd with great joy, and feasted by Striveling, concierge or captain thereof : but when Lennox had privately told him that the castle was promis'd our king, he seem'd suspended betwixt affection and duty. Though at last, considering that it neither stood with his honour, nor the safety of the country, to surrender into any foreign hands, he took arms, and forc'd Lennox and a few of the English who were with him, to their ships, whence they set sail for the Isle of Arran, and burnt all the houses there ; and after to the Isle of Bute. Some say that Striveling would have seiz'd on the person of Lennox, had he not foreseen the danger, and escap'd ; and that he landed in the Earl of Argiles country, near the castle of Dunvin, and afterwards burnt it ; and took Caintyr and spoil'd it ; and all this with the help only of 140 men more he had out of his own country : concerning which exploits, he advertis'd our king then at Boulogne, himself returning in the mean time to Bristol (whence he had his ships) and staying there till the king's arrival in England, who soon after commanded him, with some ships, to scour the Scottish coast.

Among the king's preparatives of war, that of money was the most difficult : for though he had much enrich'd himself with the revenues of the suppress abbies ; and besides, receiv'd great subsidies and loans from his subjects ; yet fortifications, shipping and other provisions had exhausted his treasure. Besides, he found the money of his kingdom much drain'd away by his crafty neighbours, while they cry'd it up in their country. For remedy of which inconveniences, he both enhaunced our gold from forty-five shillings to forty-eight shillings the ounce ; and silver from three shillings and ninepence to four shillings : and together caus'd certain base moneys newly coyn'd to be made currant : though not without much murmuring : which afterwards yet was cry'd down in Edward VI. his time, and call'd in by Queen Elizabeth. Howsoever, it serv'd for the present to exchange both for commodities at home and abroad. Though about two years after our records mention that the Low-Country-men finding the allays (it seems) rejected it.

Men and money being now provided, there remain'd yet not a few difficulties concerning the government of the kingdom in the king's absence. Among which, because the greatest was difference in religion, he endeavour'd to quiet all parts, as finding it impossible to unite them. That of the Roman Catholicks he had already so curb'd, as they hardly make head again : and for the reformers, he thought a little would give them contentment, as being at this time scarce more than pretenders. Therefore he caus'd a litany or procession to be set forth in English, which much satisfied them, as hoping the rest of Divine service might follow in the same tongue. And indeed, our records tell us, that another English procession for festival days was soon afterwards added.

As for the civil administration of his kingdom, it was order'd thus : The queen was (July 9.) constituted general regent of the realm : not yet so much, that her soft sex was thought less capable of ambition, as that the Roman-Catholicks (whom he thought only could stir) would take no dependence from her, she being observ'd to incline a little to the reform'd. To direct her councils yet, the king appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Hertford, the Lord Chancellor, Thomas Thurleby Bishop of Westminster, and Sir William Peter doctor of law, one of the principal secretaries, to be joyn'd in commission for those affairs, and on some occasions William Lord Parre of Horton to be call'd to them. It being provided further, if occasion were given, that the Earl of Hertford should be the king's lieutenant or principal captain. Besides which general order for affairs in his absence, he particularly appointed certain noblemen and gentlemen in every shire, who should stay there and observe all motions : and for this purpose, the bishop of the diocess in every country (for the most part) and six or seven other noblemen, or justices of the peace, were nominated ; Francis Talbot, also Earl of Shrewsbury, was made lieutenant of the north. And now assurance being given that the imperial forces were in readiness, he commanded his army (which consisted of 30,000 men, was divided into three battails), to pass the seas. The vanguard apparell'd in blue coats, garded with red, with caps and hose party-colour'd and suitable (their caps fitted to their head-piece or skull) were led by the Duke of Norfolk. The rear in the like habit, by the Lord Russel, made (Dec. 6.) lord privy-seal, with whom went Henry Earl of Surrey marshal of the field, John Vere Earl of Oxford, the Lord Gray of Wilton, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Lord Mountjoy, Sir Francis Bryan, and divers brave lords, knights, gentlemen, and others, not a few Welsh and Irish filling up the numbers. These landing at Calais about Whitsontide, march'd directly to Monstruil, where the Count de Bures Admiral of Flanders with 10,000 foot, and about three or four thousand horse joyning with them, they laid siege to the town which Monsieur de Biez Mareschal of France defended ; while, at the same time, the battel apparell'd in the like bizarre fashion, (the colours yet being red and yellow) passing over under the conduct of Charles Duke of Suffolk the king's lieutenant, accompanied by Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of Arundal, marshal of the field, William Paulet Lord St. John, Stephen Bishop of Winchester, Sir Anthony Brown master of the king's horse, and others, expected the king's coming ; a speedy advertisement whereof being given, he tarried not. But we will leave him a while, and see what the emperor did.

The emperors ambassadors formerly mentioned, being (Feb. 20.) return'd from our king with good satisfaction and great rewards, the diet at Spire began, where the emperor, Ferdinand, and all the electors in person did meet : the emperor's chief business was, to require aid



against the Turk and French their confederate : which Francis also suspecting, sent an herald to require a safe conduct for his ambassadors to come thither ; but he was rejected with ill words. And now the emperor endeavouring to divide the Protestants, propos'd so fair and advantageous a treaty to the Duke of Saxe, that he obtain'd of him to acknowledge Ferdinand King of the Romans. Which accord, though it were not communicated to, nor approv'd by the rest of the confederates, yet they all at last condescended to a contribution by poll throughout all Germany, for a war against the Turk, and half a years pay for 4000 horse, and 24,000 foot against the French. In regard whereof the emperor promis'd to commit the business of religion to certain good learned men, who should write some pious reformation, wishing the princes also to do the same : to the end, that upon comparison of them on all sides, some agreement might be made by common consent, which should be observ'd till a general council were held in Germany, or at least a national : and that peace should be kept in the mean while on all parts, and the rigorous edict of Augsburg suspended, and the anabaptists punish'd. There was an agreement also to meet again (which follow'd at Wormes) and so the diet of Spire ended June 10. 1545.

The pope being advertis'd of these passages at Spire, was mightily offended, as being resolv'd to tolerate no reformation whereof himself was not author. Therefore he wrote a sharp letter to the emperor, dated 25. August, wherein he remonstrateth the inconveniences would follow, if any thing were establisht in religion without his intervention : excluding further the Protestants wholly from having any voice therein.

This while (April 11.) the French, under the conduct of Francois de Bourbon Duc d'Anguien, obtain'd at Serisoles in Piedmont, a great victory against the Spaniard, commanded by the Marquis of Guasto ; wherein, as the Spaniards conceiv'd, was some fatality ; their writers observing, that the battel of Ravenna and Gelves were lost upon the same day. Howsoever, the French were not a little glorious ; yet, as Francis knew the league betwixt our king and the emperor, was directed chiefly against him, he prepar'd for defence : and the rather, that he had heard of a second treaty, (which was at Gonzaga's coming over into England, as I take it) wherein both princes had agreed to march straight on to Paris, without besieging any town, or staying by the way. Besides, the emperor had now (July.) recover'd Luxemburg. This made Francis resort to the extreame remedy in case of invasion, call'd the ban and arriereban, by which, all men holding under certain tenures, are bound, for a certain time, at their own cost and charges, to serve in person, or at least to provide (according to their degree) horse and foot against the enemy : which Francis yet converted to a foot only, and thus he got together an army

of about 40,000 foot, and 6000 horse. As this yet could not secure him against two such puissant adversaries, he dispatched several ambassadors to both princes, with power to offer great and advantageous conditions of peace, when either of them might be taken off. This while the emperor (who promis'd our king to march directly to Paris with a great army) had taken divers towns in Champagne, as the way unto it, though losing unfortunately René Prince of Orange at S. Disier, who was the second of that family that had died in his quarrel, his mother's brother Philibert de Chaalon having been slain (1530.) at the siege of Florence. And now both armies marching so, as the imperialists held the one side, and the French the other side of the river of Marne, news was brought to either camp, that our army was landed in France, and had besieg'd Boulogne. The particularities whereof, out of a diary extant in our records, I thought fit to extract, and chiefly follow in this narration.

Our king, who (July 14.) pass'd the seas in a ship with sails of cloth of gold, arriv'd at Calais July 14, with a royal train. The next day the emperor's high-admiral attended him, and gave account in what estate and forwardness his master's army and affairs were about that time : he advis'd our king also to proceed to Paris, without amusing himself about any thing by the way. But he who knew well what towns the emperor had taken in his way, would not be dissuaded from the same liberty : therefore he sent the Duke of Suffolk with forces to invest Boulogne, in which Monsieur de Vervén, a young gentleman, but assisted by Philip Corse, a brave and old soldier, commanded. His forces consisted of a garison of about 2500 paid, and as many more able townsmen. The duke, in a short space, took (July 21.) (notwithstanding resistance) the lower town, lying on the river of Pont-de-bricq, and (July 22.) the watch-tower before Boulogne, (call'd the Old Man, or the Tour de Ordre, thought to be built by Julius Cæsar ;) this hastened the king's coming ; so that dispatching the emperor's admiral, he (July 25.) march'd forward in this equipage : first, the drums, vifeurs, trumpeters, and officers at arms, then the barons, and after them garter-herald next before the king's banner, after which follow'd Don Bertram de la Cueva, Duke of Albuquerque (commander of the emperor's auxiliary forces ;) next whom came the king's majesty, arm'd at all pieces, upon a great courser ; then the Lord Herbert, bearing the king's head-piece and spear, follow'd by the henchmen, bravely hors'd and appointed. Marching thus out of Calais with a princely train, an hundred horse of Albuquerque's company (whereof six were barded with cloth of gold) met him : also the Earl of Essex (chief captain of the men at arms,) and Sir Thomas Darcy, with many other horsemen (who set themselves in parade) so that the light horse and demy-lance went first, then the guard on foot, after them the pike men, amongst whom the king rode before the men at arms ; for the wings, fifty

archers on horseback, and as many harquebusiers were appointed, and so they came to Marquise, where the army then encamp'd that night. The next day marching towards Boulogne, the Duke of Suffolk met the king, who took his quarter on the north-side of the town, near the sea; divers skirmishes passing in the mean time.

The 28th John Viscount Lisle lord admiral, the Lord Clinton, and about 900 men, who had scow'r'd the seas towards Scotland, landed in the haven at Boulogne.

The 29th Sir Thomas Poynings came to give the king account of all that pass'd at Monstreul, and in his return took Hardelet-Castle.

The 3d of August our battery began on the east side of the town, two batteries more being afterwards planted against it.

The 6th of August Monsieur de Bures came from Monstreul; to whom our king gave a brave courser richly furnish'd.

The 13th of August the Earl of Hertford came to the camp; and divers companies of Almaines and Flemings join'd with our men: many sallies and skirmishes (in which the French still had the worse) passing in the mean while. Certain French troops also endeavouring (Aug. 19.) early in the morning to get into the town, were defeated and kill'd; some, nevertheless escaping into it. Certain troops of German horse came now also to the camp, who were muster'd before the king the next day.

The 24th of August, the Duke of Norfolk, from before Monstreul came and advertis'd the king how the affairs pass'd there.

The 27th, alarm was given upon discovering of some French troops.

The 29th and 30th, our men approaching still to the walls, short skirmishes pass'd.

September 1. our men got the Bray, not yet without loss of brave men on both sides.

The 2nd of Sept. some of our men giving a false alarm to the castle, at the breach which our canon had made, other of our men break up certain doors into the castle; but they being barricado'd within, and well defended, we retir'd with loss.

The 3d, Sir Christopher Morris, master of the ordnance, and chief director of the batteries, was hurt with a shot from the castle. While things pass'd thus afore the town, a convoy of victuals (being sent from St. Omer to the camp) was taken by the enemy, and divers imperialists kill'd. Nevertheless, our English sav'd and rescu'd some part.

The 4th of Sept. the pioneers having brought their work to the counter-mure of the castle, two mines were sprung, which shiver'd the wall; but made no great overture.

The 5th of Sept. our men sapping the walls, the French killed certain pioneers.

The 6th another salley was made, and some workmen were kill'd.

The 9th, the town being brought almost to terms of yielding, certain



ambassadors from Francis, being John Cardinal du Bellay, Pietre Raymond Premier President of Rouen, and others demanded audience, their business being to treat of a general accord ; concerning which the Earl of Hertford, the Bishop of Winchester, Sir William Paget, and Sir Richard Rich, were appointed to negotiate with them at Harelot Castle : our king not doubting in the mean time to carry the town.

Sept. 11. fire was given to the mine under the castle, the effect whereof the king went to see, not without some danger, the stones flying very far off : whereupon, our men presently giving on, many were slain on both parts.

The 13th Monsieur de S. Blimont, and Monsieur de Aix came out of the town, and treated of surrendring it.

The 14th, it was yielded upon condition to depart with bag and baggage ; but to leave the victuals and artillery behind them. It was thought yet the place might have held out longer, but that Philip Corse was kill'd, with whom (it seem'd) both their courage and good fortune ended. And so, about 2000 soldiers, and as many others, going out of the town, pass'd towards Monstreul, in our king's sight, besides divers that escap'd another way. And thus Boulogne was taken, without any mention in our diary, of cannon of wood colour'd like brass, which should be planted against the castle, as tradition hath it. And now (Sept. 14.) an horrible tempest arising, threw down tents and pavilions, and shipwreck'd some part of our navy in the haven. Nevertheless, the French ambassadors came to the camp that night ; but as their tents were blown down likewise over their heads, the king courteously permitted them to lodge in the town.

Sept. 18, the king (attended by Albuquerque) entered Boulogne triumphantly, the Duke of Suffolk (the great master, who was sent before to take possession thereof,) meeting him at the gate, and presenting the keys of the town, where, after he had view'd the places that needed fortification, he gave audience to the French ambassadors : but they hearing the emperor had condescended to a peace (which was publish'd about this time) did less insist upon a treaty with us, and so (Sept. 25.) returned by the way of Hesdin. Some of the Spanish writers yet use much art to palliate this abrupt treaty : therefore they say, that our king fail'd in his not going directly to Paris, (as was agreed.) Never considering, in the mean while, that the emperor (though having a much clearer way) had taken divers towns in his passage : besides, they alledg'd, that our king would keep Boulogne for himself, not regarding the common interest. All yet were but pretexts : whereas the real causes were,

I. That Charles had by this means taken off Francis from his league with the Turk.

II. That he had engag'd our king in a war against France, and

thereby made himself the freer to pursue his own designs in Germany, where he knew the Protestants would grow more refractory, as long as he was in war elsewhere.

III. That in the wars of Germany, which he now intended, he thought the French king could more hurt him, than our king do him good.

*The articles of peace concluded (Sept. 19.) by these two princes, were;*

I. That betwixt the Emperor Charles V. and Francis the French king, and the rest that will enter into this league, there be a firm and perpetual peace.

II. That the subjects of both princes pay tributes, rights, and customs of merchandise that they were wont to pay.

III. That all places which have been taken on one part or other since the truce of Nizza, shall be restor'd : and that neither part may take thence more than their victuals or ordnance.

IV. That the Duke of Areschot shall enjoy his right in the county of Ligny, etc.

V. That all places and fortresses that have been taken from the Duke of Savoy by either of the parties, or from the Marquis of Montserat, or the Duke of Mantua, Duke of Lorain, Duke of Stenay in Luxemburg, shall be restored.

VI. That the King of France shall leave and restore the abbey and lands of Garagana in the emperor's hands ; as also certain hostages for performance thereof, and that he shall give unto the emperor the county of Charolois to him and his heirs for ever.

VII. That the emperor and French king join together in a war against the Turk ; and that the king shall furnish for this purpose, 600 lances, and 10,000 foot.

VIII. That Francis shall renounce all the right he pretends to hold in the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, Milan, the contado of Asti, as also the right of sovereignty he had in Flanders, Artois, Lisle, Doway, Orchies, Tournay, Mortaigne, and S. Amand. Moreover, that the king leave unto the emperor and his successors, all the right that he can pretend in the dutchy of Gueldres, and county of Zutphen.

IX. That the emperor likewise shall yield and pass over all action and right that he may pretend unto in any state or seignory of the king, except the dutchy of Burgundy, the vicounty of Assuone, the county of Mascon, Auxerre and Bar upon the river Seine. That he should renounce also that right he held in the cities upon the border Some, Peronne, Mondidier, and Roye ; as also the counties of Boulogne, Guyenne, Ponthieu ; excepting Therouenne, Han, and other places mentioned in Sandoval, and whatsoever in the estate and limits of Arras.

X. That the vassals of either prince shall be fully restor'd unto all that they had, altho' they had serv'd on the contrary side.

XI. That the Flemings may enjoy the heritage that their fathers leave them, tho' themselves have not been born in France : and that the custom call'd, *Droit d'Aubene*, shall not concern them.

XII. That the ancient and modern privileges on both parts, shall remain in their force and vigour. To which purpose the emperor shall renounce (in favour of the king) the dutchy of Burgundy, the vicounty of Aussone, sovereignty of S. Lawrence, the county of Auxerre, Mascon, and Bar sur Seine ; and within four months after the publication of this peace, he shall procure, that his son Philip, Prince of Spain, shall confirm the same.

XIII. That the emperor, in favour and confirmation of the peace, shall give his daughter, the Infanta Donna Maria, or (in case he do give) her the second daughter of Ferdinand King of the Romans, that she may match with Charles Duke of Orleans, second son to the king : and that he declare his mind therein within the term of four months after the publishing of this peace. And that if the emperor will marry his daughter with Duke Charles, then he shall give them the estate of Flanders, which at this present is under his obedience, and moreover, the dutchy of Burgundy and Charolois in dowry ; and that they shall enter into the possession of these estates after the emperor's death, to descend upon Duke Charles and his heirs males : and that the emperor yet living, these states shall swear to the said Charles ; and that Philip Prince of Spain shall swear, confirm, and approve it.

XIV. That the marriage being made, the emperor shall constitute Duke Charles in the government of Flanders.

XV. That Francis, and his son the Dauphin, shall renounce for ever, and depart from any right that they held, or may pretend to hold, to the dutchy of Milan or the county of Asti ; and that they shall procure, within eight days after the publication hereof, the Dauphin's brother Charles, and Madam Marguerite to confirm and approve it.

XVI. That if Mary, daughter to the emperor, shall dye without issue male, the estate of Flanders shall revert to Philip Prince of Spain, and to his heirs : and that the Duke of Orleans, in this case, may revive his right to the dutchy of Milan, and contado of Asti : and that in this case, the emperor likewise may revive his right to the dutchy of Burgundy, and the rest formerly mentioned.

XVII. That if Duke Charles shall marry with the second daughter of King Ferdinando, he shall give with her the dutchy of Milan, with the contado of Asti, and all belonging unto them ; the emperor in the mean while retaining in his power the fortresses of Milan and Cremona : and that the emperor shall give to them and their heirs males, the title and imperial collation of the state thereof. And that if the Duke of Orleans should have no heirs males by this marriage, never-



theless, that the said title and estate shall remain to Duke Charles, and to his heirs males by a second marriage. Provided, that the second marriage be made with the good will and consent of the emperor and his brother Ferdinand.

XVIII. That the marriage with the Duke of Orleans shall not be deferr'd more than one year after the day of publication of these presents.

XIX. That Francis shall give unto his son the duke in dote the dutchy of Orleans and Bourbon, Chastellerand, and the county of Angoulesme ; and if these estates mount not to the yearly revenue of 100,000 livres Tournois, that they shall be made up out of the dutchy of Alanzon.

XX. That if the Duke of Orleans shall have only heirs females, each of them shall have for their portion in marriage 100,000 livres Tournois : and if there shall be but one only daughter heir, they shall give her 100,000 livres in ready pay ; and that if the duke shall die first, the emperor's daughter shall have for her life 50,000 livres Tournois yearly ; but if it be Ferdinand the King of the Romans daughter, 30,000 only.

XXI. That the King of France shall restore to Charles Duke of Savoy all the lands that he hath taken from him (except Montmelian and Piqueroles) in which the king may hold garison all the time that the emperor shall retain the castles of Cremona and Milan.

XXII. That the Duke of Vendosme shall hold the county of St. Paul with the same right that he possess'd it before the war.

XXIII. That the King of France shall hold Hesdin till it be determined whose right it is.

XXIV. That in the cause of Henry de la Britt, pretended King of Navarre, Francis shall not interpose himself otherwise than a pacifier ; nor in the war that shall be for this cause betwixt them ; nor that he shall take any part.

XXV. That the king shall give unto the emperor a writing in due form, in which shall be declar'd, that Madam Jone, daughter to Henry de la Britt, doth swear that she will not consent unto the marriage agreed with William Duke of Cleve ; and that she never consented to it.

XXVI. That the King of Romans (that was the principal person in composing this peace) shall enter into, and be comprehended in it ; as likewise all other Christian princes and republicks that will, keeping the obedience and submission that of right they owe unto the emperor. This being sign'd and seal'd by the emperor and French king, and the other abovenamed, these following articles were added :

XXVII. That Francis should restore to the heir of René Prince of Orange, the principality thereof in that manner that Philibert Chaalon enjoy'd it.

XXVIII. That to Philip Croy Duke of Areschot, entire satisfaction should be made for all his pretensions, according to the last treaty of Cambray.

XXIX. That the king shall restore to the duke all the goods, that on his father's and mother's side belong'd to him in France.

XXX. That if Maximilian of Burgundy gain his suit in law, the places belonging to him shall be restor'd.

XXXI. That the ransom which George of Austria promis'd, shall be annull'd and made void.

And this was the substance of the league concluded at Crespie, Sept. 19. 1544. Besides which articles, I find by some that it was agreed, they should defend the ancient religion, and reform the court at Rome : whereof the pope being advertis'd, was not yet much troubled ; as knowing their interests so diverse, that they could not long concur. Nevertheless, he hastened the intended council at Trent, both as the emperor desir'd it, and as he thought it safer to reform himself, than to be reform'd. Therefore, having understood that both the emperor had commanded the divines of Lovain to reduce religion into some method and articles : and Francis also had enjoin'd the like to the Sorbonists ; he without more delay appointed the council to begin, Mar. 15. 1545. and his legates there to be, Giovanni Maria di Monte, Bishop-cardinal di Palestina, Marcello Cervino Priest-cardinal di Santa Croce, Reginald Poole Deacon-cardinal di Santa Maria, (all faithful to him, but Marcello most vers'd in affairs,) with instructions at first, only to observe the emperor's motions, and govern themselves accordingly. For as he knew the diet at Worms would shortly follow, he thought it concern'd him to be attentive ; and the rather, that he was jealous lest the emperor, French king, and Protestants should agree upon some form of settling religion among themselves, and not a little fearful also lest our king should intervene : besides, it troubled him much how to comport himself with the assembly at Worms, as doubting, that if he sent a legat thither, he might be neglected : wherefore he commanded the Cardinal Alexander Farnese (his grand-child) to take that place, as in his way to the emperor, and his nuncio resident with Ferdinand, to go along with him to the diet. And now to shew he proceeded really in calling a council, he gives his legates order to repair to Trent, with authority (according to a bull fram'd for that purpose) to propose, determine, and conclude all that was necessary for extirpation of heresie, to reform the Church, to settle peace among Christian princes, etc. by the consent of the council. Besides which he gave them a particular breve to prolong, transfer, or dissolve it, being the arcanum of keeping all in his arbitrement : nor made he difficulty to begin with a few Italian bishops only of his party, as thinking they would be the better prepar'd when the rest came in.

But to return now to the emperor : the treaty betwixt him and

Francis being concluded, he sent to Spain to be resolv'd by the prince and his council, which of the two marriages were most convenient. But all came to nothing by the death (Sep. 1545.) of the Duke of Orleans, within eight months following: howbeit, some places taken on either side were restor'd, and the emperor's auxiliary forces before Montstruel commanded to retire. Which being done, he went shortly after to Bruxels, whither his sister the Queen of France, Charles Duke of Orleans, and the two sons of Ferdinand came to him. And now our king expostulating the matter with the emperor; he, for excusing himself, as well as satisfying our king, pretended to make some overture concerning the receiving him into the league, as will appear hereafter; yet so, as it is probable he did not much labour to effect it. The Count of Bures and the Germans being now departed (but not the Duke of Albuquerque and some Spaniards, who (against the emperor's will) remain'd in our camp) the king (Sept. 25.) commanded the Duke of Norfolk (who had made inrodes into the country with good success) to raise the siege from before Monstruel, and retire to him. And now finding the season to be far advanc'd, and little else to be done, our king (after he had knighted certain persons of worth) prepar'd to be gone, leaving the Lord Lisle to command Boulogne with sufficient forces, and directions what to do upon all occasions. And thus Sep. 30. he took shipping at Boulogne, and return'd; the news whereof, being brought to the Dauphin, (who a good while since had rais'd a puissant army) made him to advance. But the avant-coureurs were (Oct. 1.) no sooner descried near the town, but the two dukes and lord privy-seal (who were left behind with the army) made ready to fight, sending first yet some to offer skirmish; but the French-men fled. Our army hereupon (Oct. 3.) marching in good order to Calais, (where shipping attended them) the Dauphin, six days after, attempted between force and stratagem, to surprise Boulogne. For, being advertis'd by a spy that our approaches were not yet flighted or levelled, nor any of the three breaches in the upper town repair'd, and that the lower town in many places lay open, he doubted not but to take it, and in it a great part of the ordnance and munition which our king left there. Thus (Oct. 9.) coming near with all his forces, about midnight he commanded Fouquesolles, Tais, Monluc, d'Anelot, Noailles, and certain French and Italian troops under P. de Maria and others, in sufficient number, to give on. These, with their shirts over their armour, coming suddenly near the lower town, sent some before who (as if in favour of us they would have given the alarm) cry'd 'Bowes, bowes:' hoping thus, that our men, suspecting nothing, would open the gates, and thereby give them means to seize on it till the rest did enter. The invention was good, and had it been handsomly pursu'd, might have endangered us. But Tais and the Italians entring the lower town in greater number than that they<sup>l</sup> could be suppos'd



people in their shirts, that rose to give their fellows warning, alarm was given. Nevertheless, they so surpris'd our centinels, as they kill'd all they met, and rifled the houses without much opposition, because the pioneers (chiefly) and victuallers of the camp (who had no arms to defend themselves) were quarter'd there ; our soldiers scarce sufficing to defend the breaches and gaps of the upper town. Howbeit, divers of our men escaping, ran to the gate of the upper town, and there demanded arms wherewith to defend themselves ; which therefore were cast to them over the walls in such quantity, as now taking courage, they fell on the French and Italians with that fury, as they kill'd Monsieur de Fouquesolles, and divers others, who resisted, and chas'd the rest, wounding Monsieur de Tais, and taking divers prisoners : and this was the success of the attempt on the upper parts of Low Boulogne. As for that towards the sea, which Monluc undertook, not without hope (it seems) to fire some of our ships, the French prosper'd as little, as being kill'd and taken in great number : only for Monluc himself, it may be doubted where he was in either of these fights, since he makes no particular mention of them, nor gives any good account of his person. For though he saith, he came to the Italians, that made a stand near the church, it must be before our men fell on them. As for his allegation, that some of the English ran away, they were no other than some parts of the *corps de gard*, which went to advertise the rest ; and for his telling the colours of our pioneers clothes, (for testimony that he saw them in the dark) it makes little for him, since with more honour he might have told the colours of our soldiers liveries, which were far different, had he seen them. Howsoever, he might stay safely in the lower town after the slaughter committed by Tais and the Italians, till our men (as is before mentioned) returning with arms from the upper town, gave them the chase ; who yet could not have defeated them entirely, had not those of the upper town sallied forth of their breaches at last, to second them. A little before which time, Monluc, suspecting, it seems, that the English (upon the alarm given) would fall on him, desir'd, (as he confess'd himself) the Italians to make good their stand, while he kept one of the breaches from being possess'd by the English. But our English now charging Monluc, went further than it or the town. Howbeit to shew his care, he saith that he sent an horseman back, to know what was become of the Italians. But he returning answer, that they were in the church, or dead, Monluc and some other French provided for themselves. For now Sir Thomas Poynings, with a fresh troop of English out of the upper town, had charg'd them. D'Andelot, Noailles, and divers others hereupon were advis'd by Monluc to save themselves ; as also certain ensigns, who following his council, got up the hill towards their army, while himself and a few with him, pass'd a shallow water, and so escap'd by a longer, but a safer way. And thus the Dauphin, who prepar'd to send succours,

meeting the run-aways, desisted, and the town was sav'd. But Monluc, to defend himself, saith, that for all the fear, he kept his wits still about him, or else he had been in danger never to have been mareschal of France. And to commend (it seems) his direction in running away, he shews how necessary it is for a man in danger not to be afraid; and says, that all the ensigns had been lost, had he not advis'd them to be gone; and that his council preserv'd all: and such rodomontades as these, did this Gascon use, who (it seems) was a braver man by day, than by night. All which I have more particularly observ'd out of our histories and records, because, notwithstanding his shameful flight, he strives so much to vilifie our nation. But how he behav'd himself in this action, may appear by the Dauphin's jeering him at his return, as himself confesseth; it being certain, that though he came in later than his fellows, it was not because he stay'd longer there, but that he went a farther way about. But Monluc to excuse himself, said it was the Dauphin's fault, that he came not in with his whole army: and therein he spoke rationally; for had the first attempt been well seconded, he must have carry'd the town in all likelihood, our breaches being open, and men surpris'd. Nor had he better fortune at Guisnes, and other places which the French hop'd to take in; for being beaten thence, he was constrain'd with his army to retire, without doing more for this year. Nevertheless, Francis had recourse to those wonted arts, by which as much as by arms, he always advantaged himself: therefore he desired that his ambassadors and the emperors might meet with our king's at Calais, to treat of a general accord. Which offer being accepted, the Earl of Hertford, and Sir William Paget were (Oct. 12.) sent thither: but their desire being, that Boulogne might be first restor'd, the Earl of Hertford reply'd, he had no such commission, and so broke off the treaty: the imperialists seeming nothing scandaliz'd, that it had no better effect.

While affairs pass'd thus in France, Barbarossa did much spoil on the coasts of Italy, taking towns, and carrying captives of both sexes to the grand seigneur at Constantinople, where he shortly after died of a calenture, being above eighty years old: a great age for such a pirate as spent almost all his time in fighting either with men, or the fiercest elements. There happen'd July 25. this year, upon the coasts of Gallicia, the sea-fight between the Spanish and French, in which the Spaniards, under the command of Don Alvaro Bazen (father of the famous Marquis de Santa Cruz) was superiour, 3000 French (as Sandoval hath it) being kill'd.

The emperor now in his wonted necessity for money, was advis'd by his council to seize on the revenues of the Church: for which also he obtain'd a breve from the pope. Yet as he would hear what the religious persons of that kingdom could object, he admitted their deputies, who said, 'the right of the Church goods was rather Divine

'than humane ; that the Church was Christ's spouse, and should be 'deck'd gloriously ; that ancient Rome was mistress of the world heretofore, by S. Augustin's confession, because the people were so devout 'to their gods, and so much honour'd religion : ' which reasons yet (it was thought) would not have prevail'd, had he not found other ways to have supply'd his wants. Nevertheless, his son Philip II. seized on them, though in his will he commanded them to be restor'd.

The glorious return of our king from Boulogne gave much satisfaction to his subjects : yet, as he had drawn a puissant enemy against him, he took order to fortifie his kingdom. And because the river of Thames was chiefly to be secur'd, he caus'd some fortifications to be rais'd at Gravesend, as also at Tilbury, and afterwards at Dover, Portsmouth, and many other places : he took also an exact account of all his ordnance, which he distributed in the most necessary places, lest upon an invasion, his magazine being in the Tower of London only, the remedy should come too late. I find also, that there were certain small pieces of artillery, not unlike our drakes, for defence of his waggons, of his own invention, as also certain forms of bulwarks ; for he was a great soldier, and besides, of a singular capacity in apprehending all the new devices which in these kinds now daily appear'd : the pistol, among others, coming this year first in request among the French horse ; but not the Spanish, whose manner is, not to leave their ancient forms easily, when yet it were for their advantage.

Let us look a while on Scotland.

About the time that Lennox, on our king's part, invaded the west of Scotland, as is formerly related, our men on the other side entred the country, and took Jedburg, Kelso, and other places, and then Coldingham : which being advertis'd to the governor and cardinal, they brought an army of about 8000, and some artillery, to recover the town. But the governor suspecting (as it was thought) some treachery among his men, posted away suddenly : which caus'd such a consternation in the Scots, that they likewise were ready to disband, and leave the artillery then planted in battery against the steeple, had not the Earl of Angus staid some, and with their help conducted it safe to Dunbar. This news brought to our king at his return from Boulogne ; at which time also the Earl of Lennox came to court, and acquainted him with his late actions, and the affairs of Scotland : whereupon, the said earl, the Lord Dacres, and Sir Thomas Wharton were dispatch'd thither with competent forces. For, though at the request of the Scots by Sir George Meldre (sent to him when he was before Boulogne) King Henry had granted truce for a time ; yet being newly provok'd, he resolv'd a war. These entering Scotland on the west border, took Dunfrise, and brought home great spoils ; constraining also the people of those parts to condescend to a treaty, and give



hostages for the observing thereof. Our men puff'd up with this good success, resolve upon another expedition. Whereupon, Sir Ralph Evers (now Lord Evers, and warden of the east-marches) and Sir Bryan Layton, this winter spoiling Tiviot-dale, and other places, and afterward returning to London, requir'd a reward for their service : which, by the Duke of Norfolk's advice, being as much ground as they could win from the Scots, they entred the next spring (1545.) but were defeated, and slain in great number at Ancrum fight ; and among them Evers himself, a brave lord : divers also were taken prisoners, and particularly, one Read, Alderman of London ; which, that it may not seem strange, I have thought fit to tell the occasion : our king, for supply of his wants, having appointed certain commissioners to receive a benevolence from his subjects, they (January.) began at London with the lord mayor and aldermen ; among whom, Read refusing to pay his share, was sent in this expedition, with so ill success to it and himself, as at last, he paid more than the money impos'd on him in ransom. As for others, they excus'd themselves by their penury, in regard the king had taken up so much corn from them for his use this year, without repaying the price as yet ; so that in effect this benevolence pass'd with much grudging.

The Dauphin and French army being retir'd, as is formerly related, Monsieur de Biez Mareschal of France, having gather'd some 14,000 men together, encamp'd January 26. 1545, near Portet, a little creek of the sea, about half a mile from Boulogne ; yet as he had the river of Pont-de-Brique betwixt him and the town, it was not ease to dislodge him. His design was to build a fort there, for holding the haven of Boulogne in subjection : which the Earl of Hertford understanding, assembled 4000 foot, and 700 horse out of the garisons adjoining, and with these constrained Biez to retire to Hardelet, by the way charging him often with that fury, as he kill'd many, took two brass pieces, and five iron, and much baggage, and with it some of Monsieur de Biez his armour. And now Francis finding that these enterprises succeeded not, makes huge preparations to recover the town ; hoping together to win Calais, and wholly to expulse the English from those parts. Therefore he sent to Scotland Monsieur de la Brosse, and afterwards the Seigneur de Lorges, with an army to join with the Scots for invading our northern parts. On the other side, that he might shew how strong he was by sea, he commanded a great fleet to be equipp'd ; for which purpose Paulin (his old negotiator in Turkey) brought with him 25 gallies from the Levant : the pope not omitting also to furnish his part : so that he had in all 150 great ships, and 60 of the lesser sort, besides gallies ; his design being to keep Boulogne from being relieved by sea, while the land-forces besieg'd it. He thought fit to begin yet with erecting the fort before Boulogne, which being to be finish'd (as was promis'd him) by Monsieur de Biez, before mid-

August, he meant with a puissant army to entrench himself before the town : having for this purpose sent to levy 12,000 landskenets, and 6000 Italians ; with which, and his own forces, he doubted not to recover all the places we held in France. Lastly, for the more encouraging his men, he resolv'd in person to be in, or at least, not far from his army. Coming thus to Havre de Grace, and commanding his fleet to set sail, his fairest ship (being of 800 tun) taking fire, suddenly was burnt ; yet the rest went on, under the command of Monsieur d'Annebault Admiral of France. Coming thus to S. Hellens point, on our coast, Paulin, with four gallies was sent to discover the Isle of Wight and the countenance of our men : whereupon, 60 of our ships coming out of the haven of Portsmouth in good order, exchang'd some shot with the French, till night parted them. The next day, (July 18.) the ship which carried their money, sank, the money being hardly sav'd. But one of our ships through accident was lost. Our king this while being come to Portsmouth, as knowing of what consequence the place was, assembles men from all parts under the command of his lieutenant the Duke of Suffolk : the French yet landed in three several places in the Isle of Wight ; but were as soon repuls'd : whereupon, d'Annebault having the wind fair, advis'd concerning fighting with us in the haven at Portsmouth : but the channel being thought too narrow for them to enter in any great number, they consulted of taking the Isle of Wight : but as it was requisite again to build many forts for keeping thereof, they found that both men and time would be wanting. Howsoever, they resolv'd to take in fresh water ; which the Chevalier d'Auxe with some men attempting, was kill'd, and they routed ; as also some others who landed afterwards in Sussex. These bad successes made the French cross over to Portet near Boulogne, where they landed 4000 soldiers, and all the pioneers which they brought with them to fortifie those places they should have taken in England. And now the wind blowing from the land, they set sail again for our coast ; which our king understanding, commanded his fleet (being 100 sail) to offer fight to them ; which the French also had charge to accept ; their king not fearing to lose his hired ships, as long as he had money to procure others : the only difficulty was, in regard of the currents, how to use both ships and gallies together ; for in calms, when the gallies made way, the ships could not stir ; and without them they durst not encounter us. And now (Aug.) the French fleet having gotten a small wind, and their gallies coming on, made toward us, but the wind slackning again, their gallies fell off ; wherewith the wind coming about, and our fleet investing them, an hot fight of two hours pass'd betwixt them : but the night parting them, the French retir'd suddenly to Havre de Grace, and appear'd no more. Our admiral yet went up to Treport in Normandy, where landing, he burnt the suburbs, took divers barks out of the haven, and so return'd.

D'Annebault, as soon as he came on shoar, went to the king at Arques Aug. 16. expecting the fort should be finish'd before Boulogne ; but it was begun eight days only before, and in another place, call'd Outreau, near Low Boulogne, whence they might indeed annoy the town, but not command the entry into the haven. But Monsieur de Biez assuring the king yet it would be put in defence within eight days more, the French army march'd on, being 34,000 foot, and 2000 horse, who shortly after encamp'd upon Mount Lambert, being so near Boulogne, as they could shoot into it with their great ordnance. The king yet was not in the army, nor nearer than the Abby of Forrest Monstier, which was eleven leagues off, whither his son Charles Duke of Orleans coming, died (as is before touch'd) of a pestilent fever. This made him (Sept. 9.) send Claude de Annebault, and others, to the emperor, to renew his alliance some other way. But the emperor, who had now engag'd our king and Francis to a war, and therein reveng'd himself on both, thought it safer to be neuter, than to declare himself either way : howbeit, he (Nov. 1.) told the French ambassadors, that he would not begin with their master. In October, the English garison in Calais and Guisnes, making continual inrodes, kill'd Monsieur Dampierre, and defeated his men ; which together with the dry answer receiv'd from the emperor, made Francis to retire to an abbey near Amiens ; his army yet continuing before Boulogne, without adventuring to lay close siege unto it. Only, as all the young nobles and gallants of the French court came thither, divers skirmishes pass'd ; in one of which, Francis Duke d'Aumale, eldest son of the Duke of Guise, receiv'd a blow with a lance between the eye and the nose, which entered (as the French writers have it) half a foot into his head, and there broke : nevertheless, he coming off, endur'd the taking it out, and was recover'd ; divers others of their principal persons yet being kill'd. And now our king resolving to dislodge them, sent into Germany to levy 10,000 landskenets, and 4000 horse : who thereupon coming to Fleurines in the county of Liege, requir'd their pay, as was promis'd ; but it not coming at the time appointed, they seised on our commissioners, and return'd, without permitting them to depart till they were satisfied. This while Monsieur de Biez, being commanded to enter Terre d'Oye, took a little piece of fortified ground ; which our men coming to recover, were encountered by his horse, and defeated : yet so, as (though less in number) they kill'd many of their enemies.

The garison of Boulogne finding the French army thus departed, enterpris'd the taking of the fort ; but it was well defended, and they with some loss constrain'd to retire. The French army also, through the much rain that fell, was forc'd to leave Terre d'Oye, being a marshy ground, and full of deep ditches : besides, our men gathered towards them. And now this puissant army returning toward Boulogne, did not think fit to besiege it : which may seem the stranger, in that



we neither had forces in a readiness to fight with them, nor so strong a place to defend, but that half their army (according to reason of war) might have carry'd it in a short space : therefore they encamp'd themselves only before Portet, until the fortification were finish'd. This slackness made our men so adventrous, that an enterprise of theirs succeeded ill, as shall be told the year following.

Monsieur de Lorges (formerly mentioned) having brought his auxiliary forces (being 5000 men) July 2. 1545. into Scotland, many incursions were made. Their army yet incamped no nearer on the English side than Twede ; yet as they pass'd it often, much harm was done. Whereupon the king sent the Earl of Hertford with 12,000 men to Scotland ; who destroying all the towns on the middle marches, pass'd thence to the west, and committed great spoils : in requital whereof, the Scots shortly after attempted to enter England on the east borders ; but were defeated, and many made prisoners, and among them the Lord Hume his son, and a French commander ; and not long after the Lord Maxwell's son : but they had their revenge, for 500 English attempting the west borders of Scotland, for the most part were taken or slain.

While our king was thus in war with France and Scotland, he and the emperor were not in very good terms ; ships being arrested on either side ; upon occasion (as I gather) that a Spanish ship, coming from St. Domingo, in the West Indies, was taken by the English. But we had likewise our complaints. Concerning which therefore a meeting was appointed at Borborch in Flanders ; also about taking certain imposts rais'd by the emperor, contrary to the old treaty of commerce ; which yet was little regarded, the emperor endeavouring now nothing more than to get money. Which the Protestants understanding, and fearing he would make use thereof to invade them, did easily accept an intimate request from Francis, for mediating a peace betwixt our king and him : whereupon, they sent to France, Veninger, Brunc, and John Sterminus ; and to England, Bambach and John Sleidan the historian, who at length obtaining that commissioners on both sides should (Nov.) meet near Ardres, two months were spent in unuseful propositions ; so that they (Jan. 1546.) return'd without effecting any thing. Our king, besides that he would have Ardres for quitting the arrears of his pension, being neither willing to restore Boulogne, nor let the Scots be comprehended in the treaty.

And now (Nov.) the emperor fearing lest a peace should be made without him, thought fit to mediate (at least in appearance) an accord, on this occasion ; King Henry having sent the Bishops of Winchester and Westminster, and Sir Edward Carne to clear some articles of the treaty of 1543. with Charles, Francis about the same time had sent the Admiral d'Annebault thither, as is before related. Whereupon therefore he propos'd a general treaty, though faintly, and in such terms that it took no effect.

This while, Archbishop Cranmer making his advantage of Winchester's absence, endeavoured a further reformation ; which also our king once condescended to do, and gave order for in great part : but before it was brought into act, the king receiv'd letters from him, that the league mediated by the emperor would not proceed, if he suffer'd any innovation ; and so nothing was done. Little more happen'd this year worth relation (for home events) besides the parliament business (whereof hereafter) but the death of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, great master of the king's household, a right hardy gentleman (as our historians term him ;) yet withal so discreet and affable, as he was belov'd of all sorts, and his death much lamented. Our king for his more honour, causing him (at his own charge) to be honourably bury'd at Windsor.

*I shall return now to declare the proceedings in matter of religion among the Germans, and in the council of Trent.*

The emperor with much industry and cunning having procur'd a war between our king and Francis, did now leave them to decide their own affairs, while himself attended wholly his occasions in Germany ; his designs there being much facilitated by the recession of the Turk, who leaving the pursuit of his conquests in these northern parts, meant to dilate himself in the warmer climes of Asia : so that the emperor having no more business, accounted this year the most quiet of many that had preceded : though yet he were not exempt from sundry cares, some wars, and the gout. And now, as he pretended principally to compose the differences of religion, many offices were pass'd with the pope for advancing the council ; which had its beginning and progress after this manner :

March 13. 1545. the Cardinal del Monte and Cardinal Santa Croce being received by the Cardinal of Trent, made their publick entry into the city : but no prelate being yet come, they sent to Rome, to desire that their restriction in the bull (to the consent of the council) might be taken away, and absolute power given to propose, determine, etc. as is before recited : which the pope granted. The place chosen was the cathedral church, capable of holding 400 persons. Ten days after, Diego de Mendoz the emperor's ambassador in Venice came, and (Mar. 27.) shew'd his instructions ; being, First, to promise that the Spanish bishops should shortly be present : Secondly, to procure, that reformation in discipline and manners should be handled before points of doctrine. The legates hereupon sent to the pope to have publick dispatches (when occasion were) to shew Mendoza, and other private letters to follow. April 8. Ferdinand's ambassadors came, the number of bishops yet being very few. The first controversie was concerning the Spanish ambassadors pretence to precede the Cardinal of Trent : but the business was order'd so as advantage appear'd. This prepara-

tive for a council being divulg'd, produced divers and contrary effects ; some resolving to believe all they said, others little or nothing, others again intending to distinguish those parts that pleas'd them, from the rest. Howsoever, the Protestants in the diet of Worms protested against it, as partial and factious : while Francis, for the more endearing it, proceeded with arms against the few Waldenses that remain'd in his kingdom, in that violent manner, as without other warning or instruction, he permitted (March 24.) his soldiers (having first committed all insolence in the mountain parts where they dwelt, towards Provence and Languedoc) to destroy more than 4000 persons which made no resistance. In the mean time, the Cardinal of Trent, for the more security of his city, desir'd a garison from the pope : but was answer'd, that the council could not then seem free ; which more imported him, than the safety of the city did the cardinal. Matters being thus advanc'd, Cardinal Pool came, and speech was had of opening the council. But as the pope's designs tended another way, he sent the Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, his grandchild, to the emperor now at Worms, to offer a large contribution of men and money for suppressing of hereticks ; promising also to procure help from other Italian princes ; and to proceed with spiritual and temporal arms. He represented also how ill the pope took the late speech of a national council, and that the emperor in this diet had promis'd another for the settling of religion, in case the council of Trent took no order therein ; in the mean while protesting, that he would sooner yield up his keys to Saint Peter, than suffer such an affront. Besides which, he had private instructions to procure that the right of inheritance of Parma and Piacenza might be invested in his brother Ottavio, son to Pietro Aloysio Farnese (natural son to the pope) now duke thereof, in regard the said Ottavio had married Marguerite natural daughter to the emperor : which at last also, upon the exchange of Camerino, was granted. And now towards the end of May, there were twenty bishops, five generals of orders, and one auditor de la Ruota assembled ; yet as the council began not, the pope being desirous first to see the success of the diet at Worms, the bishops desir'd to be gone, but were not permitted. Nevertheless, Mendoza return'd to his former ambassage at Venice, desiring nothing might be done in his absence. The bishops also weary of their stay, or expence, resolv'd at last to depart : which the pope taking notice of distributed some money among them. This while Herman Archbishop of Cologne, having made a private reformation of religion in his dominions, by the means of Martin Bucer and Philip Melancthon, his clergy oppugning it, complain'd to the emperor, who cited the archbishop : with which, though the pope was offended, yet he did not so much expostulate the matter with the emperor, as desire to conserve his own authority : therefore he cited the archbishop too.

And now in the diet at Worms the emperor requir'd aid against the



Turk ; which the Protestants refus'd (as fearing it would be imploy'd against them) unless first good security were given for peace in the empire, and that this council at Trent should be no prejudice to them. But to this the emperor answer'd, that he could not exempt them from the authority of the council (especially, being call'd for their sakes ;) yet if they had any just objections against it, that they should come and produce them openly in the council, and they should have an equal hearing. But the princes and confederate cities continuing to except against it, protested those were not to judge of their cause, who had already condemn'd it : therefore, if a council were had, they should make one part, and pope and Roman catholics the other : and as for the manner and order, that the emperor and princes should be judges ; but for the merit of the cause, that it should be determined only by the word of God. The emperor finding thus no likelihood of peace, dissembled his displeasure till he had made peace with the Turk, (which he did by the means of Francis, this year, in October.) And so the diet ended Aug. 4. with a decree to hold another at Ratisbonne in January following. For which purpose there should be a conference of four doctors and two judges on either part, in December, to prepare matters of religion against that time. And now the Protestants put forth a book, in which they again rejected the council, saying, it was not assembled in Germany (as was promis'd) but in Trent, and by the pope's power and command, without other pretext that it could be thought to be in Germany, than because the Bishop of Trent was a prince of the empire : besides, that the pope (being a party) should not preside in it. Therefore, that the form and manner of holding a council should be first discuss'd, and whence it had its authority. But this reference of the emperor to a future diet, as it displeas'd the pope and his legates, since the council was imminent, and appointed for deciding controversies ; so it made the bishops again take leave to be gone : and in effect, by the end of September few remain'd. The pope finding these difficulties, knew not well what to resolve ; yet when motion was made for holding it in Germany, he refus'd, but sent to the emperor to advise with him concerning the opening the council, or suspending it, or transferring it to Italy. The emperor (as affairs then stood) not much approving any of these propositions, at last (in October) gave consent the council should open : yet so, as they should treat of matter of reformation, and not of doctrine, for fear of provoking the Protestants. This, again, gave the pope no little jealousy, lest the emperor would make his ecclesiastical authority obnoxious to the diet and conference. Howbeit, he (Oct. 31.) commanded the council should begin Dec. 13. The French prelates, being but three, having written to their king most of these passages, were sent for home ; yet, at the intercession of the other bishops, two remain'd. Dec. 13. being come, the legates (after a solemn feast and procession) meeting in the cathe-

dral, open'd the council, declaring, that it was assembled for three causes: 1. Destroying heresie. 2. Reforming discipline. 3. Setling peace: exhorting the bishops to labour seriously herein. After which, the emperors instructions to Mendoza (formerly mentioned) being again exhibited, the legates said, they would advise thereof: and so appointing the next session to be held January seventh following, they arose, and presently sent to the pope, declaring what was done, and desiring to know how they should begin; whether with heresies, and if so, whether they should touch the heresies, or persons, or both? Whether they should send forth a declaration that the council was begun, and invite the princes and nations that would, to come? Whether they should hasten or delay their proceedings: in what manner the suffrages were to be collected? etc. Dec. 18. they met in congregation, and began to treat of a reformation of manners, habits, etc. The pope hearing thus the council was open'd, writes, that concerning the matters to be handled, he is not yet resolv'd; in the mean time, that they should insist on the usual preambles; that they should follow in their manner of suffrages, the last Lateran council: that they should invite no prince or prelate, since the indiction of the council was sufficient: as for the charges of the bishops, some exemption from payment of tenths was granted, and some other benefits, and money given to the poorer sort: all which I have set down with more particularity, that it may appear, both what a slow and uncertain beginning this great council had, and what a different end it took, from that it now seem'd to promise.

I will conclude this year with the business of our parliament; which began Nov. 23, 1545. Which, as it was the last the king call'd; so, supply of money being the principal affair, it seem'd to comprehend all that could be given, at least of other mens; neither was there other excuse than the king's necessities, which every man must think violent, when they trench'd upon the reverend foundations of colleges, free-chappels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds, and stipendiary priests which had continuance in perpetuity, together with all their manors, lands, and hereditaments, which now the parliament committed to the king's dispose, and that they should be in the order and survey of the court of augmentation; the right of others being yet sav'd, and divers provisions made. For motive whereof, the king's great charges in his wars with France and Scotland were alledg'd; as also the abuses of the rulers and governors of the said colleges, etc. Upon which therefore, and his solemn promise to the parliament, that all should be done to the glory of God, and common profit of the realm, the act pass'd.

In another act it was declar'd, how offenders in usury should be punish'd; and a certain proportion of ten in the hundred was limited. Which yet, had it been lower, would have made lands more valuable,

merchandize and victuals cheaper, and adventuring by sea more frequent : that lazy way of thriving being more opposite than any thing else to that industry by which all kingdoms subsist and flourish.

That doctors of the civil law, although laymen, whether married or unmarried, might exercise all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to which they shall be deputed.

That two churches, being not above a mile distant, and one of them not above the yearly value of six pound, may be united into one.

That where a full jury did not appear, a tales might be granted *de circumstantibus* : and this was much for the expedition of justice.

That whereas the lord chancellor of England, lord treasurer, lord president of the king's council, lord privy-seal, and the two chief-justices, or five, or four, or three of them, should have power by their discretions to set the prices of all kind of wines, as by the act 28 Hen. 8. 14. appeareth : the time was now specified to be betwixt the 20 Nov. and 31 Dec. : and that if any wine-seller should sell his wine in gross at any other price, that the mayor, bailiffs, aldermen, etc. may enter into his house, and sell it according to the rate set down.

A subsidy also was granted by the spirituality of six shillings the pound, and by the temporality, of two shillings eight pence the pound in goods, and four shillings the pound in lands, to be paid all in two years. And so Dec. 24. the parliament was prorogu'd : at which time, the speaker of the lower-house making an eloquent oration, the king in person made this ensuing answer ; being the more memorable, for that it was both full of good intention and advice, and the last he ever spake in that place.

'ALTHOUGH my chancellor for the time being, hath before this time  
'us'd very eloquently and substantially to make answer to such orations  
'as have been set forth in this high court of parliament ; yet is he not  
'so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secrets  
'of my heart, in so plain and ample manner, as I my self am, and can  
'do. Wherefore I taking upon me to answer your eloquent oration,  
'(Mr. Speaker) say, that where you, in the name of our well-belov'd  
'commons, have both prais'd and extoll'd me for the notable qualities  
'that you have conceiv'd to be in me, I most heartily thank you all, that  
'you have put me in remembrance of my duty, which is to endeavour  
'my self to obtain and get such excellent qualities, and necessary vir-  
'tues, as a prince or governor should or ought to have ; of which gifts  
'I recognize my self both bare and barren : but of such small qualities  
'as God hath indued me withal, I render to His goodness my most  
'humble thanks, intending with all my wit and diligence, to get and  
'acquire to me such notable virtues, and princely qualities, as you have  
'alleg'd to be incorporated in my person. These thanks for your  
'loving admonition and good counsel first remembred ; I oftsoons



'thank you again, because that you considering our great charge, (not  
'for our pleasure, but for your defence ; not for our gain, but to our  
'great cost which we have lately sustain'd, as well in defence against  
'our and your enemies, as for the the conquest of that fortress which  
'was to this realm most displeasing and noysome, and shall be (by  
'God's grace) hereafter to our nation most profitable and pleasant,)  
'have freely of your own minds granted to us a certain subsidy, here  
'in an act specified, which verily we take in good part, regarding more  
'your kindness, than the profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your  
'loving hearts, than by your substance. Besides this hearty kindness,  
'I cannot a little rejoice, when I consider the perfect trust and con-  
'fidence which you have put in me, as men having undoubted hope,  
'and unfeigned belief in my good doing and just proceedings for you,  
'without my desire or request, have committed to mine order and dis-  
'position all chantries, colleges, hospitals, and other places, specified in  
'a certain act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glory of  
'God, and to the profit of the commonwealth. Surely, if I (contrary to  
'your expectation) should suffer the ministers of the Church to decay,  
'or learning (which is so great a jewel) to be minished, or poor and  
'miserable people to be unrelieved, you might say, that I being put  
'into so special a trust as I am, in this case, were no trusty friend to  
'you, nor charitable to mine, even as a Christian, neither a lover to the  
'publick-wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must  
'be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not, I pray you, but your ex-  
'pectation shall be serv'd more godly and goodly, than you will wish or  
'desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive. Now, sith I find such  
'kindness in your part towards me, I cannot chuse but love and favour  
'you ; affirming, that no prince in the world more favoureth his sub-  
'jects, than I do you ; nor no subjects or commons more love and  
'obey their sovereign lord, than I perceive you do ; for whose defence  
'my treasure shall not be hidden, nor (if necessity require) my person  
'shall not be unadventured. Yet although I wish you, and you wish me  
'to be in this perfect love and concord ; this friendly amity cannot  
'continue, except both you my lords temporal, and my lords spiritual,  
'and you my loving subjects study and take pains to amend one thing,  
'which surely is amiss, and far out of order ; to the which I most  
'heartily require you : which is, that charity and concord is not amongst  
'you, but discord and dissention beareth rule in every place, St. Paul  
'saith to the Corinthians, the thirteenth chapter, charity is gentle,  
'charity is not envious, charity is not proud, and so forth in the said  
'chapter. Behold then, what love and charity is amongst you, when  
'one calleth another heretick and anabaptist ; and he calleth him again  
'papist, hypocrite, and Pharisee ? Be these tokens of charity amongst  
'you ? Are these signs of fraternal love betwixt you ? No, no, I as-  
'sure you, that this lack of charity among your selves, will be the hin-

'drance and asswaging of the fervent love betwixt us (as I said before)  
'except this wound be salv'd and clearly made whole. I must needs  
'judge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by the negli-  
'gence of you the fathers and preachers of this spirituality : for if I  
'know a man which liveth in adultery, I must judge him a lecherous  
'and carnal person : if I see a man boast and brag himself, I cannot  
'but deem him a proud man. I hear daily, that you of the clergy  
'preach one against another, without charity or discretion ; some be  
'too stiff in their old mumpsimus, others be too busie and curious in  
'their new sumpsimus : thus all men, almost, be in variety and discord,  
'and few or none preach truly and sincerely the word of God, accord-  
'ing as they ought to do. Shall I judge you charitable persons doing  
'this? No, no, I cannot so do : alas, how can the poor souls live in  
'concord, when you preachers sow amongst them, in your sermons,  
'debate and discord? Of you they look light, and you bring them to  
'darkness. Amend these crimes, I exhort you, and set forth God's  
'word both by true preaching, and good example-giving : or else I,  
'whom God hath appointed his vicar and high minister here, will see  
'these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected according to  
'my very duty, or else I am an unprofitable servant, and untrue officer.  
'Although, I say, the spiritual men be in some fault that charity is not  
'kept amongst them : yet the temporality be not clear and unspotted  
'of malice and envy. For you rail on bishops, speak slanderously of  
'priests, and rebuke and taunt preachers ; both contrary to good order  
'and Christian fraternity. If you know surely that a bishop or  
'preacher erreth, or teacheth perverse doctrine, come and declare it  
'to some of our council, or to us, to whom is committed by God the  
'high authority to reform and order such causes and behaviours : and  
'be not judges of your selves, of your fantastical opinions and vain  
'expositions. In such high causes you may lightly err ; and although  
'you be permitted to read holy Scriptures, and to have the Word of  
'God in your mother tongue, you must understand, that it is licensed  
'you so to do, only to inform your own consciences, and to instruct  
'your children and families ; and not to dispute and make scripture a  
'railing and taunting stock against priests and preachers, as many  
'light persons do. I am very sorry to know and hear, how unreverently  
'that most precious jewel, the word of God, is disputed, rhim'd, sung,  
'and jangled in every alehouse and tavern, contrary to the true mean-  
'ing and doctrine of the same : and yet I am even as much sorry, that  
'the readers of the same follow it in doing so faintly and so coldly.  
'For of this I am sure, that charity was never so faint amongst you,  
'and vertuous and godly living was never less us'd, nor God himself  
'among Christians was never less reverenc'd honour'd or serv'd. There-  
'fore, as I said before, be in charity one with another, like brother and  
'brother ; love, dread, and serve God, to the which, I, as your supream

'head and sovereign lord, exhort and require you : and then I doubt  
'not but that love and league that I spake of in the beginning, shall  
'never be dissolv'd or broken betwixt us.

'To the making of laws, which you have now made and concluded,  
'I exhort you the makers, to be diligent in the putting them in execu-  
'tion, as you were in the making and furthering of the same ; or else  
'your labour shall be in vain, and your commonwealth nothing reliev'd,  
'And now to your petition concerning our royal assent to be given to  
'such acts as have pass'd both houses, they shall be read openly  
'that you may hear them.'

And so they being read, the king assented, and rose.

The parliament thus ended (15 48, Feb. 14.) and notice given (Feb. 19.) to both universities, that the colleges were at the king's dispose, that of Cambridge first implor'd his favour, beseeching him to defend their possessions from the covetous and greedy minds of those who knew not learning. That of Oxford also petitioned to this purpose ; and Dr. Richard Cox Dean of Oxford, the prince's tutor, writ to secretary Paget, to represent the lack of schools, preachers, houses of livings for orphans. And since the disposition of chantries, etc. was in the king's hands, to obtain that the clergy might be provided for honestly, lest beggary should drive them to flattery, superstition and old idolatry : which (saith he) I speak not, as if I distrusted the king's goodness, but because there are such a number of importune wolves as are able to devour chantries, cathedral churches, universities, and a thousand times as much : adding in conclusion, that posterity will wonder at us. Which particulars being in an original from Cox, I have the rather inserted, that it may be gather'd what he was, to whom the tuition of the young prince was committed by the king. But much intreaty needed not for the universities ; for in our records, (Oct. 1546.) a letter mentions, that the universities did humbly thank his highness for the continuance of their houses with their lands ; which though, I believe, the king never meant to take away, yet I find two of the professions were in danger of being remov'd, the king having advis'd once of placing all the civilians in Oxford in one college, and the physicians and chirurgeons in another. Howsoever, nothing was stirr'd or alter'd that I can find ; the king being so far from diminishing those famous nurseries of learning and piety, that he rather help'd to increase and augment them. Though yet foreign parts were astonish'd not little, why our parliament should put them in this hazard, they being useful on any part, and their endowments not to be alienated without singular prejudice to their founders ; who having separated them for the service of God, and publick education, laid heavy imprecations on any which should divert them from that use ; as see the ancient charters.

The Earl of Surrey (who now commanded in Boulogne) hearing that



a convoy of victuals was coming to the fort at Oultreau, resolves to intercept it : but as the rhingrave with 4000 lanskeneets, together with many French under the Mareschal de Biez, stood firm, our men, not able to break them, were discomfited, and Sir Edward Poynings, with divers brave gentlemen slain ; the earl himself also being constrain'd to save himself as he could. Nevertheless, by a letter of his to the king, Jan. 8. 1546. it appears there were many kill'd on the other side ; which yet did so little satisfy our king (who lov'd no noise but of victory) that he ever after disaffected him : for which cause also he was shortly remov'd, and the Earl of Hertford appointed to succeed. Whereupon Sir William Paget omitted not (Feb.) by letter to admonish him to seek some eminent place in the army, under the said Earl's command, lest (as he said) he should be unprovided in the town and field. But the earl desirous in the mean time to regain his former favour with the king, skirmishes with the French, and puts them to the worst : but when together he certified that the French had made cannon of a greater calivre than had been yet seen, wherewith they hop'd to beat the town to powder, and that it was worthy consideration, whether Low Boulogne should stand, as being not defensible, the king's council wish'd (March) him to repair home, that he might be further heard concerning these points. Whereupon the Earl of Hertford and lord admiral were sent over with an army of 9300 men ; whereof 1500 were Spaniards, 200 were Italians, 300 Clevois, and 3000 lanskeneets, under Conrad Pfenning ; a greater number of foreign soldiers certainly than stood with exact reason of war, where there is no assured ground of a vertuous emulation. With these the earl encamp'd at Hambleteuse, betwixt Calais and Boulogne : for as the French intended to intercept all intercourse betwixt both places, they would have fortified there ; but our men got it two days only before they came, and built two forts on that coast.

Some fights pass'd at sea this while, whereof one is memorable, of seven or eight English in a small vessel, who being master'd by a far greater number of French, entred their ship, as pretending to save themselves out of their own barque, which now began to sink ; but finding certain lime-pots there, they by casting water on them, rais'd such a smোক, as, through their continual throwing of them, blinded the French, and at last made them run under hatches, where at length being shut up, their ship was brought away. Much fighting also pass'd betwixt our ships and the French galleys, in calms, while through the benefit of their oars they took and left as they pleas'd. And now, as the strangers in our army began to take head, the lanskeneets mutined, not without shew of falling on the English ; but the Spaniards standing firm to our side, all was compos'd.

May 21. the French army came and encamp'd beyond Boulogne, near the church on the hill, their fleet being in the road under them,

this made the Earl of Hertford come up and skirmish with them. The 23d he fought again, and took divers prisoners of note. And now each side attending his advantage to fight, a surseance of war for five or six days was concluded, and (May 24.) after it a peace : which, that it may seem less strange, I shall not so much alledge (for reason) that our king's treasure was exhausted (which the French pretend,) as that the consideration of the imminent council gave all Christian princes occasion to desire good intelligence among themselves, and our king particularly ; who was advertis'd, that Cardinal Poole and others would labour to procure a decree against him and his posterity : which, though our king regarded not otherwise than became a prince of his courage ; yet he thought it more considerable than the pope's single bull ; therefore he endeavour'd to get him friends : and because he was in good terms already with the emperor, who for the settling of religion eachwhere mediated a general peace, he thought fit also to take in Francis ; and the rather, that among certain private conventions in the following treaty, Francis had promis'd his assistance on all occasions : and thus the peace took effect. Which I find was so politickly handled by our king, that had his predecessors observ'd the rule he now held, the French writers could never have so much gloried in their treaties. For as he capitulated to hold the town for eight years next ensuing, he got the present advantage : which as the eternal maxim in matter of treaties, to frame counsels by, I recommend to the genius of our country ; since by the practice thereof only, I dare say, the French have usurped and won so much upon us ; as knowing it impossible, but that betwixt neighbouring princes, in a little space, those occasions may be found or urg'd, which will help them to come off whensoever they are dispos'd. There will be no danger therefore to retort this maxim : not yet that I approve a facility in dissolving leagues : which should be inviolably kept, especially while the causes remain ; but that they being dissolv'd, we may prevail our selves of the present occasion ; not omitting yet any circumstances, to which in point of oath and honour we are oblig'd. This present treaty (concluded June 7, 1546, at Campe, a place betwixt Ardres and Guisnes) ran thus :

I. That all injuries and affronts since the beginning of the last war, should be forgotten, and peace and friendship re-establish'd.

II. That neither should invade, nor procure, nor permit to be invaded any of the dominions, or lands, or cities which are now in the hands of the other.

III. That the subjects of one shall have free commerce through the dominions of the other, and free passage without safe conduct, so they exceed not the number of 100 arm'd persons.

IV. That during this peace all impositions which either prince hath laid on the subjects of the other, within 20 years last past, shall be releas'd, and no new ones impos'd.

V. VI. That rebels and traitors shall not be entertain'd or protected; but deliver'd to their sovereign within 20 days after requisition.

VII. That no letters of reprisal or merque, or counter-merque should be granted but upon and against the principal delinquents and their goods, and that, in case of open denial of justice; which shall be made plain by letters of summonition and requisition. And if any thing during this peace, should be done contrary to it by any subject of either prince, the offenders to be punish'd, and the peace to remain.

VIII. That the Christian king shall pay the King of England all pensions due to him during his life, and also to his successors for ever, according to the treaty at More, Aug. 30, 1525. As also that pension of salt agreed on April 30, 1527. and afterwards reduc'd to a certain sum of money, (viz) 10,000 crowns, which is to be paid yearly at two payments, during the natural life of Henry VIII. if the said payment appear not to be perpetual: but if it be found to be perpetual, then the French king and his heirs and successors shall continue the said pension for ever.

IX. The French king shall pay to the King of England on the feast of St. Michael (or within ten days after that day) which shall be A.D. 1554. for arrearages, as well of pensions not paid, as for his charges in fortifications within the town and country of Boulogne, since the beginning of the last war, either already rais'd, or to be built betwixt this time and the said 1554. the sum of two millions of crowns de soleil; upon the payment whereof the said most Christian king shall be free from all former arrearages whatsoever.

X. Because the King of England, by virtue of certain letters of the French king, dated 29 Jan. 1529. claims as due unto him, the sum of 500,000 crowns de soleil, 22 sols and 6 deniers: it is agreed that there shall be commissioners appointed on both sides (within three months hence) to hear and end that cause; which sum the King of France (if it be so adjudg'd) shall pay when he pays the two millions aforesaid. But if the commissioners conclude nothing, the matter shall be devolv'd to four lawyers that are subjects to neither princes, to be chosen by them, and that shall stand, which three of them determine.

XI. That the King of France shall suffer the King of England quietly to enjoy the town of Boulogne, and the castles and territories thereof, within the bounds following: viz. The haven of Boulogne, with the farther shoar, as far as the highest water comes; and the land in length as far as Pont de Bricque, which shall be the limit on that part, the river there remaining common to both princes: all within these bounds the King of England shall quietly possess, until the King of France hath fully paid the aforesaid two millions (as also the sums express'd article X.) in the time, place, and manner limited.

XII. That when the said sums are paid, at the same time the King



of England shall surrender Boulogne, with all the territories taken by him in the late war, and all fortifications built there by him since the taking thereof, so that no fortification shall be impair'd. Neither shall the King of England be bound hereby in the restoring of the said places, to leave behind him any moveables.

XIII. That from the date hereof, to the day of St. Michael, 1554. neither of the two princes shall raise any new fortification within the county of Boulogne; but those that have been begun already they may perfect.

XIV. The emperor is comprehended by both the princes, by force of the perpetual confederation.

XV. The Scots are comprehended in this treaty, against whom the King of England shall not wage war, unless new occasion be given; in which case, this present comprehension of the Scots shall receive that interpretation which is contain'd in the treaty of the date of April 5, 1515, with this alteration, that although by the said treaty of 1515. fifteen days only were prescrib'd to the French king to intimate the said comprehension to the Scots, yet now, by reason of the distance of place, there is allow'd the space of thirty days, next following the conclusion hereof.

XVI. This treaty shall be ratified within forty days after the date hereof.

Commissioners for our king were, John Viscount Lisle, admiral; Sir William Paget, secretary; and Doctor Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury. And on Francis his part, Claude d'Annebault mareschal and admiral of France; Pierre Raymond, Premier President de Rouen; and Guillaume Rouchecel, secretary.

This peace being proclaim'd in London upon the thirteenth of June, a general procession was there made, and all the richest silver crosses out of the several parish-churches carried, and the bravest copes worn, for the greater solemnity: but our historians note it as fatal, it being the last time they were publickly us'd, since our king call'd them in shortly after, together with the church-plate, into his treasury and wardrobe, without that other cause appear'd thereof than that he suspected the war would break out again betwixt him and Francis, of which also this overture was given.

The Earl of Hertford being certified (during the treaty) that the clause of not making any new fortification, would be prejudicial, was commanded (May 25.) by our king immediately to raise a fort according to a plot given; but such was the prevention of this diligent earl, that he had already begun it about the thirteenth of May. Our king in the mean while protesting that he liked not the article. But the French as little liking our fort, (as collecting thence we meant not

to restore Boulogne) some difficulty was interpos'd. Though as our king answer'd, he could not so much as hope to keep the town for the term agreed, unless he had means to secure it, the treaty held in the manner above-mentioned, and both armies were dissolv'd; the French yet first, as our king requir'd, retiring. And so he remain'd in quiet possession thereof, after the expence (as I find in our records) of 586,718*li.* 12*s.* 3*d.*  $\frac{1}{4}$  in the winning thereof. The charges in keeping thereof being 755,833*li.* 11*s.* 3*d.*  $\frac{1}{4}$ . In all 1,342,552*li.* 3*s.* 7*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ . An excessive sum, especially to reap no benefit thence, but a landing-place in France, which Calais formerly afforded. This peace was seconded by a kind invitation of Francis to our king to christen the Dauphin's daughter, which being as lovingly accepted, Sir Thomas Cheyney was (July.) sent over, and the child call'd Elizabeth. The two admirals also were sent (August.) by their several kings, to receive the oaths requir'd for observance of this treaty; and, being richly rewarded, return'd. Howbeit, this peace was not intire; for if our king conceiv'd it lawful to finish the fort he had begun before the treaty, the French wanted not pretexts for the like; therefore, when upon their erecting a fort at Portet, near the entry to the haven (which they call'd Chastillons Garden) our men took exceptions thereat, the French for their best title alledg'd that Monsieur de Biez had formerly begun it by entrenching his men there; yet as this did not satisfy our king, who knew well the difference betwixt a trench and fortification, he commanded Sir William Paget (Sept. 5.) to write thus to William Lord Grey of Wilton, who now commanded in Boulogne.

'After our most hearty commendations to your good lordship, this shall be to signifie unto the same, that the king's majesty being inform'd that the Frenchmen begin to fortifie at Portet, which by their treaty with his majesty they ought not to do, requireth your lordship to speak with the doers of the said works, and to tell them it shall be best for them to stay working any further, until they shall hear from their master; which without doubt, is like to be very shortly; for that his majesty's ambassador hath charge to speak with him in the same immediately. And in case they shall answer again, that either they will not, or dare not leave working without the knowledge of Monsieur de Biez, or (peradventure) of such other whom they shall name to have the charge of the works; and so go forwards still in their works: then his majesty pleaseth, that if you shall find your selves able enough for the feat, you shall in the night overthrow that which they have wrought. And in case you shall find your selves not able enough for the same enterprize; then to forbear the doing of it until such time as a stronger force come to you from hence, which shall be sent over with all diligence possible.'

'This 5th of Sept. 1546.'

This also was sign'd by the king. Nevertheless, upon better advice, the king thought fit to send Sir Thomas Palmer, with a message to the Lord Grey, commanding him immediately to demolish the fort ; who thereupon made that haste, as before the letters came, he arriv'd at Boulogne, being the very day of his dispatch ; and presently, by the assistance of the Lord Grey, Mr. Poynings, and some others, the French-mens work was (Sept. 6.) levelled : and so Palmer return'd to certify what was done. And now the king's letters being (Sept. 7.) deliver'd, the Lord Grey writes, that before the receipt of his letters, he had (upon such relation of his majesty's pleasure, as was made by Sir Thomas Palmer) overthrown the work at Portet, and therefore desires his majesty's pardon. Which passage I have related more particularly out of our records, that I might correct the error of some of our historians, who would have our king deliver Palmer a message and letter that were contradictory : whereas it appears by our records, that the message was first deliver'd, and the business done before the letters came. Though I will not deny, but the lords of the council, knowing the letter was sent, but not (perchance) any thing of the message, might have occasion to think the Lord Grey more forward, than that he could well justify it. Howsoever, Monsieur de Biez complains hereof to the Lord Grey, and desires to know whether it were done by his majesty's command. What he answer'd, I find not : but it appears by the instructions given to Nicholas Wotton the king's ambassador with Francis, that he had charge to palliate the business as handsomly as he could ; which also so prevail'd, that no new fortification was erected by the French, during our king's time. Besides, our records tell us, hope was now given, that Francis would renounce the pope's authority in his kingdom : which, though much entertain'd at first by our king, and judg'd the more probable, that the emperor and pope did wholly govern the council, was not yet so thoroughly embrac'd, lest (perchance) by confiscations, suppressions, etc. Francis might grow greater than stood with the interest of state or neighbourhood : and for Paget, he said openly, it was but a trick to get Boulogne again ; Francis being not able to give any security for performance of this offer, which might countervail the immediate surrendering of that place. Howbeit, arguments wanted not, that he was in earnest, both as he treated of a confederation with the Protestants at this time ; who yet (as I find by our records) rejected it, unless he relinquished the papal authority : and as he lived in such jealousy of state with the emperor ; which, together with the apprehension of the assembly at Trent, now daily increasing, might for more than one reason dispose him to seek friends elsewhere, as well for defending himself against his enemies, as establishing an absolute power and jurisdiction at home. And with this concurs that which Fox relates : that (August) during the stay of d'Annebault in his court, treaty was had betwixt both princes of changing the mass in their



realms unto a communion : and that both were so thoroughly and firmly resolved therein, that they meant to exhort the emperor to do the like in Flanders, and other his dominions, or else to break with him ; and that our king particularly had willed the Archbishop Cranmer (as himself confessed) to pen a form to be sent to the French king to consider of. But through the death of both princes successively not long after, these and all other their designs ended : though yet for the time which remained, their former love and correspondence was so reviv'd, as Francis is said (by the French writers) never to have rejoiced heartily after the news of our king's death was brought him. But I leave the censure of these passages free to the reader's judgment, without delivering any opinion, otherwise than as the collections out of our records seem to infer.

*Let us now see what was done by the emperor and the Council of Trent.*

THE emperor in the latter end of 1545 being in Flanders, the Bishops of Winchester and Westminster (formerly mention'd) resided with him on our king's part : and because one of the businesses of the French about this time was to offer a match betwixt the Prince of Spain and the daughter of Francis, our king commanded Winchester to hinder it, and propose the Lady Elizabeth. Also speech was had of a marriage betwixt our prince and one of Ferdinand's daughters : but neither of these took effect. Yet the Bishop of Winchester return'd not home, as being employ'd by our king into Germany, to give intelligence of that which pass'd. For now in Jan., 1546, the Protestants met at Frankfurt ; and as they knew the emperor intended a voyage into Germany, they consulted concerning their mutual defence, knowing that both the spiritual and temporal sword should be drawn against them.

This while the assembly at Trent holding, the breve for exempting the bishops from payment of their tenths came : yet as this did rather accommodate than secure them, three hundred foot and some horse, being (Jan. 5.) gather'd out of the county of Trent were appointed to make a guard as they pass'd to church, being now, besides the legates and the Cardinal of Trent, four archbishops and twenty eight bishops, three abbots, and four generals, (in all forty three ;) among which was Richard Pace, heretofore ambassador to the emperor for our king, but now fallen to the pope, and by him stil'd Bishop of Worcester ; and Robert Venant, titular Archbishop of Armagh ; together with Olaus Magnus, Archbishop of Upsaile ; all which had been some years entertain'd with pensions from the pope : besides, they were about twenty divines, which though they had no seat in the council, were admitted to stand there ; as also ten gentlemen in the neighbourhood, of the Cardinal of Trent's election : and moreover a seat was particularly appointed for the ambassadors which should assist there. And now question being of the stile of the council, the few French which were there requir'd

that to *Sacro-Sancta Synodus* should be added *Universalem Ecclesiam representans*; but this was rejected; both to exclude the Protestants admittance under this title, as also all laicks; and as it might be thought in some sort prejudicial to the pope's supream authority. And so, Jan. 7. (being the second session) they decreed an exhortation to the priests and people to serve God in prayer, alms, sobriety, etc. The thirteenth Jan. it was moved, that they would come to the points contained in the bull, being the extirpation of heresy, reformation of discipline, and establishing of peace. And (January 18.) concerning this, there were four opinions.

The imperialists said, before they touch'd matter of doctrine, it was necessary to take away those transgressions whence heresies sprung.

The second opinion was, to begin with doctrine, since faith being the basis of religion, it was a greater sin to err therein, than in manners: and therefore that the pope had placed it first in his bull.

The third was, that the two points of reformation and faith should not be disjoin'd, there being no doctrine which had not its abuse, nor abuse that draws not after it an ill interpretation of some doctrine. And that this was the best way to give a speedy and happy conclusion to the council, which they should chiefly endeavour; there being no advantage likely to ensue to the pope or court of Rome by the protracting thereof.

The fourth sort (and among them the French particularly) would have had the point of peace first treated of, and that other princes might be requir'd to send their ambassadors and prelates thither: and that the Lutherans might be invited to come and unite themselves to the rest of Christendom. The legates having heard their opinions, and commended their wisdom, said that because the hour was late, the deliberation important, and the opinions various, they would think upon it. Order also was taken to hold their congregations weekly on Mondays and Fridays. The legates hereupon advertis'd the pope of that which passed, desiring his advice, and that he would take order for supporting of the poorer bishops; it being better that they should not be there, than ill satisfy'd. Howbeit the pope delay'd his reply, as having his mind wholly bent to war, according to the treaty which Cardinal Farnese had with the emperor the year preceding. This much perplex'd the legates, as not knowing how to proceed: nevertheless (Jan. 22), upon private conference among themselves, they agreed to treat of matter of faith and reformation together; but withal, entertain'd the time, upon pretence that many prelates were on their way. Cardinal Pool proposed, that since in all ancient councils some symbol of faith was publish'd, they should do the like in this: but concerning this symbol of faith there was some difficulty; since to recite the old would not convince the Lutherans, who believed it as well as the Catholicks: besides, that it were to confess, that they durst not handle the contro-

verted points, or treat of a reformation. But upon further dispute hereof, it was resolved by the major part for the affirmative ; and in the third session (February 4.) the creed was barely recited : the Cardinal de Monte disliking that any point should be added afterwards, lest some inconvenience should follow. The next session was adjourned to April 8, upon the aforesaid pretence, that many prelates were on their journey.

The court of Rome, who now understood of that which pass'd (tho' heretofore much start'd at the name of a reformation, as knowing not how far it might extend) yet generally lik'd this late decree, as being worthy the proceeding of a general council : others yet approving it only as it was dilatory, while there wanted not some, who took occasion to pasquil it.

This while the emperor being in Flanders, prepares for Germany, both as the diet and conference of divines was appointed at Ratisbonne, and as the council of Trent did hold : yet, lest he should alarm the Protestants, he took with him only his ordinary guard, being 500 horse. And now the conference holding, and divers propositions being made (Jan. 27.) on the emperor's part, the affair insisted on was matter of religion ; where the point of jurisdiction being brought in question, took up much time, without having other conclusion, yet, than perplex'd and abrupt : insomuch, that (Mar. 20.) the Duke of Saxe recall'd his divines, and Martin Bucer return'd to the Landtgrave of Hesse ; which, whether it were that the Protestants foresaw the emperor's intention was to amuse them with conferences, while himself prepar'd for war ; so that otherwise they found no hope of coming to an agreement, is uncertain : howsoever, the emperor, when he came to the diet, seem'd much offended at their departure ; though, as during these conferences Martin Luther died (April.) in the sixty third year of his age, he doubted not more easily to appease controversies, as believing Luther to be of so violent a spirit, as would interrupt any moderate accord. Howbeit, for declining an affront, in case the Protestants should come to no agreement at the future diet, he made preparations for war ; which yet he could not keep so secret but the Protestants understood it, and fortify'd themselves. Whereupon also Philip Count Palatine, nephew to Frederick the elector, was dispatch'd (March.) into England to intreat for succours : he had besides, his private business ; which (as our records tell us) was to obtain the Princess Mary, our king's daughter. Neither did our king seem averse, when Frederick the elector would perform certain conditions requir'd of him : but as this took no effect, I shall come to the particular of his public business, treated chiefly by John Bruno ; which was a consideration projected betwixt our king and the Protestants. The conditions proposed by our king were to this effect :

'That if the said princes would send some wise and discreet agents



‘fully instructed, and with them the names of the members of the league, and what aids every one is bound to give, and in what cases, and whether they will stand to the old rates or to new, now to be made when his majesty shall enter the league ; his majesty would be pleased to enter a league with them defensive against all men, and for all causes, and will be bound to such a rate of aid as may befit his honour and quality : so that he may have the first place in the league, which for more honour should be called, the League Christen : with such conditions likewise, that no other should be admitted to this league, but such as are already enter’d into the same, without his majesty’s consent. And because they would look for a greater aid at his majesty’s hand than of any other prince or city in this league, his majesty would look by covenant to have in all meetings concerning the confederacy, three voices to two of any other prince. Concerning the union of the said princes together, and of his majesty with them all in doctrine of religion, his majesty thanks them that they are content to follow the advice of his majesty upon such considerations and conferences as their learned men and his shall have together in his majesty’s presence, following the holy Scripture, or the determination of the primitive Church, or general councils had before five or six hundred years : for which purpose his majesty promiseth to take pains to be present himself, and trusteth (such men being sent from them as be learned, and men of upright judgments, with affection, and of good conformity) to be the causer of such a conjunction in religion in all Christendom, as shall tend to the glory of God. For the which purpose his majesty requireth them now when they shall send commissioners to conclude the league defensive, to send also the names of ten or twelve men, to the intent his majesty may chuse four, five, or six out of the same ; which his majesty requireth to have hither according to the promise already made, as soon as may be. To which the Protestants (March 27.) finally answer’d, That if our king would depose an 100,000 crowns in some parts of Germany, where they might take it (April 10.) when they were invaded for religion, then they would prefer his friendship before the French, who now treated with them.’ But this again was rejected by our king since for a bold demand they offer’d nothing equivalent ; yet he continu’d his treaty with the Palatine, so far as he might detain the Protestants from suffering the French to gather men in Germany for the recovering of Boulogne, and from submitting themselves to the Council of Trent, and encourage them to frame their religion according to the word of God, which, he said, was the true rule. But the Germans, who knew at what distance our king liv’d, did not much regard any advices which were not seconded with money : therefore they trusted to themselves, and our king (as aforesaid) made peace with the French.

On the other side, as the emperor’s presence operated much in Ger-

many, so the match which Ferdinand had made of his daughter Anne to the son of the Duke of Bavaria, and Mary to the Duke of Cleves, did not a little strengthen his party. Beside the pope offer'd him 12,000 foot, 800 horse, and 300,000 ducats in money (as Sandoval hath it) and to procure him assistance from others, without omitting particularly to promise his best assistance in a spiritual way ; while, to make the Protestants more culpable of drawing this war upon them, he sent to his legates in the Council of Trent to proceed calmly (without beginning any new difficulties) in matter of faith ; and to make no haste in point of reformation, though urged by the emperor. Hereupon the legates commanded certain fryars and divines to extract those articles out of the Lutherans books, which seemed contrary to their faith. Where (among others) the authority of the holy Scriptures and traditions was first examined. And here (Feb. 22.) their divines differ'd ; some affirming they were all one, the Scripture it self being deriv'd unto us 'by tradition : ' moreover, St. Austin's words were urged, 'That he 'should not believe the Scriptures, but for the authority of the 'Church.' Which therefore should first be settled, and then used for deciding the controversies, and convincing the Lutherans. But then the question was, which, and what was the Church ? And whether the hierachy, and more properly the council, whereof the pope was the head ? But it was not thought safe to call these things into doubt. Then they fell again to treat of the Scripture and traditions ; and whether it hath accidentally come to pass that it being all taught, some part was not put in writing : some holding, that the Church had its perfection before any of the apostles writ, and would have continu'd so, if nothing had been set down in writing. But that this question and the like being not formerly propos'd by the Lutherans, might well be omitted for peace sake : which clause was check'd by Cardinal Pool, who said, 'It was fitter for a conference in Germany, than a council : ' adding, that 'one of two things was to be done, that is, either the 'Lutherans brought to receive all the Romish doctrine ; or when they 'would not, that all their errors should be discover'd, to shew the world 'how impossible it was to come to an agreement.'

II. Then it was resolv'd, that a catalogue of the canonical books of the Scripture should be made as they are accepted by the Romish Church, without regarding whether the Jews receiv'd them or not. But here some difficulties were urg'd ; some of those Scriptures having been always receiv'd, others (though doubtful) having by use yet obtain'd canonical authority : that is to say, the Epistle to the Hebrews, that of St. James, the second of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, that of St. Jude, and the Apocalypse, and some particles of the Evangelists. Besides which, there were in the Old Testament seven books never averr'd, and some chapters of Daniel and Hester, and especially the book of Baruch, as wanting his beginning ; though some

esteem'd it a part of Jeremiah. At length, (March 8.) all the books usually put in the Latin Bible were judg'd canonical, and traditions to be of equal authority with the Scripture : nevertheless, doubts were rais'd concerning putting the books of the Scripture into order. This while Petrus Paulis Vergerius, Bishop of Justinopolis in Istria, coming to the council, was repuls'd : for, as he had been imploy'd in Germany against the Lutherans with so little advantage to the pope, as while he labour'd to confute the Protestants, himself became one ; so they would not admit him, though he pretended his business was only to purge himself, but remanded him to the pope, who shortly after depriv'd him of his bishoprick.

III. And now that being declar'd without more ado to be holy Scripture, which the Romish Church had receiv'd, question arose concerning the translation of it. Some saying, that to understand only the Latin text, was not to receive the infallible word of God, but that of the translator ; and therefore that the originals should be view'd, and a translation made which the council should declare authentick. But if this should seem a long work, it were good (at least) to verifie their Latin translation with the original text : howbeit, the greater part said, it was necessary to hold the Latin translation to be Divine and authentick, since otherwise they would be obnoxious to the Lutherans, and a gate open'd to innumerable heresies : for if men might examine translations, all would be reduc'd to pedantism, and new grammarians would give the law. Besides that, inquisitors could not convince hereticks without knowledge of the original tongues. Many other points coincident hereunto, were likewise handled, too long to be here rehears'd.

IV. Then they came to the exposition of Scriptures, and the ancient fathers were declar'd as the rule thereof.

V. In conclusion, it was requir'd, whether all these determinations were to be enacted under the anathema : in which, after much doubt, (April 8.) a middle course was held. So that the eighth of April, session IV. two decrees were read ; one to authorize the Scriptures read in the Roman Church, and the traditions receiv'd there, both concerning faith and manners : the second to declare the vulgar translation to be authentick, and that it should not be expounded contrary to the sense deliver'd by the Church, and unanimous consent of the fathers : the penalty in the first decree being anathema, in the second such as pleas'd the ordinary. And so the next session was deferr'd till June 17. and these decrees printed : which at length, being publish'd in Germany, it was thought strange, that five cardinals, and XLVIII bishops only, should so easily determine these great points, without hearing what could be objected to the contrary.

About this time our king was certified by Edmund Harvel, his ambassador at Venice, that the French labour'd to procure a censure against him in the council. But as the peace formerly mentioned be-



tween King Henry and Francis, was shortly after concluded, so this took no effect.

And now the pope thought fit to add divers to the number of those cardinals and prelates at Rome he us'd to advise with concerning the council; admonishing the legates together at Trent, I. Not to publish any decree henceforth, without approbation from Rome. II. Not to spend time in points not controverted. III. Above all things to take heed of disputing the papal authority. Which being (April 11.) done, he requir'd the bishops and abbots of the Swiss to come to the council: he also proceeded (April 16.) against the Archbishop of Cologne, condemning, excommunicating and depriving him for adhering to the Lutherans: furthermore, he intreated the emperor to execute the sentence. But he conceiving the archbishop was at his devotion; and besides, knowing that such a rigorous proceeding would but alarm the Protestants, and force the archbishop to colleague with them, neglected to perform this request: and the rather, that the Duke of Saxe had signified unto him, that he saw clearly the popes intentions were wholly bent to establish his own authority: and therefore, that it was time to assemble a national council in Germany, or to treat seriously of matter of religion in the diet.

And now (May 2.) the council in congregation propos'd the point of original sin: but the Spanish prelates desir'd rather a reformation of the abuses in preaching and lectures: adding, that they had express letters from the emperor, not to enter yet into matters of doctrine: which also the intelligence found in our records, doth particularly affirm. The legates, (on the other side) urg'd the pope's bull. In conclusion, both points were resolv'd, and the theologians enjoyn'd to handle matters of faith among themselves, and with the assistance of some canonists to treat of a reformation. According to which order, lectures and preaching being first spoken of, some dissention appear'd: the bishops desiring the ordering of these things should immediately depend on them: but the legates contending to maintain the pontifical authority, by which these duties were committed to fryars, mendicants, etc. This controversie finding no issue, the pope writ unto the council, that they should begin with original sin; observing yet a due respect unto the emperor. Notwithstanding, the legates thought fit the business of reading and preaching should first be dispatched, which was not without some contention: for as it hath been an ancient *Arcanum imperii* among the popes for conserving their jurisdiction, to exempt bishops from their archbishops, and abbots and fryars again from bishops, etc. so some wrangling pass'd; while each part strove to maintain its authority: the bishops complaining of the vanity and covetousness of the preaching fryars; and these again objecting the negligence of bishops and idleness of parish-priests. But all at last, was (in a sort) reconciled, the bishops being allow'd authority over the

regulars, only when they would hold it as from the pope. After which, the point of original sin being brought into examination, Cardinal Paceco a Spaniard, said, it was not yet time, nor until the business of Germany were riper. Nevertheless, the question was urg'd ; yet so as it was protracted, both by the many difficulties of it, and the diet at Rattisbonne ; which beginning towards the end of May, made the prelates intente to its proceedings. Our king not omitting also to inform himself of what should pass by the Bishop of Westminster's means, whom he had employ'd thither. But little good follow'd of this diet : for while the Roman-Catholicks would not allow that controversies of religion should be decided in a national council (as the Protestants desir'd ; ) nor they again submit to the Council of Trent, being, in their opinion, a most partial and factious assembly, the emperor knew not what well to resolve : he would have been glad of such a peace as might have conserv'd his authority, without caring much to hear of errors discover'd in either of the opposite parts ; or that they had found out some witty and new distinction. But there is not any thing more hard than to devise how a free and equal council may be held, or who should be a competent judge of the emergent differences ; since, as any of those who are parties in the business, cannot properly exercise that function ; so, to appeal to any other that were of a different religion, should be not only to call the parts, but the whole into question. Nevertheless, it may be demonstrated, that a more even course may be kept herein than hath been hitherto practis'd, and a more indifferent for all mankind : which as it is deeply concern'd in all the rigid decrees of religion, so in some sort or other should intervene ; in which case, certainly the Spirit of God would preside.

The emperor this while having (June.) made many secret provisions for war, certain notice thereof came to the Protestants at the diet, who because he had made peace with France, and truce for one year with the Turk, did easily conjecture it was intended against them ; especially it being related that the pope and Ferdinand did arm ; so that every thing was in confusion. The emperor us'd much industry to draw all those Protestants who were not collegu'd with the rest at Smalcald, unto his party, telling them this war was only against rebels, and promising them the exercise of their religion.

The Protestants, on the other side, declar'd in a publick remonstrance, that the emperor's intentions were far other than he pretended ; exhorting therefore both them and one another to stand firm.

This while the council held the fifth session, and two decrees pass'd :  
 1. Concerning original sin, and the benefit of baptism, etc. 2. Concerning lectures and preaching ; wherein the bishops and clergy were commanded to be diligent and careful. This being done, the French ambassador Petrus Danesius made a long and eloquent oration, shewing the affection their kings had ever born to the Christian religion :

and how that Gregory I. had for this cause given the title of *Catholique* to Childebert ; and that his king had therefore sent him ambassador thither, desiring first, that some determination might be made in religion ; then, that those privileges should be conserv'd, of which Lodovicus Pius was in possession, and all the sequent kings ; and that the privileges and immunities of the Church of France might be confirm'd. To whom no answer was given but a compliment.

The decrees being now printed and published in Germany, gave much occasion of discourse and unsatisfaction. The emperor himself not liking that in the business of reformation, the smaller points had been handled, and the greater pretermitted ; and that the controversies in matter of faith had been thus stirr'd, and especially that of original sin, as being almost reconciled in some former conferences in Germany. And now (July 26.) the Cardinal of Trent having absolutely concluded that league betwixt the pope and the emperor against the Protestants, and those which refus'd the council of Trent (which by the Cardinal Farnese his means, was formerly treated of) all sides prepar'd for war : the pope also sending men and money in that proportion which is above mention'd, or (as some will have it) besides the 12,000 foot, only 500 horse, to be maintain'd for six months at his charge, and 200,000 crowns in money. Moreover, he granted the emperor (for the present year) the half of all the revenues of the churches of Spain, and that he might alienate of the rents of the monasteries of these kingdoms, to the value of 500,000 crowns, upon condition that during the said six months, the emperor might make no accord with the Protestants without him ; and that of all which was gotten, he should have a certain portion : and that when the time was expir'd, if the war did continue, they should treat of new conditions. It being free for the emperor (in the mean while) to try all fair means for reducing the Protestants to submit to this council : for which end also he treated with them, professing that he did not undertake this war for cause of religion, but respects of state, and because some deny to obey his laws, and had confederated themselves mutually, with strangers against him, and usurp'd other men's possessions, and chiefly ecclesiastical, procuring to make bishopricks and abbys hereditary to their families ; and that having divers ways endeavour'd to reduce them, they were still more insolent. The Protestants, on the other side, did strive to clear themselves unto the world from imputation of rebellion, shewing, that religion only was cause of this war, which the pope and council of Trent had (July 4.) kindled against them : requiring from the emperor performance of the oath he took upon receiving his dignity in Francfort, which they pretended he had broken in this abrupt making of war. They sent also to England and France (being now newly reconcil'd) to borrow mony. But our king answer'd, that the course of things being now alter'd, he could not resolve on any thing without



better information. Nevertheless, that upon their standing firm together, he might furnish some money upon fitting conditions. This caus'd the Protestants to make new levies at home : and the rather, that the pope had about this time by bull publish'd, that the war was for religion.

And now Philip Landtgrave of Hesse having (July 11.) his forces ready, comes into the field, (July 20.) and the Duke of Saxe after ; whereupon they both were proscrib'd by the emperor (then being at Ratisbonne) who breaking up the diet, commanded another to be held the first of February. 1547.

This while the council of Trent sitting, (June 18.) the secretary declar'd (in the name of the legates) that the next point to be examin'd, was that of Divine grace ; and they shall the rather follow this order, because it was us'd in the Augustan confession, which they intended to condemn. Nevertheless, the imperialists urg'd still a reformation : but being over-ru'l'd, certain theologians were appointed to gather the Lutherans opinions.

That of justification, faith and works was propos'd in XXV. articles. But when the point of justification by faith was urg'd, the word FAITH was found ambiguous yet at last all agreeing, that justifying faith was an assent to all things reveal'd by God, and propos'd by the Church as necessary. It was further distinguish'd into a solitary, dead, meerly historical faith, and a lively one working by charity. Then was disputed which of these did justify ; and some affirm'd both : the first whereof was to be understood yet as the basis and ground of the latter : and here many school-subtilities arising, were hotly pursu'd by the Dominicans on the one side, and Franciscans on the other ; the former holding (with Luther) that all our works, without faith are sin ; the Franciscans opposing, that man by his natural free-will may observe the law, and do good, and thereby prepare himself, *ex congruo*, for grace, since God fails not him who doth what he can. After this they fell to examine the nature of grace, of justification, of imputation, etc. concerning which the reader may find more in *Concilio Tridentino*. Only I shall observe (as conducing to my history) that these disputes were thus purposely spun out, partly by the procurement of the emperor, who still desir'd that nothing should yet be decreed in matter of faith ; and partly by the industry of the court of Rome, who studied to hinder the reformation in discipline.

The emperor now, that he might divide the Protestants, encourageth Maurice Duke of Saxe, cosen-German to the elector, and son-in-law to the landtgrave, to invade the states of these proscrib'd princes : to which also he was sufficiently dispos'd. This while the pope did a little temporize : for though he knew the emperor would be obnoxious to him, as long as there was so manifest an use of his assistance ; yet

withal, he did not desire Charles should be too absolute in Germany, lest afterwards he should turn his arms upon Italy, and give the law to his country and religion, upon pretence that there was no other way to conserve peace. Neither were the Catholicks themselves in Germany overforward to take his part, lest under colour of reducing religion to its former state by arms, he would overthrow their liberty. For preventing, whereof, as well as divers other suspicions among the Protestants (that the council of Trent was assembled only to condemn them) he sent again to the pope, to desire that the council might continue, and the legates might treat only of a reformation. To which, because he knew some were averse, he directed a particular message unto the Cardinal Santa Croce, telling him, that if he offer'd to dissolve the council, he would cause him to be thrown into the river Adige. The pope finding the emperor thus in earnest, continues the council; writing yet to the legates, that they should entertain the time: and for this purpose fastings, prayers, and a jubilee (now publish'd for the good success of this war) did serve. Neither was it without cause; the Protestants army being now (July 10.) drawn near Tiroll, to hinder the Italians from joining with the imperialists. The danger whereof being magnified by the more timorous sort of bishops, many were desirous to retire, while some fled from the council. But the Cardinal of Trent newly return'd from Rome, comforted those which remain'd. And now (Aug. 15.) the popes and other the Italian auxiliary forces passing by Trent into Germany, another way than the Protestants expected, they at last at Landshut in Bavaria join'd with the emperor; who bestow'd upon Ottavio Farnese (their general), the order of the toison, and took a muster of his men: the Protestant army being at Donawert, which they had newly taken, and in that readiness, that they attended only their advantage to fight.

But we will leave them in this posture a while, to tell a notable accident which happen'd at Malines in Brabant, Aug. 7, 1546. certain barrels of powder, to the number of 700, being stow'd in the bottom of a great tower, lightning falling thereon and kindling it, the tower was rais'd from his foundations on high, and scatter'd in the air; the stones whereof flying every way, threw down 200 houses in the city, and as many in the suburbs, kill'd 500 men, and hurt 2000; the wind whereof broke glass-windows every where, and open'd many locks. Besides which, it had this prodigious effect, that it dry'd up all the water in a ditch adjoining, being a pike deep, and levell'd the earth, rooting up together many trees; of which kind, it was observ'd, that those which lost only their leaves and fruit, budded again, and bore in autumn.

But it seems more strange which Stow relates, that in England this year a potter falling asleep, April 27. could not be awaken'd in fourteen days and nights, finding himself yet afterwards as if he had taken but one night's rest.

The Duke of Saxe and Landtgrave of Hesse, who commanded the Protestant army, being compos'd of 70,000 or 80,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, and 100 canon, thought it unjust to begin the war till they had sent the emperor a defie : stiling him yet therein not by that name ; but as a pretender to be emperor. He on the other side, little regarding the language, endeavour'd one while to overthrow, and another while to divide them. The whole passage whereof may be seen in Luyd d'Avila, to whom I refer the reader. And the rather, that his excellence Prince Maurice de Nassau, did recommend the book to me more than once, as a master-piece in its kind.

While these armies coast each other, the legates in Trent (now free from the soldatesque) advis'd how to delay the time, admitting new matters, which also their intemperate disputes did furnish. The Cardinal Santa Croce projecting also, that the former controversies should be renew'd of preparatory works, observance of the law, etc. Whereupon (Aug. 20.) the point of freewill was brought into question, and certain opinions of the reformers, therein odiously propos'd. From whence arose a question, whether believing and not believing were in our power? And many things were said thereupon, (it seeming at last equally absurd to believe all things to be in our power, and nothing.) These points again begot distinctions, and at last brought in the article of predestination, which with the consequences was so heard, as being disputed by the prelates and divines in a hundred congregations, and afterward reduc'd into a form of decree by the Cardinal Santa Croce : yet he had so much ado to content all sides, that from the beginning of September, to the end of November, each day some words therein were alter'd ; yet so, as at length it past, and was sent to the pope, who remitted it to the learned men at Rome, by whom it was approv'd, as being conceiv'd in such terms, that all parts might fit and apply it to their own opinions. In the point of reformation, the qualities requir'd for the promotion of prelates was handled, and many good things said, but the means how to observe them were as little found, as how to bind their superiours to do always that which was fitting. So that after divers discourses, it was thought fit to leave off this point. Much was said also, concerning matters of residency : the particulars whereof produc'd that controversy, as in the year 1562, and 1563, came to a great height. The present contention was between the Spanish prelates ; who for the magnifying of the episcopal dignity, held that residence was *ex jure divino* ; and the Italian bishops, who for sustaining the pope's authority, said, it was commanded by him only, and therefore might be dispens'd with, etc. But this dispute being put off by the legates, the ancient canons for residency were reviv'd, and some new ones enacted, which were the more willingly accepted, in that the abuse of exemptions of regular and secular priests from the jurisdiction of their ordinary was moderated.



The emperor now (Sept.) having heard that our king treated with the Protestants, expostulated the matter with him. But the king deny'd he intended any aid to the Protestants; saying yet, that if he sought friendship abroad he was not to be blam'd, since the emperor in his new treaty with the Bishop of Rome, had agreed to fall on those that refus'd the bishops authority, and the council of Trent; wherein, though the king were not particularly nam'd, yet that he was taken for a Lutheran. Nevertheless, that he treated not with the Protestants, and therefore wish'd the emperor to have a better opinion of him, since if he would have given credit to his advice, he needed not to have entred those dangers he was in. And now (Oct.) the pope hearing how things pass'd, commanded the Cardinal Farnese to return. For though the emperor by secret fomenting the emulation for command which pass'd between the Duke of Saxe and landtgrave, was in a good way to compass his ends; yet because he made not an overt war of religion, the pope both recall'd the cardinal, and permitted some of the Italian gentry to come with him. Nevertheless, (Oct. 13.) the two armies met so near together about Giengen in Suabe, that only a little river parted them. Where also the Protestants omitted a notable opportunity of falling on the imperialists; some blows yet pass'd, and Donawert was regain'd by Ottavio Farnese: shortly after which, the Duke of Saxe was constrain'd to retire to his own country, for the defence thereof, against Ferdinand and Maurice who (Nov. 23.) invaded it; and the landtgrave, to his. Of which our king was particularly advertis'd by Somerset his herald, who accompanying Bruno, (now returning from England to the Protestant army) observ'd all occurrences. The Protestant forces now being withdrawn, divers princes and cities of that league treated of an accommodation with the emperor when they might have some honest caution for the exercising of their religion. But the emperor would give none by writing, though otherwise promise was made by the imperial ministers, that they should not be molested. And thus the emperor recover'd much great ordnance, and huge sums of money from some cities, by way of reparation for their faults, and rested absolute sovereign of the upper and greater part of Germany; whereby he was enabled to give law to the rest, and (Nov. 4.) to constrain Herman Archbishop of Cologne (which had lately appeal'd from the pope to a lawful council in Germany) to surrender his archbishoprick. Which state of things being (Jan. 25.) advertis'd hither, our king thought fit to comply with the emperor, for this purpose also acquainting him with some passages, which might give him just occasion to be jealous of Francis. For though (by the advice of the Cardinal of Tournon) to make his authority at home more entire, he had lately condemn'd to the fire certain citizens of Meaux, who combin'd for a private reformation in religion, yet he treated with the Protestants at this time.

The pope also hearing of that which pass'd, began to think of his own affairs, before all Germany were reduc'd to the emperor's obedience : insomuch, that though his forces were much diminish'd, (between those that return'd with the cardinal, and others that run away) he yet recall'd the rest about the middle of December, upon pretence that they had stay'd the six months which he had promis'd ; alledging for further excuse, that he was not able to sustain the charge. But this being ill taken by the emperor, since the heads of the rebellion (as he term'd them) were not yet taken in ; the pope for his further justification, reply'd, that he was not made partaker of the accord betwixt the emperor and the cities and princes : and that it was much to the prejudice of the Catholick faith, in tolerating heresy, which might have been exterminated. Besides, that according to the articles of their treaty, he should have participated of the profits and spoils of the war. And not content herewith he deny'd the emperor the further revenues of the Spanish clergy. So that tho' the imperial ministers at Rome told him, he had done nothing unless he perfected his work, they could not prevail. For further testimony also of his displeasure to the emperor, raising a faction in Genoua against the Dorcaes, being the emperor's friends.

Neither did he (as some have it) fear, that the emperor (having so much to do in Germany) could hastily invade him, or trouble him, otherwise than by according with the Protestants, and causing them to repair to the council of Trent, which yet he thought not fit to dissolve, though seven months had past, without publishing any thing treated therein. So that, notwithstanding he knew that the emperor would be discontented at his rigid proceedings in matters of doctrine, he us'd the Florentine motto, '*Cosa fatta capo ha.*' And thereupon writ to the legates, that they should hold a session, and (Jan. 13.) publish the decrees already made ; which also was done, the Protestants yet questioning the authority of them. Among the cities of Germany that submitted, Ulme was one ; where also the emperor winter'd, with intention to continue war the next spring ; which the Protestants understanding, thought fit (though once suing for peace) to send several ambassadors into England and France to demand succours (tho' in vain) both kings dying shortly after.

While business of religion was thus treated of abroad, our king by proclamation did (July 8.) severely forbid the translation of the New Testament, by Tindal and Coverdale, or any other than is permitted by parliament : as also the English book of Frith, Wickliff, Tindal, etc. which our king most studiously suppress ; both because he would have his subjects decline the bitter language and doctrine to be found in some of them, and that he would introduce his own, or at least a more sober reformation. Whereof also he was the more sensible, in that women began now ordinarily to dispute controversies, and urge

the text: insomuch, that Anne Askew, a gentlewoman, defended herself therewith against her persecutors; though not so, but that she was burnt (July 16.) for it. Besides, the queen her self did this year run no little danger: for as she began about this time to give ear unto those who declaim'd against the abuses of the Roman Church, she thought herself so well instructed in religion, that she would debate with the king thereof: which yet the king did but impatiently hear; both as the anguish of a sore leg he had at this time made him very froward, and as he lov'd not to be contradicted in his opinions, especially, as he said, in his old age, and by his wife. This again was exaggerated by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, so far, that by representing the hazard she incurr'd by contravening the six articles, and the late proclamation, in reading of forbidden books, and teaching openly her doctrine, the king gave Winchester and Wriothesley the chancellor, and others, leave to consult about the drawing of articles against her, which they fail'd not to present unto the king, who subscrib'd them: insomuch, that her enemies expected only a warrant for carrying her by night to the Tower. Which the queen accidentally having notice of, fell into that passion, and bitter bewailing her misfortune, that the king hearing the perplexity she was in, sent his physicians, and after came himself to her chamber, where compassionating her estate, he us'd such kind words as did help to recover her. Insomuch, that the next night, being attended by the Lady Anne her sister, wife to Sir William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, she went unto the king's bed-chamber, where he courteously welcomed her, and began to talk of religion.

But she wittily excusing herself by the weakness of her sex and judgment, said, 'She would refer her self in this and all other causes 'to his majesty's wisdom.' 'Not so (by Saint Mary)' quoth the king, 'you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us (as we take it) and not 'to be instructed or directed by us.' But the queen replying, that 'what she said was rather to pass away the time and pain of his infirmity, than to hold argument; and that she hop'd by hearing his 'majesty's learned discourse, to receive some profit thereby.' The king answer'd, 'And is it even so (sweet-heart?) then are we perfect friends again.' Which also he confirm'd by divers testimonies. But as her maligners knew nothing of this reconciliation, they prepar'd the next day to carry her to the Tower, at a time limited by the king's warrant. This being come, and she happening to be merrily talking with him in his garden, the Lord Wriothesley, with forty of the guard, comes in; whom the king sternly beholding, and after calling to him, (at some distance from the queen) so expostulated the matter, as at last he reviled, and commanded him out of his sight and presence. Nevertheless, at the king's return, she was an humble suiter for his pardon. But the king answer'd no otherwise, than that 'she (poor



'soul) did not know how evil he deserv'd this grace at her hands.' And thus, by her opportune submission she escap'd : tho' yet some believe it was not so much the king's intention herein to use the rigour of the law, as to deter her from reading forbidden books. Howsoever, if he were not in earnest, it was thought a terrible jest, especially to a queen, that had the reputation of a vertuous, humble, and observant wife. But Winchester, who (it was thought) chiefly endeavoured her ruin, did himself, not long after, (Dec. 2.) fall into the king's disfavour, as by his submission extant in our records, doth appear : though whether on this occasion, or that he was a special friend to the Duke of Norfolk, who was now also in disgrace with the king (as shall be told hereafter,) or any other cause, is not there determined. Howsoever, the king excluded him out of the number of those whom he appointed his executors, and counsellors to his son and successor, Edward VI.

Concerning Scottish business this year, little pass'd worth the writing, that I can find, save only that King Henry sent the Earl of Lennox into Ireland with command, that he together with the Earl of Ormond, and a certain Lord out of the Scottish Isles (as he term'd himself) who had adhered to our king, should fall upon Scotland : but as the enterprize was discover'd, they were forc'd to retire to Dublin, where the said Scottish lord, who brought three galleys with him for this enterprize, died.

This while Cardinal Beton persecuting those of the reform'd religion in that country, was (May 19.) himself slain at St. Andrews in his castle, by certain gentlemen who surpriz'd the place : and after defended it, until the governour besieg'd, and (at last) took it by the help of some succour which the French sent them in their galleys. That kind of shipping being so built in those days, that they brook'd our seas with no little advantage, when the times were fair.

I shall conclude this year with the disaster of the renown'd lord the Duke of Norfolk, and the execution of his son Henry the Earl of Surrey which pass'd in this manner, as our records tell us.

The Dutchess Elizabeth, daughter to Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, having for many years entertain'd so violent jealousies of the duke her husband's matrimonial affection and loyalty, as it broke out at last to open rancour, divers occasions of scandal were given : insomuch, that not being content with having surmized a long while since two articles against him, she again, in sundry letters to the lord privy-seal, both averred the articles, and manifestly accus'd some of his minions, repeated divers hard usages, she pretended to receive from them, and briefly discover'd all the ordinary passions of her offended sex. This again being urg'd in a time when the king was in his declining age, and for the rest, disquieted with scruples, that the duke's greatness or interest in sequent times might interrupt the order he intended to give, was not unwillingly heard. So that notwithstanding his many important and faithful services, both in war and peace,

at home and abroad, he and his son Henry Earl of Surrey, were expos'd to the malignity and detraction of their accusers. This again fell out in an unfortunate time ; for besides that the lady his dutchess had now for above four years been separated from him ; his son the Earl of Surrey was but newly, and perchance, scarce reconcil'd with him ; his daughter Mary Dutchess of Richmond not only inclined to the Protestant party, (which lov'd not the duke) but grown an extream enemy of her brother : so that there was not only a kind of intestine division in his family, but this again many secret ways fomented.

Among which, the industry of one Mrs. Holland, thought to be the duke's favourite, appeared not a little, as desirous (at what price soever) to conserve herself. Besides, divers at the king's council disaffected him, and particularly the Earl of Holland, as knowing that after the king's death (now thought to be imminent) none was so capable to oppose him in the place he aspir'd to of protector. All which circumstances concurring, and being voiced abroad, incouraged divers of his adversaries to declare themselves : and the rather, because it was notorious, how the king had not only withdrawn much of his wonted favour, but promised impunity to such as could discover any thing concerning him.

The first that manifested himself was Sir Richard Southwel, who (Dec. 2.) said that he knew certain things of the earl, that touched his fidelity to the king : the earl, before the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, the Lord St. John, the Earl of Hertford, and others, vehemently (Dec. 2.) affirmed himself a true man, desiring to be try'd by justice, or else offering himself to fight in his shirt with Southwel : but the lords for the present only committed them. The duke this while, hearing his son was in trouble, sends (Dec. 3. 4.) to divers of his friends to know the cause, and particularly to the Bishop of Winchester : those letters yet (it is probable) fell into the king's council's hands ; but could not preserve him from being involved in his son's fortune : so that (Dec. 12.) he was sent for, and the same day, not long after his son, committed to the Tower. Divers persons also were examined concerning his affairs. Mrs. Elizabeth Holland being disposed, confess'd, that the duke had told her, that none of the king's council loved him, because they were no noblemen born themselves ; as also because he believ'd too truly in the sacrament of the altar. Moreover, that the king loved him not, because he was too much lov'd in his country ; but that he would follow his father's lesson, which was, that the less others set by him, the more he would set by himself. As also, that the duke complain'd that he was not of the most secret (or, as it is there term'd, the privy) council. And that the king was much grown of his body, and that he could not go up and down the stairs, but was let up and down by a device. And that his majesty was sickly, and could not long endure ; and the realm like to be in an ill case thro' diversity of

opinions. And that if he were a young man, and the realm in quiet, he would ask leave to see the vernacle ; which he said, was the picture of Christ given to women by himself as he went to death. As touching his arms, that she had not heard the duke speak of his own, but of his son's, that he liked them not, and that he had gather'd them, himself knew not from whence ; and that he placed the Norfolk's arms wrong, and had found fault with him : and therefore that she should take no pattern of his son's arms to work them with her needle in his house, but as he gave them. Furthermore, she confess'd that the Earl of Surrey lov'd her not, nor the Dutchess of Richmond him ; and that she addicted herself much to the said dutchess.

Mary Dutchess of Richmond being examin'd, confess'd that the duke her father wou'd have had her marry Sir Thomas Seymour, brother to the Earl of Hertford, which her brother also desir'd, wishing her withal to endear her self so into the king's favour, as she might the better rule here as others had done ; and that she refused : and that her father would have had the Earl of Surrey to have matched with the Earl of Hertford's daughter, which her brother likewise heard of (and that this was the cause of his father's displeasure) as taking Hertford to be his enemy. And that her brother was so much incens'd against the said earl, as the duke his father said thereupon, his son would lose as much as he had gather'd together.

Moreover, that the earl her brother should say, these new men loved no nobility ; and if God call'd away the king, they should smart for it. And that her brother hated them all since his being in custody in Windsor-castle ; but that her father seemed not to care for their ill will, saying, his truth should bear him out. Concerning arms, she said, that she thought that her brother had more than seven rolls ; and that some, that he had added more of Anjou, and of Lancelott Du-lac. And that her father since the attainder of the Duke of Buckingham (who bare the king's arms) where the arms of her mother (daughter to the said duke) were rayned in his coat, had put a blank-quarter in the place, but that her brother had reassum'd them. Also that instead of the duke's coronet, was put to his arms a cap of maintenance purple, with powdred furr, and with a crown, to her judgment, much like to a close crown ; and underneath the arms was a cipher, which she took to be the king's cipher, HR. As also that her father never said that the king hated him, but his counsellors ; but that her brother said, the king was displeased with him (as he thought) for the loss of the great journey. Which displeasure, he conceiv'd, was set forward by them who hated him, for setting up an altar in the church at Boulogne. And that her brother should say, God long save my father's life ; for if he were dead, they would shortly have my head. And that he reviled some of the present council, not forgetting the old cardinal. Also that he dissuaded her from going too far in



reading the Scripture. Some passionate words of her brother she likewise repeated, as also some circumstantial speeches, little for his advantage ; yet so, as they seemed much to clear her father.

Sir Edmund Knevet being examined, said, he knew no untruth directly by the Earl of Surrey, but suspected him of dissimulation and vanity : and that a servant of his had been in Italy with Cardinal Poole, and was receiv'd again at his return. Moreover, that he kept one Pasquil an Italian as a jester, but more likely a spy, and so reputed. He mentioned also one Peregrine an Italian entertain'd by the said earl ; adding that he lov'd to converse with strangers, and to conform his behaviour to them. And that he thought he had therein some great ill device.

One Thomas Pope also informed the council, that John Freeman told him, that the duke (at Nottingham, in the time of the commotion of the north) should say, in the presence of an hundred persons, that the act of uses was the worst act that ever was made, and that Freeman affirm'd those words before the Lord Audeley, late chancellor.

These depositions, together with others (as it seems) being brought to the king's judges at Norwich, they signified by their letter unto the lords of the council, dated Jan. 7. that the king's solicitor and Mr. Stamford had brought the indictments, and that they were found true, and the duke and his son indicted thereupon of high treason ; and that they made haste to bring the said indictment to London ; desiring further to know whether Sir Thomas Paston, Sir Edmund Knevet, Sir John Peer, and others, should be of the same jury. Upon the thirteenth (the king being now dangerously sick) the Earl of Surrey was arraign'd in Guild-hall in London, before the lord chancellor, the lord mayor, and other commissioners. Where the earl, as he was of a deep understanding, sharp wit, and deep courage, defended himself many ways : sometimes denying their accusations as false, and together weakening the credit of his adversaries ; sometimes interpreting the words he said, in a far other sense than that in which they were represented. For the point of bearing his arms (among which those of Edmund the Confessor are related) alledging that he had the opinion of heralds therein. And finally, when a witness was brought against him *viva voce*, who pretended to repeat some high words of the earl's by way of discourse, which concern'd him nearly, and that thereupon the said witness should return a braving answer ; the earl reply'd no otherwise to the jury, than that he left it to them to judge, whether it were probable that this man should speak thus to the Earl of Surrey, and he not strike him again. In conclusion, he pleaded not guilty ; but the jury (which was a common inquest, not of the peers, because the earl was not a parliament lord) condemn'd him. Whereupon also judgment of death was given, and he beheaded at Tower-Hill. And thus ended the earl ; a man learned, and of an excellent wit, as his compositions shew.

This while the king (though his sickness increased) omitted not to give order to seize on the duke's goods, and together to inform himself of all which might be material against him. Not forgetting also to cause Wriothesley to advertise the king's ambassadors in foreign parts, that the Duke of Norfolk and his son had conspir'd to take upon them the government of the king, during his majesty's life, as also after his death to get into their hands the lord prince ; but that their devices were revealed, and they committed to the Tower. And that for preventing uncertain bruits, they were willing to communicate the premisses. But the duke, who had now as much merit of ancient service to plead for him, as any subject of his time could pretend to, thought fit, from the Tower, to write (Jan. 19.) unto the king in this manner.

'Most gracious and most sovereign lord,

'I your most humble subject prostitute at your foot, do most humbly beseech your highness to be my good and gracious lord. I am sure some great enemy of mine hath informed your majesty of some untrue matter against me. Sir, God doth know, in all my life, I never thought one untrue thought against you, or your succession, nor can no more judge or cast in my mind what should be laid to my charge, then the child that was born this night. And certainly, if I knew that I had offended your majesty in any point of untruth, I would declare the same to your highness. But (as God help me) I cannot accuse my self so much as in thought. Most noble and merciful sovereign lord, for all the old service I have done you in my life, be so good and gracious a lord unto me, that either my accusers and I together may be brought before your royal majesty ; or if your pleasure shall not be to take that pains, then before your council : then if I shall not make it apparent that I am wrongfully accus'd, let me, without more respite, have punishment according to my deserts : alas ! most merciful prince, I have no refuge but only at your hands, and therefore at the reverence of Christ's passion have pity of me, and let me not be cast away by false enemies informations. Undoubtedly, I know not that I have offended any man, or that any man was offended with me, unless it were such as are angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for sacramentaries. And as for all causes of religion, I say now, and have said to your majesty and many others, I do know you to be a prince of such virtue and knowledge, that whatsoever laws you have in times past made, or hereafter shall make, I shall to the extremity of my power stick unto them as long as my life shall last. So that if any men be angry with me for these causes, they do me wrong. Other cause I know not why any man should bear me any ill-will : and for this cause I know divers have done, as doth appear by casting libels abroad against me. Finally, (most gracious sovereign lord) I most

'humbly beseech your majesty to have pity of me, and let me recover  
'your gracious favour, with taking of me all the lands and goods I  
'have, or as much thereof as pleaseth your highness to take, leaving  
'me what it shall please you to appoint; and that according as is  
'before-written, I may know what is laid to my charge, and that I may  
'hear some comfortable word from your majesty. And I shall during  
'my life, pray for your prosperous estate long to endure.

'Your most sorrowful subject, THO. NORFOLK.'

To the lords he wrote thus :

'Item, Most humbly to beseech, my lords, that I might have some  
'of the books that are at Lambeth; for unless I may have books to  
'read e're I fall on sleep, and after I wake again, I cannot sleep, nor  
'did not this dozen years.

'Also to desire that I might have a ghostly father sent to me, and  
'that I might receive my Maker.

'Also that I might have mass, and to be bound upon my life to  
'speak no word to him that shall say mass, which he may do in the  
'other chamber, and I to remain within.

'Item, To have license in the day-time to walk in the chamber with-  
'out, and in the night to be lock'd in, as I am now. At my first coming  
'I had a chamber without a-days. I would gladly have license to  
'send to London, to buy one book of St. Augustin's, *De Civitate Dei*;  
'and of Josephus, *De Antiquitatibus*; and another of Sabellicus; who  
'doth declare most of any book that I have read, how the Bishop of  
'Rome from time to time hath usurp'd his power against all princes,  
'by their unwise sufferance.

'Item, For sheets.'

Nevertheless, the duke remained as condemn'd to perpetual prison,  
without that his great services formerly render'd, or his submission on  
this occasion could restore him; which was in these words, as I find  
by our records in an original.

'I THOMAS Duke of Norfolk, do confess and acknowledge my self  
'most untruly, and contrary to my oath and allegiance, to have offended  
'the king's most excellent majesty, in the disclosing and opening of his  
'privy and secret counsel, at divers and sundry times, to divers and  
'sundry persons, to the great peril of his highness, and disappointing  
'of his most prudent and regal affairs.

T. N.

'Also, I likewise confess, that I have concealed high treason, in  
'keeping secret the false and traiterous act, most presumptuously  
'committed by my son Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, against the  
'king's majesty and his laws, in the putting and using the arms of St.  
'Edward the Confessor, king of the realm of England before the Con-



‘quest, in his scutcheon or arms : which said arms of St. Edward appertain only to the king of this realm, and to none other person or persons ; whereunto the said earl by no means or way could make any claim or title, by me, or any of mine or his ancestors. T. N.

‘Also, I likewise confess, that to the peril, slander, and disinherison of the king’s majesty, and his noble son Prince Edward, his son and heir apparent, I have against all right, unjustly, and without authority, born in the first quarter of my arms, ever since the death of my father, the arms of England, with a difference of the labels of silver, which are the proper arms of my said prince, to be born for this realm of England only ; whereby I have not only done prejudice to the king’s majesty, and the said lord the prince, but also given occasion that his highness might be disturb’d or interrupted of the crown of this realm, and my said lord prince might be destroy’d, disturb’d, and interrupted in fame, body, and title of the inheritance to the crown of this realm. Which I know and confess, by the laws of the realm to be high treason. T. N.

‘For the which my said heinous offences, I have worthily deserv’d, by the laws of the realm, to be attainted of high treason, and to suffer the punishment, losses and forfeitures that appertain thereunto. And although I be not worthy to have or enjoy any part of the king’s majesty’s clemency and mercy to be extended to me, considering the great and manifold benefits that I and mine have received of his highness : yet I most humbly, and with a most sorrowful and repentant heart, do beseech his highness to have mercy, pity, and compassion on me. And I shall most devoutly and heartily make my daily prayer to God for the preservation of his most noble succession, as long as life and breath shall continue in me. T. N.

‘Written the twelfth day of the month of January, in the year of our Lord God 1546. after the computation of the Church of England, and in the thirty eighth year of our sovereign Lord Henry VIII. by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith ; and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland the supream head. In witness of all the premisses, I the said duke have subscribed my name with my own hand, in the presence of the Lord Wriothesley, lord chancellor ; the Lord St. John, lord president of the council ; the Earl of Hertford, lord great chamberlain ; the Viscount Lisle, lord high admiral ; Sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse ; Sir William Paget, secretary ; Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, of our said sovereign lord’s privy-council ; Sir Richard Lister, Sir Edward Mountague, the two chief justices.

‘Without compulsion, without force, without advice or counsel, I have and do subscribe the premisses, submitting me only to the king’s

'most gracious pity and mercy, most humbly beseeching his highness  
'to extend the same unto me his most sorrowful subject.

'By me THO. NORFOLK.

'Thomas Wriothesley, chancellor ; William St. John, John Lisle,  
'William Paget, John Baker, E. Hertford, Anth. Brown, Rich. Rich,  
'Rich. Lister, Edward Montague.'

Notwithstanding all which submission, joined with the merits of his services, it was thought that the duke would hardly escape, had not the king's death, following shortly after, reserved him to more merciful times. For our king having long labour'd under the burden of an extream fat and unweildy body, and together being afflicted with a sore leg, took (at the Palace of Westminster, in January, this year) his death-bed ; being for the rest not without sense of his present condition. For he both caused a church of the Franciscans in London (lately suppress'd) to be open'd again, and made a parish-church, endowing it with 500 marks per annum ; and (March. 1546.) bestow'd both the ground and buildings of the said convent, as also the adjoining hospital of St. Bartholomew, on the city, for the relief of the poor : where now is the fair hospital called Christ-Church : suppress'd the stews on the Bank-side, and made his last will and testament, the original whereof yet having not seen, I shall mention no otherwise.

As for Sanders's affirmation, that he was not desirous to be reconciled to the Roman Church ; and that his courtiers (especially those who had profited themselves of abbies) did divert him ; and that the bishops rested doubtful what to answer, lest they should be entrapped ; and how Winchester did cunningly evade the danger, I leave to his credit. Others affirming, that he desir'd to speak with Cranmer, who yet not coming sooner than that the king was speechless (though in good memory) the king extended his hand to him ; and that thereupon Cranmer besought him to give some sign of his trust in God by Christ, and that the king should strain his hand. However, it may be collected that he died (January 28. 1547.) religiously and penitently, when he had reign'd seven and thirty years, nine months, and six days ; and after he had lived five and fifty years and seven months ; and was carried to Windsor, where he had began a fair monument, and founded a college for thirteen poor knights, and two priests to pray for his soul.

And now if the reader (according to my manner in other great personages) do expect some character of this prince, I must affirm (as in the beginning) that the course of his life being commonly held various and diverse from it self, he will hardly suffer any, and that his history will be his best character and description. Howbeit, since others have so much defam'd him, as will appear by the following

objections, I shall strive to rectify their understandings who are impartial lovers of truth ; without either presuming audaciously to condemn a prince, heretofore sovereign of our kingdom, or omitting the just freedom of an historian.

And because his most bitter censurers agree, that he had all manner of perfection, either of nature or education ; and that he was (besides) of a most deep judgment in all affairs to which he apply'd himself ; a prince not only liberal and indulgent to his family and court, but even to strangers, whom he willingly saw ; and one that made choice both of able and good men for the clergy, and of wise and grave counsellors for his state-affairs ; and above all, a prince of a royal courage : I shall not controvert these points, but come to my particular observations. According to which, I find him to have been ever most zealous of his honour and dignity ; insomuch, that his most question'd passages were countenanc'd either with home or foreign authority : so many universities of Italy and France maintaining his repudiating of Queen Katharine of Spain ; and his parliament (for the rest) authorizing the divorces and decapitations of his following wives, the dissolutions of the monasteries, and divers others of his most branded actions : so that by his parliaments in publick, and juries in private affairs, he at least wanted not colour and pretext to make them specious to the world ; which also he had reason to affect : outward esteem and reputation being the same to great persons which the skin is to the fruit, which though it be but a slight and delicate cover, yet without it the fruit will presently discolour and rot.

As for matter of state, I dare say, never prince went upon a truer maxim for this kingdom ; which was, to make himself arbiter of Christendom : and had it not cost him so much, none had ever proceeded more wisely. But as he would be an actor (for the most part) where he needed only be a spectator, he both engaged himself beyond what was requisite, and by calling in the money he lent his confederates and allies, did often disoblige them when he had most need of their friendship. Yet thus he was the most active prince of his time. The examples whereof are so frequent in this history, that there was no treaty, or almost conventicle in Christendom, wherein he had not his particular agent and interest ; which, together with his intelligence in all countries, and concerning all affairs, and the pensions given for that purpose, was one of his vast ways for spending of money.

Again, I observe, that there never was prince more delighted in interviews, or (generally) came off better from them. To which also, as his goodly personage and excellent qualities did much dispose him, so they gave him a particular advantage and lustre. Howbeit, as these voyages were extreme costly, so when he made use thereof



to conclude a treaty, it did not always succeed ; especially where credit was yielded to any single and private word. Insomuch, that at his last being with Francis (where he intended, upon his bare promise, *lier la partie* for the most important affairs of Christendom) he found himself so much frustrated and deceiv'd.

At home it was his manner to treat much with his parliaments ; where, if gentle means serv'd not, he came to some degrees of the rough ; though the more sparingly, in that he knew his people did but too much fear him. Besides, he understood well, that foul ways are not always passable, nor to be used (especially in suspected and dangerous times) but where others fail. However, it may be noted, that none of his predecessors understood the temper of parliaments better than himself, or that prevail'd himself more dexterously of them. Therefore, without being much troubled at the tumultuous beginnings of the rasher sort, he would give them that leave, which all new things must have, to settle. Which being done, his next care was to discover and prevent those privy combinations that were not for his service. After which, coming to the point of contribution, he generally took strict order (by his commissioners) that gentlemen in the country should not spare each other ; but that the true or (at least) near approaching value of every man's goods and lands should be certified. And this he did the rather, because he knew the custom of his people was to reckon with him about their subsidies, and indeed, rather to number, than to weigh their gifts.

As for his faults, I find that of opionate and wilful much objected : insomuch, that the impressions privately given him by any court-whisperer, were hardly or never to be effaced. And herein the persons near him had a singular ability ; while beginning with the commendations of those they would disgrace, their manner was to insinuate such exceptions, as they would discommend a man more in few words, than commend him in many : doing therein like cunning wrestlers, who to throw one down, first take him up. Besides, this wilfulness had a most dangerous quality annexed to it (especially towards his latter end) being an intense jealousy almost of all persons and affairs, which disposed him easily to think the worst. Whereas it is a greater part of wisdom to prevent, than to suspect. These conditions again being armed with power, produc'd such terrible effects, as stiled him both at home and abroad by the name of cruel ; which also hardly can be avoided ; especially, if that attribute be due, not only to those princes who inflict capital punishments frequently, and for small crimes, but to those who pardon not all that are capable of mercy. And for testimonies in this kind, some urge two queens, one cardinal (*in procinctu*, at least) or two, (for Poole was condemn'd, tho' absent) dukes, marquisses, earls, and earls sons, twelve ; barons and knights, eighteen ; abbots, priors, monks and priests, seventy seven ; of the more common

sort, between one religion and another, huge multitudes. He gave some proofs yet that he could forgive ; tho' as they were few and late, they serv'd not to recover him the name of a clement prince. As for covetousness, or rapine, another main fault observ'd by Sanders, as extending not only to a promiscuous overthrow of religious houses, but a notable derogation of title of supreme head of the Church in his dominions, (and the rather, that he still retained the substance of the Roman Catholick religion) nothing, that I know, can on those terms palliate it, unless it might be collected, that the religious orders in his kingdom would have assisted those who threaten'd invasion from abroad, and that he had no other extraordinary means than their revenues then left to defend himself. For certainly, the publick pretext, taken from their excessive numbers in proportion to a well-compos'd state, or the inordinate and vicious life of the general sort, cannot sufficiently excuse him ; since, together with the supernumerary and debauch'd abbeys, priories and nunneries, he subverted and extinguished the good and opportune ; without leaving any receptacle for such as through age or infirmity being unapt for secular business, would end their days in a devout and a retir'd life. Nevertheless, as he erected divers new bishopricks, increased the number of colleges, and the stipend of readers in the universities, and did many other pious works, it is probable he intended some reparation. Tho' (as the Roman Catholick party conceives it) they were neither satisfactory for, nor equivalent to the desolations and ruins he procur'd, when yet he should pretend that the revenues and number of the gentry and soldatesque of the kingdom were augmented thereby. Howbeit, as in this act of overthrowing monasteries, his parliaments were deeply engag'd, it will be dangerous to question the authority thereof, since things done by publick vote, where they find not reason, make it ; neither have many laws other ground than the constitution of the times ; which yet afterwards changing, leave their interpretation doubtful : insomuch, that posterity might justly abrogate them when the causes thereof ceas'd, had they the power to do it. For which regard also I sha'll not interpose my opinion otherwise, than that this king had met with no occasion to do that which hath caused so much scandal to him and his parliaments.

But whereas Sanders hath remarked covetousness as a great vice in this king, I could wish it had been with more limitation, and so as he noted the other extreme (being prodigality) for the greater fault : the examples of both being so pregnant in the king's father and himself. The first, by an exact inquiry into the corruptions and abuses of his officers and subjects, and the prevailing himself thereof to bring all into good order ; and the getting of money together, whether by ordinary or extraordinary means (only when they were not manifestly unjust) and lastly, by frugality, acquiring to himself the name of

prudent at home, and puissant abroad; as being known to have in his coffers always as much as would pay an army royal. Whereas this king, so often exhausting his treasury, that he was constrain'd at last to have recourse to unusual and grievous ways for relieving his wants, did not only disaffect his subjects in great part (as appear'd in the rebellion of the northern men and others, tho' to their confusion) but expos'd his kingdom to the invasion of his neighbours: who knowing (as all princes do) to about how much their neighbours revenues amount, and that there remain'd no longer any ready way to improve them, did collect thence what forces he could furnish; and consequently, would have assail'd him at home, but that their mutual divisions did hinder them. Whereby it appears, that what in Henry VII. is call'd by some covetousness, was a royal virtue: whereas the excessive and needless expences of Henry VIII. drew after them those miserable consequences which the world hath so much reproach'd. Howbeit, there may be occasion to doubt, whether the immense treasure which Henry VII. left behind, were not (accidentally) the cause of those ills that follow'd: while the young prince his son, finding such a mass of money, did first carelessly spend, and after strive to supply as he could.

As for the third vice, wherewith he was justly charg'd, being lust and wantonness; there is *little to answer*, more than it was rather a personal fault, than damageable to the publick: howbeit, they who reprove it, ought not only to examine circumstances (which much aggravate and extenuate the fact) but even the complexions of men. It doth not yet appear that this fault did hasten the death of his queens; he being noted more for practising of private pleasures, than secret mischiefs; so that if any undue motive did co-operate herein, it may be thought an inordinate desire to have posterity (especially masculine) which might be the undoubted heirs of him and the kingdom, rather than any thing else.

With all his crimes, yet he was one of the most glorious princes of his time: insomuch, that not only the chief potentates of Christendom did court him, but his subjects in general did highly reverence him, as the many tryals he put them to, sufficiently testifie: which yet expir'd so quickly, that it may be truly said, all his pomp died with him; his memory being now expos'd to that obloquy, as his accusers will neither admit reason of state to cover any where, or necessity to excuse his actions. For, as they were either discontented clergymen (for his relinquishing the papal authority, and overthrowing the monasteries;) or offended women (for divers severe examples against their sex) that first oppos'd and cry'd him down, the clamour hath been the greater: so that although one William Thomas a clerk to the council to Edward the Sixth, and living about the latter times of Henry the Eighth's reign, did in great part defend him in an Italian book, printed anno 1552, it hath not avail'd.



But what this prince was, and whether, and how far forth excusable in point of state, conscience, or honour, a diligent observation of his actions, together with a conjuncture of the times, will (I conceive) better declare to the judicious reader, than any factious relation on what side whatsoever. To conclude; I wish I could leave Henry VIII. in his grave.

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Because these honourable solemnities are not in any of our historians particularly set down, take this short account of it, from a volume in the Office of Arms.

The chest wherein the corpse of Henry was laid, stood in the midst of the privy-chamber, with lights and divine service said about him, with masses, obsequies, and continual watch, made by the chaplains and gentlemen of the privy-chamber, in their order and course, night and day, for five days, till the chapel was ready; where was a goodly hearse, with eighty square tapers, every light containing two foot in length, in the whole 1800 weight of wax, (another relation writeth about 2000 weight,) garnished with pensils, eschutcheons, banners and banners of descents; and at the four corners, banners of saints, beaten in fine gold upon damask; with a majesty thereover of rich cloth of tissue, and vallance of black silk, and fringe of black silk and gold; and the barriers without the hearse, and the sides and floor of the said chapel, covered with black cloth to the high altar; and at the sides and ceiling of the said chapel, set with banners and standards of St. George and others. The 2nd of February the corpse was removed, and brought into the chapel by the Lord Great Master and officers of the household, and there placed within the hearse, under a pall of rich cloth of tissue, garnished with eschutcheons, and a rich cloth of gold set with precious stones thereon. It continued there twelve days, with masses and dirges sung and said every day; Norroy each day standing at the choir door, and beginning with these words, pronounced aloud, 'Of your charity, pray for the soul of the High and Mighty Prince, our late Sovereign Lord and King, Henry VIII.' February 14th the corpse was removed, and lodged that night at Syon, with the mourners and company; and the next day arrived at Windsor: and the next day being February 16th, the corpse was interred. Stephen Bishop of Winchester preached the sermon on that text 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.' Where he declared the frailty of man, and the community of death, both to high and low, and showing the loss that all had sustained by the death of so gracious a king; yet comforting them again by the resurrection in the life to come. And exhorted them all to rejoice and give thanks to Almighty God for having sent so towardly and vertuous a prince to reign after him; desiring all men to continue in obedience and duty. With many other exhortations, set forth, with great learning.

The corpse being let down by a vice, with the help of sixteen tall yeomen of the guard, the same bishop, standing at the head of the vault, proceeded in the service of the burial; and about the same stood all the head officers of the household, as, the Lord Great Master, Lord Chamberlain, Lord Treasurer, Comptroller, Sergeant-Porter, and the four Gentlemen-Ushers in Ordinary, with their staves and rods in their hands; and when the mold was brought and cast into the grave by the prelate executing, at the words '*Pulvis pulveri, cinis cineri*,' first the Lord Great Master, and after the Lord Chamberlain, and all the rest, brake their staves in shivers upon their heads, and cast them after the corps within the pit, with exceeding sorrow and heaviness, not without grievous sighs and tears.

After this finished, and '*De Profundis*' said, and the grave covered again with planks, Garter stood in the midst of the choir, accompanied with all them of his office in their coats of arms, and with a loud voice proclaimed, 'Almighty God, of His infinite goodness, give good life and long to the most High and Mighty Prince, our Sovereign Lord, King Edward VI., by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in earth, under God, of the Church of England and Ireland the Supreme Head, and Sovereign of the most Noble Order of the Garter.' And with that he cried, '*Vive le noble Roy Edward*;' and the rest of the officers of arms cried the same three several times after him.

Then the trumpets sounded with great melody and courage, to the comfort of all them that were there present.

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